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Keil's Biblical Archæology.

VOL. I.

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MANUAL

OF

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

BY

CARL FRIEDRICH KEIL,
DOCTOR AND PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY.

WITH ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS FURNISHED BY THE AUTHOR FOR THE ENGLISH TRANSLATION.

Translated from the German

(CHIEFLY) BY REV. PETER CHRISTIE.

Edited by the

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ETC. ETC.

VOL. I.

EDINBURGH:
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PREFACE.

—o—

THIS translation of the first volume of Dr. Keil's *Biblical Archæology* has been made from what is a new and improved edition of the original, the learned author having furnished the publishers with "alterations and additions," bringing the volume up to the present state of knowledge in that department. These "alterations and additions" have been incorporated in their proper places in the translation. The amount of information which the work contains is immense, and it must long remain the standard treatise in a scientific form on Biblical Archæology, irrespective altogether of Dr. Keil's views on the dates and origin of the books of the Bible. In no other work, with which I am acquainted, are to be found the same full and instructive criticisms on the opinions of Kurtz, Delitzsch, Hengstenberg, Riehm, and others who have written on Old Testament subjects relating to Archæology.

The present volume has been translated in great part by the Rev. Peter Christie, but the whole manuscript has been carefully revised, and the volume carried through the press, by myself. Great care has been taken to secure typographical accuracy, and it is hoped that very few errors of the press will be found. The translation of the second volume, which will deal with the more popular parts of Biblical Archæology, and will also contain "alterations and additions" by the author, is in progress.

FREDERICK CROMBIE.

ST. MARY'S COLLEGE,
UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS.
October 1887.

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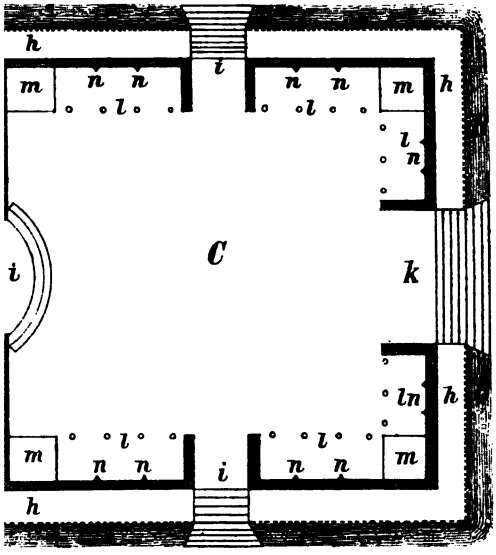

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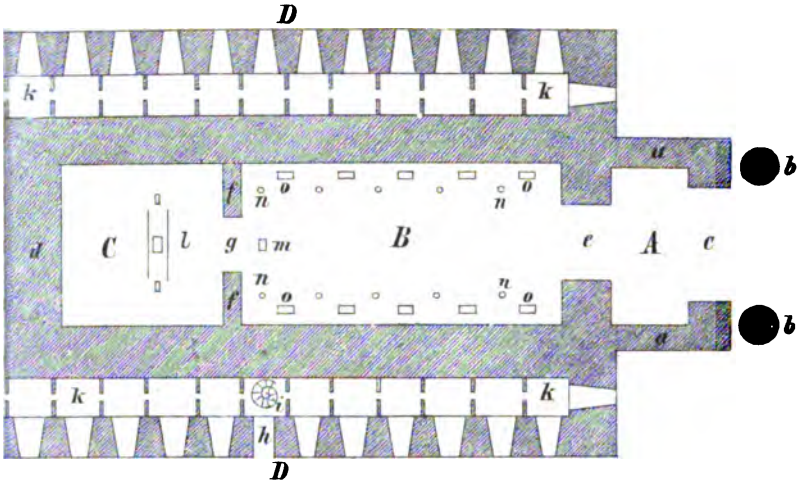

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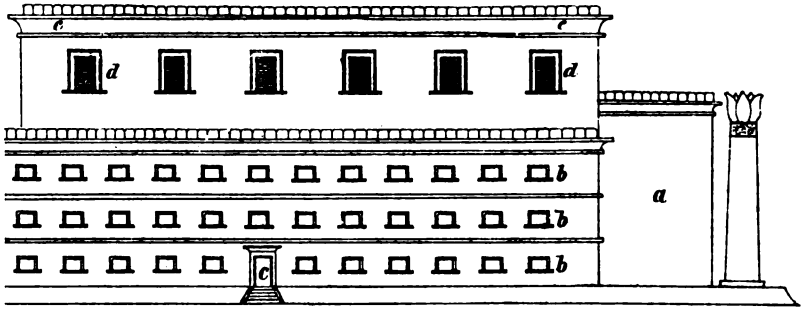

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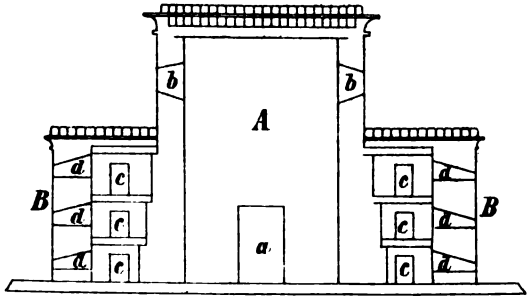

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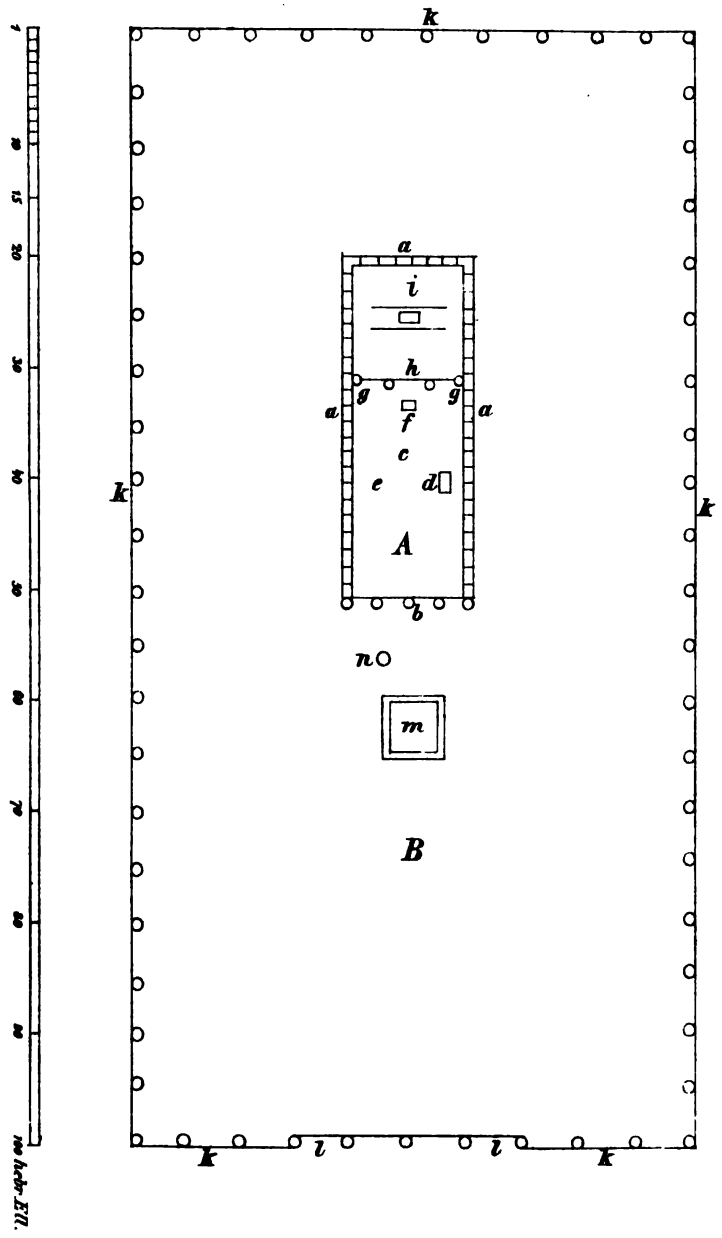

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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1. *Conception, Contents, and Extent of Biblical Archæology.*

We call by the name of *Biblical Archæology*, or *Knowledge of [Biblical] Antiquity*, the scientific representation of the forms which life assumed among the people of Israel, as that nation of antiquity which God had selected to be the bearer of the revelations recorded in the Bible. The modes or relations of life, however, which come to be permanently established among a people, are the result of its historical development,—the fruit which a people, in virtue of its innate intellectual and corporeal individuality, brings forth in the position assigned it on earth by its Creator. Archæology, accordingly, is closely connected with *history*. The latter depicts the growth and progress of the development, the former describes the actual condition which the development has attained, or the definite forms and manifestations in which the life, in its various stadia of development, finds its outward expression, so that archæology and history mutually supplement each other.[1]

Biblical Archæology has, according to this view, carefully to observe the historical *moments* which have co-operated in bringing to maturity the various forms of life, and which have exercised an influence upon their transformation. It has, on the one side, to arrange its material in organic connection, according to the great periods of development amongst the people of Israel; and, on the other, to go back, with the history in the Bible, to the very beginnings of the human race, in order to ascertain from these beginnings and first germs [of creation] the principle and the spirit which come

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to manifest themselves in its forms of life. It has, besides, to take into consideration the position, in a political and geographico-physical respect, which the land of Israel occupied in the world; and although it is not required to give any *detailed* geography of the scenes of the events related in the Bible, and no extended description of the antiquities of the other nations mentioned in Scripture, nevertheless a *general* picture of the geographical and physical constitution of the Holy Land must form the basis of its representation. And it must also take into consideration so much of the conditions of life existing among the other nations which came into manifold contact with Israel—not only of the Canaanites, Philistines, and cognate Aramæans, Ammonites, Moabites, and Edomites, but also of the temporary oppressors and rulers of Israel, the Egyptians, Assyrians, Medo-Persians, Greeks, and Romans—as may appear to be indispensable for the understanding of the Bible, and for a clear acquaintance with the conditions of life among the people of Israel.

[1] The word ἀρχαιολογία is applied by the Greeks to ancient history in general, to facts as well as to institutions; so Plato, *Hipp. maj.* p. 14, ed. Bipont., then by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Josephus as the titles of their historical works, analogous to the Latin *Antiquitates* in Cicero, *Academ.* i. 2; Augustine, *de civit. Dei*, vi. 13. In this comprehensive sense of the entire knowledge of antiquity has the term "Biblical Archæology" been also taken by Jahn and Rosenmüller. Commonly, however, Archæology is regarded in a narrower sense, as a setting forth, not so much of the *movement* and *progress* of the development, as rather of the *position* which the history has attained in the *course* of its development. According to this view, de Wette (*Lehrbuch d. hebr. jüd. Archæologie*, § 1) comprehends under Archæology "the knowledge of the peculiar natural and social condition of the people." Similarly Gesenius in the *Halle Encyclopædie der Wissensch.* x. p. 74, only that he also excludes geography, which, strictly viewed, falls as little under the conception of Archæology as history does.

§ 2. *Organic Connection and Division of Biblical Archæology.*

As man is a being who consists of body and spirit, he assumes a twofold position on the earth. He has not

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merely to be careful for the body and the earthly life, but at the same time for the spirit and the life everlasting. In accordance with this twofold manner in which life has to discharge its active functions, Archæology has to set forth, on the one side, the relations which belong to divine worship, in which a nation carries out its spiritual relations to God; on the other, the civil and social relations, in which the bodily and earthly conditions of life assume their form and permanence. The worship of God, however, as the concrete expression of spiritual reverence for deity, is not only conditioned by time and space, but consists, moreover, of manifold acts and usages, the performance of which is incumbent upon and appropriate to particular individuals. The *civil* and *social* life has its root in the house or family, is carried out in the various employments of civil life, and finds its completion in the political commonwealth or in connection with a monarchy. The family requires for its external subsistence a dwelling and the means of sustaining life; for its internal prosperity, an organic union of its members in order to the common fulfilment of its life-task, and that life runs its course amid alternations of joy and sorrow. The civil employments in which man seeks and finds his vocation in this temporal life serve either to sustain life or to advance or glorify its aim. The support of life is attained by agriculture, breeding of cattle, hunting, and fishing; the aim of life is advanced by the practice of trades and commerce, and glorified by culture in art and science. Finally, the union of families into a national community under a monarchical bond is effected by the civic constitution, and is preserved internally by the administration of the civil law, and protected externally by the political power of the State and the military force.

All these conditions, however, are in every nation modified as they come to maturity by the position which it takes up in the world alongside of and towards other nations, and they are more or less affected by the situation of the country and the constitution of the soil on which its development takes place. Consequently biblical archæology has to begin with a description of the ground and soil on which the development of the people of Israel took place, that is, with a brief characterization of the biblical theatre of events, *first*,

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according to its geographical and political situation in the world, and *secondly*, according to its physical constitution. We have thus to divide the matter which belongs to it into two parts.

I. The religious relations of the Israelites[1] in general and in particular: (1) the places of worship; (2) the *personnel* of worship; (3) the acts of worship, consisting of sacrifices, purifications, and other sacred acts; (4) worship according to its times, festivals, and changes.

II. The civil and social relations of the Israelites: (1) the relations of domestic life, (*a*) according to its outward form in dwellings and in the manner of supporting life, or food and clothing; (*b*) according to its internal relations, marriage, the rearing of children, and menial service; and (*c*) according to the course which it runs, as well in social intercourse and enjoyments as in sorrow, sickness, and death. (2) Civil employments, (*a*) the purpose of gaining the means of sustenance, by agriculture, rearing of cattle, hunting, and fishing; (*b*) by the practice of trade and handiwork, and of commerce; (*c*) by the cultivation of arts and sciences. (3) The public affairs relating to the constitution and administration of the State, (*a*) internally, the civil constitution, the observance of the law, and the administration of justice; (*b*) externally, its political attitude towards other States, the army, peace, and war.

[1] The relations regarding worship must take the first place, not only because Israel, in virtue of its divine vocation, has in an especial manner cultivated the sphere of the religious and devotional life, but also for this very reason, that mankind in general stood to Deity from the beginning in a definite relation, which influenced the development of all the forms and arrangements of life, and did not first gradually emerge from a condition of animal savagery, and rise by its own reason and power to the knowledge and worship of God.

§ 3. *Principle and Method of Biblical Archæology.*

The principle on which our science is to be treated is given in the Scripture doctrine of God's relation to the world, and of the human race to the personal and living God. If biblical archæology is to correctly apprehend the position

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and importance of the people of Israel in the history of the world, and to set forth with objective truth the external formation of the relations of its life, it must set out from a belief in the reality of the biblical revelation, and recognise in the Mosaic institutions embodiments of the thoughts referring to the salvation and kingdom of *that* God who does not leave Himself without a witness among *any* people, but who separated *Israel* for Himself out of *all* the nations of the earth, and called it to the citizenship of His kingdom, in which the salvation of the world is included. To this view of biblical antiquity, which allows to objective [institutions] their full rights, stands opposed the *subjectivizing* mode of view. This latter misconceives the peculiar dignity of Israel amongst the nations of the earth, effaces, nay, altogether takes away the essential distinction between biblical revelation, and the naturalism of heathenism, and the religion of reason, and denies originality and truth to the peculiar institutions of the theocracy, because the latter are irreconcilable with the prevailing representations of the time, and cannot have their origin and development deduced and explained from the scanty categories of abstract rationalism and philosophic pantheism.[1]

The method of treatment must be historical, corresponding to the historical character of biblical revelation. We must therefore keep separate from each other the various stadia of development, and in comparing the similar circumstances and relations of other nations, distinguish between form and substance, and critically sift what is the same from what is only apparently similar.

[1] The beginnings of the subjectivizing method of view already show themselves in the writings of Josephus, and to a greater extent in those of the Alexandrine Philo. They present themselves in a very decided shape, with a due display of learning, in the archæological works of Spencer, Clericus, J. D. Michaelis, Jahn, and Saalschütz, although here they are still clothed in the outer form of biblical supernaturalism. They were carried out with logical consistency, on the basis of the critical rationalism of the understanding, by Eichhorn, Lorenz Bauer, de Wette, Winer, Ewald, Reuss, Graf, Wellhausen, and others; and in harmony with the principles of modern pantheism in a conservative sense by Bruno Bauer, and in a destructive sense by W. Vatke.

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§ 4. *Sources of Biblical Archæology.*

The sources of biblical archæology may be divided, according to their different values, into primary and secondary.

A. Primary sources are the monuments of the ancient Israelites in writing and in outward representation.

I. Among the *written monuments* (1) are to be placed in the first rank the writings of the Old Testament, especially the canonical books, on account of their high antiquity and their entire credibility,—the apocryphal books are of less value, on account of their later origin and inferior historical fidelity;[1] and for the later Judaism, the sacred books of the New Testament. (2) Of subordinate value are the writings (*α*) of Flavius Josephus (born A.D. 37), a learned Jew of priestly descent at Jerusalem, attached to the sect of the Pharisees, important specially for later times for which biblical documents are wanting, but to be used with caution for the *earlier* periods, because uncritical, and showing a tendency to obliterate the theocratic character of the Israelitic institutions and history;[2] (*β*) those of Philo, a learned Jew of priestly descent at Alexandria (born about B.C. 25), a zealous adherent of the Platonic philosophy, who strove to explain the writings of Moses to his countrymen by means of allegorical interpretation, but who betrays his ignorance of the Hebrew language, and a deficiency in the necessary knowledge of things.[3]

[1] See my *Manual of Historico-Critical Introduction to the Canonical and Apocryphal Books of the Old Testament.* Eng. trans. (from 2nd ed. of original), T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, 2 vols. 1869.

[2] His works are: Seven books of the history of the Jewish war (*de bello judaico*), twenty books of Jewish archæology (*Antiquitates judaicæ*), account of his life (*de vita sua*), and two books against Apion the Jew (*contra Apionem*), the latter chiefly valuable on account of the many extracts from the lost works of Egyptian, Babylonian, Phœnician, and Greek writers. Editions by Hudson, Oxford 1720, 2 vols. folio; S. Haverkamp, Amsterdam 1726, 2 vols. folio, with learned critical apparatus; and by W. Dindorf, Paris 1845–47, 2 vols. 8vo. For other editions, see Schürer, *Lehrbuch der neutestamentlichen Zeitgeschichte*, Leipzig 1874, p. 27 ff. [Eng. trans. of new ed. now published]. On Josephus' life, writings, and credibility, the

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judgments of older scholars are collected in Havercamp's edition, vol. ii. 2, p. 57 ff. Among modern scholars a very unfavourable but true judgment has been passed upon his credibility, Robinson, *Palestine*, ii. p. 53 ff. [Eng. ed. pp. 277–78]: "He wrote at Rome, far from his native land, and long after the destruction of Jerusalem; nor is there any evidence or probability that he had collected specific materials for his works in his own country previously to that event. Hence, when he enters into minute descriptions, and professes to give exact details, and measurements of heights and magnitudes, there is every reason to distrust the accuracy of his assertions. He is prone also, from national vanity as well as from his peculiar position, to amplify and embellish all those particulars which might in any way contribute to the honour of his people or to the glory of his subsequent protectors." Equally unfavourable is the judgment of Creuzer, "On Josephus and his Greek and Hellenistic Guides," in the *Theolog. Studien und Kritik.* 1853, parts I. and II.; of Hupfeld in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, xv. pp. 189, 205 ff., and of Arnold in Herzog's *Encyclopædia*, vol. xviii. pp. 637, 639. More favourable is the opinion of von Raumer, *Palestine*, p. 466, 4th ed., and of Jak. Berggreen, *Flavius Josephus, the Leader and Misleader of Pilgrims in the Old and New Jerusalem*, Leipzig 1854, and *Bible and Josephus on Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre against Robinson*, etc., Lund. 1862.

[3] The best editions of his works are by Mangey, London 1742, 2 vols. folio, and with a supplement of more recently discovered writings by Richter, Leipzig 1828–30, 8 vols., and stereo. ed. Leipzig, 1851–53, 8 vols. 12mo. Cf. Müller, "Philo," in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*, xi. p. 578 ff., and Schürer, *l.c.* p. 648 ff. Upon the value of both writers for archæology, cf. Thalemann, *de auctoritate Philonis et Josephi in historiâ rituum sacrorum*, in his work, *De nube super arca fœderis*, Leipzig 1771, p. 123 ff.

II. Of *representative monuments* in Palestine and in biblical antiquity there have been preserved only (1) remains of the enclosure walls of the temple, and of the bridge which led from the temple to Zion, of the tower of Hippicus, and of the tomb of the patriarchs at Hebron;[4] (2) the triumphal arch of Titus at Rome, with representations of the temple furniture;[5] (3) Jewish coins from the times of the Maccabees.[6]

[4] Cf. Robinson's *Palestine*, Eng. ed. vol. iii. p. 263, and farther on, § 28, note 2.

[5] Relandi, *De spoliis templi Hierosolym. in arcu Titiano*

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Romæ conspicuis liber sing., Utrecht 1716, edited with notes by Schulze, 1765; and Fleck, *wissenschaft. Reise*, Leipzig 1837, with copies of the triumphal arch.

[6] Often called Samaritan from the resemblance of their written characters to those of the Samaritan. Copies and descriptions of these in Frœlich, *Annales Syriæ numis vet. illustr.*, Vienna 1744, *Prolegomena*, p. 87 ff., Tab. xviii. Eckhel, *Doctrina numorum*, vol. iii. p. 455 ff. Perez Bayer, *De numis hebræo-samaritanis*, Valencia 1781, and his *Vindiciæ numorum hebr.-sam.* 1790, in which their genuineness is triumphantly vindicated against Tychsen. The modern investigations are to be found in De Saulcy's *Recherches sur la numismatique Judaique*, Paris 1854, and in Madden's *Hist. of Jewish Coinage and of Money in Old and New Testament*, London 1864 [new and enlarged edition, London, Trübner, 1881]. Cf. also Ewald, *üb. das Zeitalter der ächten Münzen alt-hebräischer Schrift*, in the *Nachrichten der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1855, Nr. 8, p. 109 ff.; and for the most recent discussions, see the literature in Schürer, p. 12, Eng. tr. division ii. vol. i. p. 21 ff.

B. The *subsidiary sources* are—1. The *Talmud* and the writings of the *Rabbins*.

(*a*) The Talmud in its older portion, the Mischna, is chiefly of value for the Pharisaic ordinances and explanations of the Mosaic law which were in force at the time of Christ, while its archæological notices possess only small credibility. This holds true in a still higher degree of its later parts, the Jerusalem and Babylonian Gemaras.[7]

(*b*) Of the writings of the later Rabbins the more important for archæology are those by Rabbi Moses Ben Maimon (Maimonides) and Rabbi Joseph Karo. On the other hand, the Rabbinical expositors of the Old Testament contribute only a few correct explanations of legal prescriptions.[8]

(*c*) The modern usages of the Jews in so far as based upon ancient tradition.[9]

[7] The Mischna (מִשְׁנָה, δευτέρωσις, second law), consisting of six Sedarim, containing altogether sixty-three tractates, was compiled at Tiberias by Rabbi Judah Hakkadosch, about the end of the second century after Christ. The Jerusalem Gemara (גְּמָרָא *i.e.* not *complementum*, completion, but *explicatio*, exposition), by Rabbi Jochanan, towards the end of the third or at the beginning of the fourth century; the Babylonian, by Rabbi

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Asche and Rabbi Jose, from the beginning of the fifth to that of the sixth century, and was comprehended in sixty tractates. On the contents of the entire Talmud, cf. Wolf, *bibliotheca hebr.* ii. p. 658 ff., where also the older editions are enumerated. On the contents and division of the Mischna, cf. also the *brevis recensio* of it in John Buxtorf's *De abbreviaturis hebr.*, Basel 1640, p. 217 ff. The best edition of the Mischna with Latin translation, and the complete commentaries of Maimonides and Bartenora, accompanied with learned remarks, is that by Surenhusius, Amsterdam 1698–1703, 6 vols. folio; German translation by Rabe, Ansbach 1760 ff., 6 vols. quarto. One of the most complete modern editions of the Jerusalem Talmud appeared at Cracow in 1801 ff., in 12 vols., and of the Babylonian at Vienna in 1806 ff., in 12 vols. folio. The older editions of these two Gemaras, and of individual tractates of them, see in Wolf, *l.c.* ii. p. 889 ff., iv. p. 321 ff., and in Kœcher, *nova biblioth. hebr.* ii. p. 164 ff. Of the recent edition by Dr. Pinner only the first volume has appeared at Berlin in 1842. [*Talmud de Jerusalem, traduct. par M. Schwab*, 7th vol., Paris 1885, Eng. trans. by Schwab, 1st vol.] Cf. also Pinner, *Compendium of the Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud*, Berlin 1832; and on the scientific value of the Talmud, besides Wolf, *l.c.* ii. p. 1095 ff., especially Seb. Rau, *Dissert. de eo, quod fidei merentur monumenta Jud. sacris in Antiquitatibus et sensu earum mystico*, Utrecht 1751, reprinted in Oelrichs, *Collectio opusculorum hist. phil. theol.*, vol. i. part ii. p. 162 ff.

[English works on the Talmud: *The Talmud*, by Jos. Barclay, 1 vol. London 1878. *The Talmud*, by Emanuel Deutsch in his *Literary Remains*, London 1874. *The Talmud*, by H. Polano, London 5636 (Jewish era).]

[8] Besides the Talmudic commentaries of Maimonides and Obadiah de Bartenora on the *Mischna* of Surenhusius, the most important is the יד חזקה of Maimonides, edited by Athias, Amst. 1702, 4 vols. folio; and מורה נבוכים, *Doctor perplexorum*, by the same author, edited by John Buxtorf, fil., Basel 1629; and the edition of the original, entitled, *Le guide des Égarés par Moise ben Maimon dans l'original arabe et accompagné d'une traduction française par S. Munk*, 2 vols. Paris 1856. Jacob ben Asher, ארבע טורים, Berlin 1703, fol. Joseph Karo, בית יוסף and שולחן ערוך (both of these are commentaries on the Arba Turim). The כסף משנה of the same, a commentary on the *Jad chazaka* of Maimonides. On the Rabbinical expositors of Scripture, cf. my *Manual of Introduction*, Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 380 ff. [T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh].

[9] Cf. Leo of Mutina, *Historia rituum hebr. præsent. temporis*, first in Italian, Venice 1638. French by Rich. Simon, The

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Hague 1682. Buxtorf, *Synagoga Jud.*, Basel 1661, first in German, Basel 1603. Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfass. der heut. Juden*, 4 parts, Erlangen 1748.

2. The notices regarding Palestine and the Jews by Greek and Roman authors. Of these the writings of Alexander Polyhistor, Aristobulus, Hecatæus of Abdera, and Apion, who have treated of the history and antiquities of the Jews in special works, have been lost, with the exception of a few fragments preserved by Josephus (*contra Apionem*) and Eusebius (*Chronicon* and *Præpar. evang.*). Of what has come down to us, Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, Plutarch, Tacitus, and Justin give very scanty, and for the most part *unreliable*, notices on biblical antiquity. Strabo, however, in his 16th Book for biblical geography, and Pliny (*hist. nat.*) for the natural history, furnish no unimportant contributions, as also Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and others towards the understanding of Egyptian and Babylonian antiquity, and of the usages common to the Israelites with these and other nations.[10]

[10] Cf. F. C. Meier, *Judaica s. veterum scriptor. profan. de rebus judaic. fragmenta*, Jena 1832 (unfinished).

3. The *native writers* among the Egyptians, Phœnicians, Babylonians, and Assyrians, if the writings of the Egyptians Manetho and Chäremon, of the Phœnician Sanchuniathon, and his editor Philo Herennius, Dius and Menander of Ephesus, of the Babylonians Berosus and Abydenus and the twenty-three books of *Περσικά* by Ctesias, had not been lost, with the exception of some scanty fragments and extracts;[11] while the Arabian and Syrian writers belong to a period not anterior to the Christian age, but long after the destruction of the Jewish State.[12] Consequently of much more importance for archæology are—

4. *The descriptions of travels in the East*, especially in Palestine and the surrounding countries, which have made us acquainted with the natural constitution of the theatre of the events of the Bible, with the customs, usages, and arrangements of the East, and the remains of ancient monuments, and have thus, considering the great stability of Oriental

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relations and conditions, greatly contributed to shed light upon biblical antiquity.[18]

[11] The fragments of Manetho's *History of the Egyptian Dynasties* consist almost entirely of catalogues of these dynasties, which furnish no material for the archæologist. The fragments of the Phœnician history of Sanchuniathon, edited in Greek by Philo Byblius, have been collected by Orelli (*Sanchun. fragmenta de cosmogonia et theologia Phœnicum, gr. et lat.*, Leipzig 1826); those of Berosus, 3 books, *Chald., Assyr.*, and *Med. Alterthüm.* by Richter (*Berosi Chaldæor. historiæ quæ supersunt*, Leipzig 1825); those of Ctesias by Bähr (*Ctesiæ Cnidii Operum reliquiæ*, Frankfurt a. M. 1824).

[12] From the very copious literature of the Arabians and Syrians, *individual* writings of any special importance for biblical archæology are not forthcoming. They furnish, however, very fruitful materials for geography and the knowledge of nature, for which purpose numerous extracts have been made by Bochart, Celsius, and others. The best known works are enumerated by Rosenmüller, *biblisch. Alterth.* i. 1, p. 34 ff.

[13] The number of these books of travel multiplies from year to year. Cf. the collection in Tobler, *Bibliographia geographica Palestinæ*, Leipzig 1867. Supplements to this collection have been published in the *Serapeum* 1869, and in Röhricht and Meissner's *Deutsche Pilgerreisen*, Berlin 1880, pp. 547–648 (comp. *Zeitschr. des Deutschen Palæstina-Vereins*, iv. pp. 224–244). Socin gives a list of the literature since 1877 in his "Reports" in the *Zeitschr. des Deutsche Palæstina-Vereins*, i. p. 24 ff., ii. p. 81 ff., iii. p. 57 ff., iv. p. 127 ff., v. p. 219 ff. A large list, 130 in number, with critical remarks, is furnished by Robinson, *Palestine*, vol. ii. appendix i., and which in his *Recent Biblical Researches* he has enlarged by twenty-five additional works belonging to the last eight years. The publication of the earliest began with Tobler's *Palæstinæ descriptiones ex sæculo* iv., v., and vi. *Itinerarium Burdigala Hierosolymam; Peregrinatio S. Paulæ; Eucherius de locis sanctis; Theodorus de situ terræ sanctæ.* Afterwards printed on MS. authorities, and edited with remarks, at St. Gall 1869; and their *Descriptiones terræ sanctæ ex sæc.* viii., ix., xii., and xv. S. Wilibaldus, *Commemoratorium de casis Dei;* Bernardus Monachus, *Innominatus*, vii.; Johannes Wirciburgensis, *Innominatus*, viii.; *La Citez de Jherusalem*, Johannes Poloner. After manuscript and printed works published at Leipzig 1874. The travels of Maundrell, Belon, Korte, Wansleb, Steph. Schulz, and certain missionaries are published in extracts by Paulus, *Sammlung*

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der merkw. Reisen in d. Orient in Uebersetz. u. Auszügen, with maps and charts, introductions and notes, and registers, Jena 1792 ff., 6 parts. Among the most important which have appeared during the last century are: Carsten Niebuhr, *Beschreib. von Arabien*, Copenhagen 1772, 4 vols. (also several editions in French); *Reisebeschreibung nach Arabien u. andern umliegenden Ländern*, vols. i. and ii. Copenhagen 1774–78, vol. iii. Hamburg 1837, 4to. Seetzen (murdered in Arabia in 1811), for a long time only partially known from his letters in Zach's *monatl. Correspondenz*, finally edited from a portion of his journals by Prof. Dr. Kruse, *Reisen durch Syrien, Palästina*, etc., Berlin 1854–59, 4 vols. Burckhardt, *Reisen in Syrien mit Anmerkk. von Gesenius*, 2 vols., Weimar 1823–24. Schubert, *Reise nach d. Morgenlande*, 3 vols., Erlangen 1838–40 (valuable for its natural history). Ed. Robinson, *Palestine and the adjacent Southern Countries;* Journal of a Journey in 1838 . . . undertaken by Ed. Robinson and El. Smith, 3 vols., with maps and plans, London, 2nd ed. 1856. The same, *More recent Biblical Investigations in Palestine and the adjacent Countries;* Journal of Travels in 1852, by Ed. Robinson, Smith, and others, with a map of Palestine by Kiepert, Berlin 1857. Tobler, *Bethlehem in Palästina*, St. Gall 1849. *Golgatha*, 1851. *Die Siloahquelle und der Oelberg*, 1852. *Denkblätter aus Jerusalem*, 1853. *Zwei Bücher Topographie von Jerusalem*, 2 vols., Berlin 1853, 1854. *Dritte Wanderung nach Palästina im J.* 1857 (*Ritt durch Philistäa, Fussreisen im Gebirge Judäa's und Nachlese in Jerusalem*), with a map, Gotha 1859. *Nazareth in Palästina*, 1869. Van de Velde, *Reise durch Syrien und Palästina in den J.* 1851 and 1852. Translated from the Dutch by Goebel, 2 vols., Gotha 1861. Eng. tr., London, 2 vols. 1854. Furrer, *Wanderungen durch Palästina*, Zürich 1865. Orelli, *Durchs heil. Land*, Basel 1878. The best handbook for travellers is Socin's-Baedeker's *Palæstina*, Leipz. 1875, or 2nd edition, enlarged and improved, 1880. In recent times three Societies have been formed for the purpose of promoting scientific research in the Holy Land. There is first the "Palestine Exploration Fund," instituted in England in 1865, and which has rendered important service to the cause of scientific inquiry through the excavations carried on under the superintendence of Wilson, Anderson, Warren, Stewart, and Conder, through the reports of their investigations which these latter have contributed to the "Quarterly Statements" 1869 ff., through the summary of the most important results of the first eight years' labours, as embodied in "Our Work in Palestine," Lond. 1873, and Conder's "Tent-Work in Palestine," Lond. 1878, as also through a trigonometrical survey of the part

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of the country west of the Jordan. The results of this survey are given in the large Map of Western Palestine, published in London 1880 (26 sheets), also on a reduced scale (6 sheets) 1881. Then there is the "Palestine Exploration Society" of America, which, after publishing four statements from 1871 onwards, was compelled, from want of means, to suspend the work of surveying the country east of Jordan. And lastly, there is the "Deutsche Palæstina-Verein," founded in 1877, and which commenced operations in 1878 with the publication of a Journal, six volumes of which have already been issued. Comp. A. Vogel, *Neueste Forschungen der Engländer in Palästina*, in the *Lüther. Zeitschr.*, by Rudelbach and Guericke, 1875, Heft 1.

Still more fruitful for biblical archæology are the ancient monuments of the Egyptians, Syrians, Babylonians, and Assyrians, consisting of the remains of palaces, temples, public buildings, sculptures, and inscriptions, which have been discovered by learned investigators, partly brought to light by excavations from the rubbish of centuries, and described and illustrated in magnificent works. The most important of these are: Of Egypt, *La Description de l'Égypte ou recueil des observations et des recherches, qui ont été faites en Egypte pendant l'expedition de l'armée française*, Paris 1809 ff., 9 vols. large fol. with 843 engravings. Wolf, edition in 24 vols. 8vo, 1821–29, of which there relates to antiquities vols. i.–ix.; atlas, vols. i.–x. Rosellini, *I monimenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia, disegnati della spedizione scient. letteraria Toscana in Egitto*, etc., part 1, *monim. storici*, 4 Ti. and 5 divisions, part 2; *mon. civili*, 3 Ti. 8vo, with atlas and engravings, large fol., Pisa 1832–36. Champollion le Jeune, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, Paris 1837–40, Livraisons 1–26. Richard Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten u. Nubien*, Berlin 1849–59, 12 vols. imp. fol. Brugsch, *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler*, 3 vols. 4to, Leipzig 1857–60. The same, *Monuments de l'Égypte*, 1 Livraison, Berlin 1857, fol. The same, *Recueil des monuments égyptiens, dessinés aux lieux*, part 1, Berlin 1862. Dümichen, *Geograph. Inschriften altägypt. Denkmäler*, 1863–65, *an Ort und Stelle gesammelt*, Leipzig 1866, 2 vols. 4to. The same, *Histor. Inschriften* (the temples of Edfou and of Dendera), Leipzig 1867, 2 vols. fol. Aug. Mariette-Bey, *Monuments divers recueillis en Égypte et en Nubie*, Paris 1872 ff. (Livraisons i.–xi., the whole calculated to extend to 20 livraisons, or 80 sheets fol.). For the knowledge of Egypt: Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, London 1837, 3 vols. 8vo, and a second series of the *Manners*, etc., 1841, 3 vols. 8vo [new ed. 3 vols. 1878]. Lane, *Manners*

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and Customs of the Modern Egyptians, London, 3 vols. new ed.

For Syria: Melchior de Vogüé, *Syrie centrale. Inscriptions sémitiques publiées avec traduction et commentaire*, avec 16 pl. fol., Paris 1868 (the most complete collection of Semitic, that is, Palmyrene, Hauranian, and Nabathæan, inscriptions). In the ancient land of Moab also, not long ago, a very old monument was discovered, the so-called "Mehastele" (the Moabite Stone), a large stone with a comprehensive Moabitic inscription (comp. Petermann's account in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, xxiv. p. 640 ff.), the deciphering of which has been attempted by Schlottmann (*die Siegessäule Mesa's, Königs der Moabiter*, Halle 1870), Nöldeke (*die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab.* 1870), Ginsburg, Ganneau, and others. Of other Moabitic antiquities: urns made of clay, plates, lamps, clay figures, with or without inscriptions, which have been recently brought to light (comp. Schlottmann, "neuere moab. Funde," in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, xxvi. pp. 393 ff., 786 ff.), the genuineness of which is still disputed, comp. "Die neuere Forschungen im Moabiterlande," in *Ausland*, 1874, Nr. 47–49. [Their spuriousness is now generally admitted.]

For Babylonia and Assyria: Rich, *Memoir of the Ruins of Babylon*, with 3 plates, 3rd ed. London 1818. Ainsworth, *Researches in Assyria, Babylonia, and Chaldæa*, London 1838. Botta and Flandin, *Monument de Ninivé*, t. i. ii.; *Architecture et sculpture*, iii. iv.; *Inscriptions*, v.; *Texte*, Paris 1849–50, fol. Layard, *The Monuments of Nineveh*, illustrated in 100 plates, etc., London 1851, imp. fol.; and a second series of *The Monuments of Nineveh*, including Bas-Reliefs from the Palace of Sennacherib, and Bronzes from the Ruins of Nimroud, London 1853, fol. The same, *Nineveh and its Remains*, 2 vols. 3rd ed., London 1850. The same, *A Popular Account of Discoveries of Nineveh*, etc. The same, *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon, with Travels in Armenia, Kurdistan, and the Desert*, etc., London 1853. Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vols. i.–iii. 1861–70, large fol. Oppert, *Expedition scientifique en Mésopotamie*, 2 vols. Paris 1862–63, 4to.

From the descriptions of travellers and the investigators of ancient monuments, those which are most important for the historical and archæological understanding of the Bible have been collected in special works. Of these the following are rather out of date at the present day: Harmar. E. F. K. Rosenmüller, *Das alte u. neue Morgenland oder Erläuterungen der heil. Schrift*, etc., Leipzig 1818–20, 6 parts. Paulsen, *Zuverläss. Nachrichten vom Ackerbau der Morgenländer*, Helmstadt 1748, 4to.

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The same, *Die Regierung der Morgenländer*, 1 part, Altona 1755, 4to. *Die Sitten der Beduinen-Araber*, from the French of Chevalier Arvieux, with remarks and additions by Rosenmüller, Leipzig 1789. Burckhardt. Of real use, on the other hand, are: Hengstenberg, *die Bücher Moses und Aegypten*, Berlin 1841 (Eng. tr., Clark, Edin.). Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*, 2nd and improved edition, Leipz. 1881. Schrader, *Keilinschriften und Geschichtsforschung. Ein Beitrag zur monumentalen Geographie, Geschichte und Chronologie der Assyrer*, with a map, Giessen 1873. By the same author, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, 2nd and improved edition, 1883. Sayce, *Assyria, its Princes, Priests, and People*, Lond. Relig. Tract Society 1885, and Sayce's "Fresh Light from Ancient Monuments. A Sketch of the most striking confirmations of the Bible from recent discoveries in Egypt, Palestine, Assyria, Babylonia, Asia Minor," London Relig. Tract Society.

§ 5. *History and Literature of Biblical Archæology.*

The treatment of biblical antiquities had its first commencement in the sixteenth century with the spread of the study of the Bible, especially of the Old Testament in the original, amongst Christian theologians. It remained, however, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries limited to a few works of no great importance either in extent or intrinsic value.[1] More was done during the seventeenth century, in which, besides some works comprehending the entire sphere of archæology, in the first half of it especially, sacred antiquities, and also various branches of civil antiquities, were cultivated with comprehensive learning and a thorough use both of the Talmud and of the Rabbinical writers, as well as of classical and Oriental literature.[2] From the middle of the preceding century also a beginning was made by taking advantage of the observations collected in descriptions of Oriental travels for the elucidation of biblical antiquity on every side. But notwithstanding that much has been contributed since that time down to the most recent period for a more thorough knowledge of the external forms of Hebrew antiquity, yet, since the rise of deism and rationalism, biblical archæology has retrograded rather than progressed, because the peculiar spirit which conditioned and animated the life of the theocracy in all its institutions has been always more and more misunderstood.[3] For the

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comprehension of this spirit, Bähr is the first who, in his epoch-making work, *The Symbolism of the Mosaic Worship*, has again broken new ground, whilst the civic and social antiquities of Israel, especially the law of Moses, cannot be said as yet to have received any scientific treatment in the light of the biblical revelation.

[1] These are the following: Bened. Ariæ Montani (a learned theologian and Orientalist of Seville,† 1598), *Antiquitatum judaicarum*, libri ix. L. B. 1593, 4to, printed in the *Critici sacri*, ed. Frankfort, tom. vi. pp. 522–738. Sigonii, *De republica Hebræor.* libri iii. *ibid.* 8, c. Joh. Nicolai, *Annotatt.*, Leyden 1701, 4to. Cunæi, *De republica Hebr.*, libri iii. L. B. 1617, and (also in *Critici*, ss. vi. p. 811 ff.) lastly, c. amplis Nicolai *notis* 1703, 4to. Goodwin, *Moses et Aaron, s. civiles et eccles. ritus antiqq. Hebr.* (first in English, Oxford 1616), Latin by Reiz, Bremen 1679 and 1685, 3rd ed., c. præf. Witsii 1690. Illustr. emend. stud. Hottingeri, Frankfort a. M. 1716, L. B. 1724, 2 tom. 8vo.

[2] The following embrace the whole range of archæology: Leydekker, *De republica Hebr.*, libri xii. Amsterdam 1704, fol. Ejusd. *Opp.* t. ii. h. e. *Libri* ix. *de vario rei publ. Hebr. statu*, etc. *ib.* 1710, fol. Iken, *Antiquitates hebr. sec. triplicem statum eccl. polit. et œconom. breviter delin.*, Bremen 1730, 3rd ed. 1741. Herm. Schacht, *Animadverss. ad antiqq hebr. olim delin. a* C. Ikenio, *patre mortuo*, ed. Schacht, Traj. 1810. Wæhner, *Antiquitates Ebræorum de israel. gentis origine, fatis, rebus sacris, civilibus et domesticis*, etc., Göttingen 1743, 2 vols. (unfinished, extending only over the literature, chronology, history, and sects of the Hebrews).

Sacred antiquities: Spencer, *De legibus Hebr. ritualibus earumque rationibus*, LL. iv. Cantabr. 1675, enlarged 1727, cum C. M. Pfaffii *dissert. prælim.*, Tübingen 1727, fol. As refutations to the above, Herm. Witsii, *Aegyptiaca et Δεκαφυλον, s. de Aegyptior. sacrorum c. Hebraicis collatione*, libri iii. etc. Amsterdam 1683, 4to. Ejusd. *Miscellanea sacra*, Utrecht 1692 and 1700, ed. nov. Leyden 1736, 2 tomi, 4to. Lund, *Die alten jüd. Heiligthümer, Gottesdienste und Gewohnheiten*, Hamburg 1695, 8vo, and 1704, fol., with notes by John Christoph. Wolf, Hamburg 1738, fol. Reland, *Antiquitates sacr. veterum Hebræor. delin.*, Utrecht 1708, and often with the notes of Ravius, 1743, ed. Vogel, Halle 1769, 8vo.

Amongst the writings on separate subjects, the most important are: Lamy, *De tabernaculo, de sancta civitate et templo*, Paris 1720, fol. Sauberti, *De sacrificiis veterum collectan. hist. phil.* etc., *acced. ejusd. de sacerdotibus et sacris Hebræor. personis commentar. sing.—rec. emend.* Crenius L. B. 1699 (first in 1659), 8vo.

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Outram, *De sacrificiis libri duo*, Amsterdam 1588, 8vo. Braun, *Vestitus sacerdotum Hebræor.* libri ii., Leyden 1680, Amsterdam 1698, ed. ult. *ib.* 1704, 4to. Meyer, *Tract. de temporibus sacr. et festis diebus Hebræorum. c. animadversionibus in J. Spenceri libros de legg. Hebr. ritt.*, Amsterdam 1698, 8vo, 1724, 4to. Joh. Seldeni, *De Synedriis et præfecturis jurid. veterum Hebræorum*, libri iii., London 1650, Amsterdam 1679, 4to, Frankfort 1696. Ejusd. *Uxor ebraica absolvens nuptias et divortia veter. Hebræorum quibus access. de successionibus in bona de functorum et in Pontificatum*, Wittenberg 1712, 4to. Comp. Vitringa, *De Synagoga vetere*, libri iii., Franeker 1696, 4to. Geier, *Tract. de Ebræor. luctu lugentiumque ritibus*, Leipzig 1656, 12mo, 3rd ed., 1683. Bynæi, *De calceis Hebræorum*, libri ii., Dort 1682, 12mo. Schröder, *Comment. phil. crit. de vestitu mulierum Hebræarum*, Utrecht 1776, 4to. Other, chiefly unimportant, writings, see in Wolf, *Biblioth. hebr.* ii. p. 1083 ff., iv. p. 506 ff.

Most of the above and many other larger and smaller treatises are collected in Ugolino, *thesaurus antiquitatum sacr.*, Venice 1744–69, 34 vols. fol.

[3] There have appeared: Joh. Gottl. Carpzov, *Apparatus historico criticus Antiquitatum S. codicis et gentis Hebrææ; uberrimis annotatt.* in Goodwini, *Mosen et Aaronem subministravit*, Frankfort and Leipzig 1748, 4to. J. E. Faber, *Archäologie der Hebräer*, Halle 1773 (vol. i. treats of the dwellings). Incomplete. Joh. Jahn, *Bibl. Archäologie*, 1st part, vols. i., ii.; *Häusl. Alterth.* 2nd part, vols. i., ii.; *Polit. Alterth.* 3rd part; *Heilige Alterth.*, Vienna 1796–1805, with engravings, 2nd ed. part 1, 1817–18; part 2, 1824–25. (English tr., London 1832.)

Rosenmüller, *Handb. der bibl. Alterthumskunde*, 4 vols. in 7 parts, Leipzig 1823–31, unfinished, containing merely the Biblical Geography and Natural History.

Warnekros, *Entwurf der hebr. Alterthümer*, Weimar 1782, 3rd ed., entirely recast and improved by Andr. Gottl. Hoffmann, 1832.

Bauer, *kurzgef. Lehrbuch der hebr. Alterthümer*, Leipzig 1797, 2nd ed. by Rosenmüller, 1835.

Henr. Pareau, *Antiquitates Hebr. brev. descriptæ*, Traj. 1817. [Eng. tr. by Forbes, Clark's Cab. Library.]

De Wette, *Lehrb. der hebräisch-jüdischen Archäologie nebst einem Grundrisse der hebr. jüd. Geschichte*, Leipzig 1814, 3rd remodelled ed., with 2 lithogr. plates, 1842; 4th ed. by Raebiger, 1864.

Aug. Scholz, *Handb. der bibl. Archäologie*, Bonn 1834, 8vo.

Heinr. Ewald, *die Alterth. d. Volks Israel*, Göttingen 1848; 3rd ed. 1866. [Eng. tr., London 1876.]

Saalschütz, *Archäologie der Hebräer*, 2 parts, Konigsberg 1855–6.

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Roskoff, *Die hebräischen Alterthümer in Briefen*, Vienna 1857.
P. Scholz, *Die heil. Alterthümer des V. Israel*, 2 parts, Regensberg 1868.
Haneberg, *Die religiösen Alterthümer der Bibel*, 2nd remodelled ed. of the *Handbuch der bibl. Alterthumskunde*, Münich 1869.
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I.

THE SCENE OF THE BIBLICAL HISTORY

AS THE NATURAL BASIS OF BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

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FIRST CHAPTER.

§ 6. *The Geographical Position of the Holy Land.*[1]

THE land which God promised to the patriarchs as an inheritance, and gave to the Israelites under Moses and Joshua as their hereditary possession, lay between the river of Egypt (the Nile) and the great river Euphrates (Euphrat), Gen. xv. 18, on the boundary lines of Asia, Africa, and Europe, in the centre of the ancient world, and yet surrounded on all sides by firmly-established natural boundaries, and peculiarly isolated from all other countries. Its limits were fixed towards the west by the Mediterranean, on the north by Lebanon and Hermon (Antilibanus), on the east by the Arabian-Syrian desert, and on the south by the Arabian desert. This land, which gradually ascends betwixt Upper Asia and the European Mediterranean Sea, is, in its entire length from north to south, divided into a western and eastern half by the deep depression of the valley of the Ghor. The western and larger half, constituting its choicest portion, and named Canaan[2] after its former inhabitants, extended from the foot of Lebanon as far as the sandy desert of Arabia and Egypt, and from the great western Mediterranean Sea as far as the Jordan, which flows through the Ghor, including the lakes of Huleh, Gennesareth, and the Dead Sea.[3] The smaller eastern half, bounded on the west by the Ghor, the ancient territory of the two kings of the Amorites, Sihon of Heshbon and Og of Bashan, and

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named Gilead and Bashan, or Gilead only[4] in the wider acceptation, extended from the foot of Hermon to the river Arnon (Modjeb), which falls into the Dead Sea from the east, so that the eastern boundary extended from Hermon in an easterly direction, inclining to the south as far as Salcha (Salchad or Sarchad), thence in a south-westerly direction as far as the upper Jabbok (Nahr Ammon), then westwards past Rabbath Ammon to Aroër on the Arnon.[5] The Holy Land accordingly extended from the 31st to beyond the 33rd degree of north latitude, and from the 52nd to the 53¼, and including Gilead to the 54½ degree of longitude. Its extent from north to south amounted to 32 geographical miles, from west to east scarcely 30 miles, whilst the breadth of Canaan proper, from the Mediterranean as far as the Ghor, averages only 15 miles, so that Canaan included from 450–460 square miles, and Gilead about 200–210 square miles in area.

The most ancient name of this land, Canaan, gave place completely, after it was taken possession of by the Israelites, to these names: (*a*) Land of the children of Israel (Josh. xi. 22), or Land of Israel (אֶרֶץ יִשְׂרָאֵל, 1 Sam. xiii. 19; Ezek. xl. 2, xlvii. 18; 1 Chron. xxii. 2; 2 Chron. ii. 16, and elsewhere. אַדְמַת יִשְׂרָאֵל, Ezek. vii. 2; γῆ Ἰσραήλ, Matt. ii. 20 f.),[6] a name which, after the division of the kingdom in the time of Solomon, was frequently employed in a narrower sense of the land of the ten tribes (*e.g.* Ezek. xxvii. 17; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 7; 2 Kings v. 2, 4, vi. 23, and elsewhere); (*b*) Land of Jehovah (אֶרֶץ יי, Hos. ix. 3; אַדְמַת יי, Isa. xiv. 2), as the property of Jehovah, Lev. xxv. 23; Ps. lxxxv. 2; Isa. viii. 8. After the captivity were added the names: (*c*) Land of Judah (אֶרֶץ יְהוּדָה, Neh. v. 14; Hag. i. 14, ii. 2), or Judæa (Judith xiv. 7; Luke i. 5, xxiii. 5; Acts ii. 9, x. 37), because at first it was chiefly only the inhabitants of the former kingdom of Judah who had returned from exile, and had again settled in the land of their "fathers;" hence also used only of the southern portion of Palestine, in distinction from Samaria, the central, and Galilee, the northern part of the land (1 Macc. i. 29, 44, and frequently in the Apocrypha; Matt. ix. 25; Mark iii. 7; Luke ii. 4; Acts i. 8, and elsewhere); (*d*) the Holy Land, אַדְמַת הַקֹּדֶשׁ (Zech. ii. 16); this name was in use in the Christian Church since the time when the Son of God hallowed this land

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by His life, sufferings, and death in it; (*e*) the Promised Land, *γῆ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας* (Heb. xi. 9), *terra repromissionis*, since God had promised it by oath to the patriarchs (Gen. xv. 18 and often); (*f*) Palestine, from פְּלֶשֶׁת, Philistæa, Ex. xv. 14; Gen. x. 14; at first denoting the strip of coast inhabited by the Philistines between Carmel and the Egyptian border, afterwards transferred by the Greeks and Romans to the whole country between the Mediterranean and the Jordan and Lebanon, finally by Reland (in his *Palestine Illustrated*) to the whole kingdom of the twelve tribes of Israel.[7]

[1] The chief works upon the geography of Palestine are the following: Relandi, *Palæstina ex monumentis vet. illustrata*, 2 tomi, Traj. Batav. 1714. Carl Ritter, *die Erdkunde*, 2nd ed. parts xv. 1 and 2, xvi., Berlin 1850–52, in which the extensive literature which had hitherto appeared on the geography of the Bible is enumerated and discussed [Eng. tr. condensed, 4 vols., T. & T. Clark, Edin. 1866]. Guérin's *Description géographique, historique, et archéologique de la Palestine*, Paris 1868–69, 3 vols. (treating of Judea on the basis of his own researches), vols. iv. and v. on Samaria, and vi. and vii. on Galilee, 1874, '75, and '80. A valuable manual is K. von Raumer, *Palæstina*, 4th ed. Leipzig 1860. A condensed synopsis is furnished by Arnold, *Palæstina, s.v.*, in Herzog's *Encyclopedia*, and Mühlau, art. Palæstina in Riehm's *Handwörtb.* The best map of Palestine is that by Van de Velde. [The best map of Western Palestine is that published by the Palestine Exploration Society in 26 sheets, London 1880.] [The following English works may be mentioned: Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine and the adjacent Regions in* 1838 *and* 1852, 3 vols., London 1856. *Sinai and Palestine in connection with their History*, by A. P. Stanley, 1 vol., London, various editions. Tristram, *The Land of Israel*, various editions.]

[2] The usual explanation of the name כְּנַעַן (Gen. ix. 18, etc.) as "lowlands," in contradistinction to אֲרָם, "highlands," *i.e.* Syria, as the mountainous country of the Lebanon (Rosenmüller, Gesenius, Ritter, Ewald, and others), is untenable. As Aram is originally not the name of a country, but "a designation of a true nationality, not connected with geographical or political limits" (Nöldeke in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*, xxv. p. 113), so Canaan is also originally and properly the name of the people descended from Canaan the son of Ham; not merely of "the people in the lowlands," *i.e.* of the Canaanites, who in the time of Moses dwelt on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea (Num. xiii. 29, xiv. 25), a name which was transferred

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at a later time to all the tribes of the land (Dillmann in Schenkel's *Bibellexicon*, iii. 514), but the collective name of the Canaanites, who, according to Herodotus, i. 1, vii. 89, had emigrated from the Red Sea, *i.e.* the Persian Gulf, to the coast of the Mediterranean, and who were branched out into the various tribes enumerated in Gen. x. 15–18.

[3] This boundary of Canaan is mentioned in Gen. x. 19, and more closely defined as the land promised to the people of Israel in Num. xxxiv. 1–12, Josh. xiii. 2–6, compared with xv. 2–5. The southern and northern boundaries cannot be certainly determined, because several places named in defining the boundaries have not yet been discovered. Cf. in reference to the southern boundary my Bible commentary on Josh. xv. 2–4 [Eng. tr., T. & T. Clark], and the explanation of Consul Wetstein regarding the Kadesch and Palestine's southern boundaries, in the 3rd Excursus to Delitzsch, *Comm. über die Genesis*, 4th ed. p. 574 ff. In reference to the north and north-east boundaries (still very incorrectly traced by Knobel), cf. my commentary on Num. xxxiv. 7–12 [Eng. tr.].

[4] For the appellation "Gilead and Bashan," cf. Deut. iii. 10, 13, Josh. xii. 5, etc., 2 Kings x. 33, with Num. xxxii. 26, Deut. iii. 12, 16, according to which Gilead included the tribe districts of Reuben and Gad. Gilead stands for the whole territory to the east of the Jordan in Deut. xxxiv. 1; cf. Josh. xxii. 9, 13; Judg. xx. 1; 2 Kings x. 33, and even after the exile Γαλαάδ, 1 Macc. v. 9, etc. Cf. Winer, *Real-Wörterb. s.v.*

[5] The boundaries are enumerated in Num. xxxii. 33–42 and in Josh. xii. 2–5. See Keil's *Biblical Commentary* on these passages. [Eng. tr., T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh 1865.]

[6] Analogous to this is the name "Land of the Hebrews" (אֶרֶץ הָעִבְרִים) in Gen. xl. 15, but which does not again occur in the Bible; on the other hand, χώρα τῶν Ἑβραίων is frequently employed by Josephus (*Antiq.* vii. 9. 6, xiv. 2) and by Pausanias (vi. 24, x. 12).

[7] Jerome on Isa. xiv. 29: Philistæos Palæstinos significat. Similarly Wilhelm Tyr. p. 749: Palæstina quasi Philistina a Philistiim dicitur. This name is used by the Greeks (Herod. vii. 89) and by the Romans (Cicero, Tibullus), by Philo and Josephus, and also by the Arabians. Comp. Rosenmüller, *bibl. Alterthumskunde*, ii. 1, p. 74 ff.

§ 7. *The Political Position of Israel in Palestine.*

As far back as the time of the patriarchs the land of Canaan was inhabited by various tribes,[1] but so sparsely that

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the Canaanite population placed no obstacles in the way of the nomadic journeys of the patriarchs with their numerous herds and flocks; and it was only in the territory of the Philistines that disputes arose between the herdsmen of Abraham and Isaac and the Philistines regarding wells (Gen. xxi. 21, xxv. 14, etc.). During the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, however, the Canaanites had greatly increased,[2] and at the same time filled up the measure of their iniquities (Gen. xv. 16), so that they had become ripe for the judgment of extermination, and Israel might root them out and take possession of their land. Under Moses and Joshua the Israelites now subjugated the land, but not the *whole* of it: they exterminated, indeed, the greater part of the Canaanites, but not all, so that even after the division of the land amongst the twelve tribes there yet remained many districts to be conquered, and many Canaanites to be rooted out.[3] In addition to these enemies who remained in the land, and who took advantage of every internal weakness amongst the Israelites to rise in rebellion and assail them, there were also the surrounding nationalities: in the east the Ammonites and Moabites, towards the south the Edomites and Amalekites, in the south-west the Philistines,[4] in the north and north-east the Syrians, all of whom—and especially the first three, who were of the same race as the Israelites—were animated with feelings of hostility towards Israel, and seized every opportunity of making war against them and bringing them into subjection. Although these adversaries in their midst and on their neighbouring frontiers might and actually often did become a snare to Israel by their idolatrous worship (Ex. xviii. 33; Deut. vii. 16) and by their enmity, thorns and pricks in their sides (Num. xxxiii. 55; Josh. xxiii. 13; Judg. ii. 3), yet these surrounding nations and the remnants of Canaanite tribes were still not strong enough to overpower the people of God so long as Israel only remained faithful to Him, and united and undivided amongst themselves.

Israel, moreover, by means of the firmly-established natural boundaries which surrounded Palestine, was secured against the danger of being drawn into the stream of the general worldly national life, so that it could develop itself in an independent manner, and tranquilly apply itself to the fulfil-

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ment of the life-vocation assigned to it by God. At the same time, Palestine was not quite isolated from the rest of the world, but, as a part of the great Syrian terrace-land, it was the natural connecting link between the chief countries of the Old World, the passage from Central Asia by the Mediterranean to Europe, and by the isthmus which divided the Mediterranean and Red Seas to Africa. Two caravan routes passed through Palestine from the Euphrates by Damascus to Arabia and Egypt,[5] by means of which its inhabitants could be supplied with the costly products of Central Asia as well as with those of the fertile district of the Nile; whilst the neighbouring Phœnicians traded with them for corn, oil, and wine, in exchange for the treasures and products of the far-distant west and north. But this central position of Palestine in the heart of the Old World could not but make this land a coveted possession for the more powerful kingdoms of the world. It also brought with it the following results. As the Assyrian power from the eighth century B.C. began its career of conquest, extending itself towards the west, and an almost uninterrupted struggle for supremacy broke out amongst the chief powers of the world, Palestine, on account of its situation, was almost unavoidably drawn into the strife;[6] and Israel thus could not avoid losing its independent position in the world, all the sooner that the one nation, connected by ties of brotherhood and covenant, had already been weakened by being split into two mutually hostile kingdoms, but still more by its increasing apostasy from Almighty God, the impregnable rock and fortress of its strength.

[1] On the tribes of Canaan, cf. Bochart, *Phaleg.* iv. c. 34 ff.; Ritter, *Erdkunde* (Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 115 ff.); and most recently of all, Dillmann in Schenkel's *Bibellex.* iii. p. 516 ff. [Also Riehm's *Wörterbuch, s.v.* "Canaaniter."]

[2] "The earlier conditions," says Ritter, *loc. cit.*, "were quite different from those of Mosaic times five centuries later. Little of the land was cultivated, and it was thinly peopled: herds with their families of shepherds wandered through it *unhindered* from one place to another; for Abraham, when he set up his tent on the mountain near Bethel, said to his brother Lot when they separated, 'Is not the whole land before thee?'; in the south end of the land in Pharan he digs his wells at Beersheba;

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and Jacob journeys with just as little hindrance along the east side of the Jordan to Gilead, crossing the Jabbok at its ford, and setting up his huts or booths in Succoth (Gen. xxxi. 47, xxxii. 22, xxxiii. 17)." "At the time of Abraham there existed but very few of those cities with which Canaan was covered at the time of Moses; and those which were standing received their names from persons then living, such as Schechem, from the chief of the Hivites (Gen. xxxiv. 2); Mamre, from the brother of Eshcol and Aner the Amorite (Gen. xiv. 13, 24); Hebron alone seems to go back to the remotest antiquity. . . . It was built seven years before Zoan (San, *i.e.* Tanis in Egypt), Num. xiii. 23. . . . There is not a trace to be found in the old patriarchal records of those warlike cities, and those bold, well-armed, and defiant tribes whom Joshua encountered five hundred years later." Cf. only the list in Josh. xii. of the thirty-one kings of Canaan conquered by Joshua.

[3] The districts not conquered are mentioned in Josh. xiii. 1–6 and in Judg. i. and iii. 1–5.

[4] On the Ammonites, Moabites, Edomites, cf. Ritter [Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 148 ff.], and Raumer, *Palæstina*, p. 267 ff. On the Amalekites, Nöldeke, *Ueb. die Amalekiter u. einige andere Nachbarvölker der Israeliten*, Gött. 1864; Bertheau in Schenkel's *Bibellex.* i. p. 111 ff.; and Blau, *Journal of German Oriental Society*, xxv. p. 583 ff. On the Philistines and their descent, cf. Stark, *Gaza u. die philist. Küste*, Jena 1852, p. 31 ff.; and Hitzig, *Urgeschichte u. Mythologie der Philistäer*, Leipzig 1845. Hitzig takes the Philistines to be Pelasgians, in which view he is followed only by Kneucker in Schenkel's *Bibellex.* iv. p. 541 ff.

[5] The one route leads from the Euphrates by Aleppo, Damascus, Nowa, and Feik, on the east side of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, down to Medina and Mecca (cf. Ritter, vol. ii. p. 384, etc.); the other, the so-called Kaneiter road, from Damascus over Jacob's bridge by the Upper Jordan to Megiddo (Ledschun) into the plain of Esdraelon, and onward by Lydda and Ramleh into the low country of the Philistines towards Gaza, and thence to Egypt (cf. Ritter, ii. 12).

[6] In a country so predominantly mountainous as Palestine, it was especially in the broad plain of Jezreel or Esdraelon that war was waged in ancient and modern times for the possession of this land. Here Barak discomfited the host of Sisera with his nine hundred chariots of iron (Judg. iv.), Gideon, the Midianites (Judg. vii.); here, at the foot of Gilboa, Saul and Jonathan fell in the unfortunate battle against the Philistines (1 Sam. xxxi.); and not far from Aphek, Ahab gained a victory over Benhadad, king of Syria (1 Kings xx. 26). "Here Josiah,

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king of Judah, was wounded and slain by Necho, the king of Egypt, near Megiddo (2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 22). On this plain the host of Nebuchadnezzar encamped under Holofernes (Judith vii. 3). At the foot of Tabor (according to Josephus) the armies of Vespasian fought against the Jews. In this same plain of Jezreel (in the year 1799) 25,000 Turks were vanquished by 3000 French troops under Buonaparte and Kleber." "Jews, Heathen, Saracens, Christians, Crusaders, and antichristian Frenchmen, Egyptians, Persians, Druses, Turks, and Arabs, warriors from all nations under heaven, have pitched their tents on the plain of Esdraelon, and seen their banners wet with the dew of Tabor and Hermon" (Clarke, 502). Cf. Raumer, *Palæstina*, p. 41.

§ 8. *The Appropriateness of the Holy Land for the Destiny of Israel.*

Israel was separated from the nations of the earth as the bearer of the divine revelation of salvation and guardian of the kingdom of God in its preparatory form for the redemption of mankind. To this aim of its divine calling corresponded the land, in which the covenant people were to bring to maturity its divinely-appointed life's task, and the fruits of its intellectual development. For the unfolding of a nation's intellectual gifts and powers is essentially conditioned and determined by the situation and condition of the land which forms the scene of the development of its national life.[1] The destiny of Israel required isolation and separation from the other nations quite as much as a position in the world in the centre of the cultured peoples of antiquity. Palestine united both conditions in itself in a greater degree than other lands in the ancient world. Towards the north it was fenced round by the mountain chain of Lebanon, which presents only a few passes, and these difficult of access, and which extends from the wilderness down to the sea; towards the east and south by the great pathless and trackless Syrian-Arabian desert, and on the west by the great sea. If, now, this land of Israel was sufficiently protected by means of this strong enclosing fence from the overwhelming invasion of the heathenism which had, especially in Babylon and Egypt, risen to its greatest development, so that the seed of the knowledge of the true God, which had been sown in

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Israel, could not be stifled and crushed by the pagan spirit of the world; still the covenant people were not withdrawn from *all* the heathen influences, but engaged in a struggle with the lesser pagan nations dwelling within and on its borders, whereby its intellectual and religious life was preserved from torpor and forced into independent, vigorous cultivation. Not less adapted does Palestine appear for the attainment of the end of its divine calling, proposed to Israel by its central position in the heart of the ancient world, presenting, as it were, a bridge for connecting the three quarters of the globe. If as a consequence of this, on the one hand, a union with the most powerful cultured nations of antiquity was made possible to the covenant people, and thereby the material riches of the kingdoms of the earth rendered accessible to them; so also, on the other side, was an entrance opened up for the powers of the world into the kingdom of God, not that they might crush under foot the sanctuary desecrated by the iniquities of its citizens, but also that in the struggle with the people of God they might recognise and experience the omnipotence of the Lord of Sabaoth. In this manner, from the geographical position of Palestine, not less than from the course taken by the historical development of the ancient covenant people, the way was prepared for the times of fulfilment when the gospel was to be disseminated amongst all nations.[2]

[1] "Who can deny that there are *individual features* in the physical character of a country which are not to be merely grouped as inarticulate and dead appendages to the soil, but are to be studied in their strong reflex action on the life of the people, affecting local traditions, affecting the history and the life of nations and States, affecting religion and all thought? And if our earth does not swing around its sun, a mere dead, inorganic planet, but an organism, a living work from the hand of a living God, there must be a similar close and vital connection like that between body and soul, between nature and history, between a land and its people, between physics and ethics, if I may so speak. It would certainly be impossible to conceive of the development of such a history as that of Israel taking place anywhere else than in Palestine. Nowhere else on the earth could that series of events, and that peculiar training which the people of God had to pass through, have found a

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theatre so conspicuous to the eyes of all the world as that narrow land of Palestine." Ritter, Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 4 f.

[2] The importance of the central world-position of Israel with Jerusalem "in the midst of the nations and countries round about her" as the nation that "dwells upon the navel of the earth," is already prominently brought forward by Ezek. v. 5, xxxviii. 12, and also approved of by the expositors, only that the Rabbins would understand this just as one-sidedly of the geographical centre, as Calvin, Hävernick, and others do only of the spiritual and moral centre. Ritter, however, is the first who has developed this meaning on all sides; we extract only two passages from his work :—"No other country of the ancient world was situated as Palestine was in this respect like the southern half of Syria; the northern portion, Soristan, was far less advantageously situated. Lying on the great highway from Babylon and the Euphrates, it was early made a prey to the mighty armies of the East. Palestine lay in the same pathway, and yet she was spared, and for centuries no enemy came near her. Surrounded by the six great nations of antiquity, the splendour of whose culture is yet a marvel to the world, the Babylonians, the Assyrians, the Medes, the Persians, the Phœnicians, and the Egyptians, and kept apart from them all, it was able to develop its monotheistic religion, to establish its own special polity, to create an entirely antagonistic system of national economy, and to arrive at perfect independence. There was no country so situated in relation to the three great continents and five great bays of the sea; so that when the fulness of time had come, there was no delay in sending the gospel to the very ends of the earth." . . . "This union of *amazing contrasts*, perfect isolation and independence, with the ability to go out from this isolation and establish commercial relations with the greatest nations of antiquity, the Arabians, Indians, and Egyptians, as well as with Syrians, Armenians, Greeks, and Romans, is *the most striking feature in the country destined to be the scene of the history of the chosen people.*" Comp. with this the remarks of Lange, *Life of Christ*, Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 318 ff., and Kurtz, *History of the Old Covenant*, Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 147 ff.

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SECOND CHAPTER.

THE NATURAL CONDITION OF THE HOLY LAND.

§ 9. *The Configuration and Nature of the Soil of Palestine.*

As the southern branch of the Syrian terrace-land between Upper Asia and the Mediterranean Sea of Europe, Palestine presents the greatest contrasts in the formation of its soil. These are prominently displayed to view, on the one side, in the vast mountainous district of Lebanon in the north; on the other, in the deep valley of the Jordan, which divides the land throughout its whole length from north to south.[1] By the Lebanon range the heart of the country is elevated into a mountainous district; and this by the Jordan valley is divided into two halves, essentially distinct from each other as regards their plastic configuration and capacity for culture, the outer limits of which towards the west and north-east respectively are formed by the Mediterranean and the sandy deserts of Arabia.

Of the two high Alpine mountain chains which intersect middle Syria in the direction from north-east to south-west, the Western, the proper Lebanon with its world-renowned cedars, descends above Tyre towards the sea, without coming as far as the land taken possession of by the Israelites (comp. Judg. i. 31 with Josh. xiii. 4, 5). On the other side the Eastern or Anti-Lebanon range, after it has above Baalgad (Hasbeia) attained its highest eminence of 9500 feet in the eternally snow-clad, double-peaked Hermon (Dschebel es-Scheik), divides itself into two fork-shaped mountain ridges running out of each other, the western of which, the Dschebel Szafed, is the basis of the high land of the Western Jordan; the eastern, the Dschebel Heisch, extends towards Bashan, and loses itself in Northern Peræa.

[1] Cf. Robinson, *Physical Geography of the Holy Land*, and Fraas, *Aus dem Orient. Geologische Beobachtungen am Nil, auf der Sinai-Halbinsel u. in Syrien*, Stuttgart 1867.

I. The country of the Western Jordan extends as far as the narrow, flat strip of coast, which becomes broader towards the

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south; whilst the northern or Galilean highland is united by a mountain chain stretching down to the eastern border of the plain of Jezreel, with the southern ridge separated by no natural boundary from the mountain ranges of Ephraim and Judah. Its northern portion, the district of Galilee, displays a very rich variety in the qualities of its soil. In the east rise the mountains bounding the basin of the Lake of Huleh towards the west, frequently rising to table-lands with the most savage cliffs as much as 3000 feet in height, such as Dschebel Szafed (mountains of Naphtali, Josh. xx. 7), and descending precipitously down in similar width at the southern end of the Sea of Galilee into the mountains of Nazareth as the northern wall of the plain of Esdraelon. Northern or Upper Galilee has its watershed in the savage Dschebel Dschermak, which rises abruptly almost in the very centre of the whole district, from which there stretch out single mountain branches west and north-west as far as the sea, and forming the precipitous spurs of Ras en Nakûra (scala Tyriorum) and Ras el Abyad (promontorium album). This district is a lofty, wide, undulating mountainous country, with a fruitful and even still much-cultivated soil, with rich alternations of hill and dale, with less or more thickly-wooded heights and solitary mountain peaks, which towards the north is bounded by the rapid river Litany or Kasimieh, which breaks through the high mountain range. This river towards the west, by a long, abrupt descent 1200 to 1500 feet in height, which terminates in a hilly plain extremely well cultivated, full of arable fields, wooded heights, and villages, finally runs into the level coast-plain of Tyre. The Southern or Under or Lower Galilee, between the Lake of Gennesareth and the Bay of Acre, is an extensive level plateau, gradually subsiding towards the Sea of Tiberias into wider flats and less precipitous terrace-land, a very fertile, exceedingly well-cultivated and thickly-populated country, with the conical hill of Tabor to which also belongs[2] the somewhat lower-lying plain of Zebulon (el Bettauf), which forms the transition to the deep depression of the plain of Jezreel in the south-west.

Towards the south Galilee is separated from Samaria by the largest and most highly-favoured plain in Palestine, the

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well-watered and fertile plain of Jezreel or Esdraelon, traversed by the stream of the Kishon (now Merdsch Ibn Amir), which runs from the mountains of Gilboa in the east in a stream of considerable breadth from the south-east towards the north-west as far as the sea, and discharges itself into the Bay of Acco (Ptolemais, Acre). Towards the south, however, it is bounded by a mountain chain which projects in a north-westerly direction towards the sea into the promontory of Carmel, abounding in caves, clothed with magnificent forests, flowery meadows, corn-fields, olive-gardens, and vineyards.

The southern portion of the land to the west of the Jordan, embracing the districts of Samaria and Judea, consists for the most part of a broad mountain ridge of unequal table-land of medium height, which is intersected by numerous deep and rugged valleys, becoming steeper and wilder on the east towards the Jordan, in the west gradually sinking down in terraces to the level of the Mediterranean plain, and rising to a greater height only in the mountains surrounding Sichem, Jerusalem, and Hebron.[8] Although pierced by no deeper transverse valley, the northern part, "Mount Ephraim," is distinct from the southern, the mountains of Judah. In the former the hills are covered to their summits, as well as on their sides, with beautiful forests, the valleys almost all abundantly watered, owing to which the entire high level, with its elevations and depressions, presents a fertile soil for agriculture and floriculture. The mountain district of Judah, on the contrary, with its wide and bare hills, only intersected by a few narrower or wider depressions, has a more savage, rocky, sterile aspect, and contains several large steppes fitted only for the rearing of cattle. The wilderness of Judah, with the deserts of Tekoa, Engedi, Maon, and Siph, yet produce in the valleys an abundant supply of excellent fruits and delicate clusters of grapes. The line of the watershed of all this table-land, and along which, at the same time, the main road extends, winds chiefly over the highest part from north to south, from Tabor through Samaria, past Jerusalem to Hebron, and gives the mountain range the appearance of an undulating line of rocks, which is only overtopped to the extent of some hundred feet by a few hill summits, like Gerizim and the Mount of Olives. South from Hebron, where it attains its

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greatest elevation, this mountain ridge with its wild mountain passes, so difficult of access, descends in very steep declivities of 1500 feet high into the Arabian desert.[4]

The smaller, western, third portion of Samaria and Judea consists of the flat *strip of coast* on the Mediterranean Sea, which stretches down from the southern wall of Carmel, as far as the southern limit of Palestine behind Gaza, and in which is included the narrow far-famed flowery plain of Sharon, and the broader and also very fruitful Philistian lowland (הַשְּׁפֵלָה).[5] On account of the inconsiderable breadth of the whole land, only small streams, short in their course, and which are generally dried up in summer, can flow into the Mediterranean on the west and the Jordan on the east, from the watershed lying nearer to the Jordan valley than to the border of the western sea; and the sea-coast itself possesses only unimportant harbours at Cæsarea (Kaisariyeh) and Joppa (Japho, Jafa).[6]

[2] The land of Galilee, which received its name from a small district on the mountains of Naphtali, Galil (גָּלִיל), and, because it continued for the most part to be inhabited by heathen, called גְּלִיל הַגּוֹיִם, Isa. ix. 1, had become, with the exception of the district on the Lake of Tiberias and some other places frequently mentioned in the gospel history, a *terra incognita* down to most recent times, when it has been traversed by Schultz, Robinson (comp. especially his *Recent Researches in Palestine*), and other learned travellers, in various directions, both in its interior and upper parts. Ritter was the first who attempted to sketch a distincter picture of the whole land in his work, Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 235 ff.

[3] Gerizim, in the neighbourhood of Nablus, is 2398 feet, the Mount of Olives 2509, the mountains on which Jerusalem (2349) and Hebron stand are 2446 Parisian feet above the level of the sea.

[4] Comp. Robinson and Ritter.

[5] Comp. Ritter (Eng. tr. vol. iv. p. 265), where it is observed "that the northern portion alone of the plain of Sharon (between Joppa and Carmel) would, on account of the almost unexampled fertility of the soil, be certainly rich enough to supply all Palestine with food were it tilled by manual labour."

[6] The whole coast of the southern border of Palestine, as far as Carmel, is without shelter against the violence of the storms

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from the south-west, and, moreover, cannot be navigated without danger on account of the rapid current from the shore. On the other hand, the commercial cities of the ancient Phœnicians were situated behind protecting promontories, with good anchorage ground and commodious bays. Nevertheless the Phœnicians utilised Gaza (strictly Majumas), Askelon, Ashdod, and Jabne (Jamnia) as seaports, and above all, Dor, not far from Carmel, out of which Manasseh could not drive the Canaanites (Josh. xvii. 11 f.; Judg. i. 27 f.). This was made into a small secure harbour by blasting the rocks and erecting walls from the stones thus obtained. Comp. Ritter, Eng. tr. vol. iii. p. 212. The Israelites consequently had only Jaffo or Joppa, where they traded with the Phœnicians (2 Chron. ii. 16; Jonah i. 3; Ezra iii. 7; 1 Macc. xiv. 5, etc.); but its harbour was very small and dangerous, and, at a later period, probably became so unsafe from being silted up with sand, that vessels were forced to anchor in the open roads (Ritter, vol. iv. p. 243 ff.). Therefore Herod undertook to erect Strato's Tower, a place situated between Dor and Jaffo, into a city of considerable splendour, with expensive buildings, which occupied twelve years in their erection, with two large harbours, which he formed by carrying out into the sea a mole or protecting sea-dam, 200 feet broad, composed of immense stones, so that from the time of the apostles onwards it was through this city, named Cæsarea in honour of Augustus Cæsar, that all communication by sea between Palestine and Asia Minor, Greece, and the whole Western world was carried on (comp. Acts ix. 30, xviii. 22, xxi. 8, etc.). It remained the most important maritime city in Palestine till its total destruction in the year 1265 (comp. Ritter, Eng. tr. vol. iv. p. 243). Since the Middle Ages its place has been taken by Haifa (Khaifa or Hepha), at the mouth of the Kishon and Acco (Judg. i. 31), or Ptolemais (1 Macc. x. 56 f., xi. 22, etc.), or St. Jean d'Acre, at the mouth of the little Belus, in the bay of the same name. Comp. Ritter, Eng. tr. vol. iv. pp. 361–368.

II. The Jordan valley (el Ghôr)[7] begins at the foot of Hermon, whence spring the sources of the Jordan, which accumulate in the deep basin of the lake el Huleh,[8] and after their junction form the Jordan. This valley, which towards the south always descends deeper below the level of the Mediterranean,[9] with precipitous mountain rocks on each side, extends almost in a straight line from north to south, with a breadth of from two to four leagues, as far as the southern end of the Dead Sea, and still farther, only at

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a lesser depth, down to the Elanitic Gulf, and presents the most striking natural contrasts. Southwards from el Huleh,[10] which resembles a marsh rather than a lake, there follows, after a three hours' journey, the fresh-water lakes of Gennesaret or Tiberias[11] (abounding in fish), 3 miles long and about $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 miles broad, with attractive environs, and surrounded by beautiful lofty limestone and basaltic rocks; and 13 miles farther to the south, encompassed by bare, high, and steep limestone rocks, intersected only here and there by wadys and deep ravines, the Salt Sea, 10 miles long and $2\frac{1}{2}$ broad, called the Dead Sea, because no green plant grows on its shores, no water-fowl swims on its surface, and on its waters no fish or aquatic animal can live.[12] This valley district has a tropical climate, as the mountains beleaguering it on both sides concentrate the heat, and prevent the air being cooled by the west wind; consequently in it all fruits are ripe a month earlier than in other parts of the land, and even palms thrive, especially in the fields of Jericho, the future city of palm trees (Deut. xxxiv. 3), where the plain on the west of the river widens out into a breadth of 3 leagues. In this plain flows the Jordan, over which, between Huleh and the Lake of Tiberias, is built a bridge of basalt, the so-called "Jacob's Bridge;" after its exit from the Sea of Galilee at Bethshan, it turns more towards the eastern side of the valley, and pursues its course[13] in a channel of the valley, lying about 40 feet deeper, overgrown with tamarisks, willows, oleanders, and tall rushes, hastening by innumerable windings and with twenty-seven larger and still many more smaller waterfalls and currents, with rapid velocity to the Dead Sea, in which its waters are lost. Its breadth and depth vary much at different places and at different seasons of the year. In summer, when the water is less, it can be forded at several points.[14]

[7] In the Old Testament the valley is called הָעֲרָבָה (the Araba), Deut. i. 1, ii. 8, Josh. xii. 1, 3, 2 Sam. iv. 7, etc., and runs upwards as far as the Sea of Tiberias, and down to the Elanitic Gulf, and between the Galilean and Dead Seas כִּכַּר הַיַּרְדֵּן, Gen. xiii. 10, 1 Kings vii. 46, or merely הַכִּכָּר, Gen. xiii. 12, xix. 17; in the LXX. and in Matt. iii. 5: ἡ περίχωρος τοῦ Ἰορδάνου; by Abulfeda, by Ibn Haukal, el Ghôr, while Edrisi and the modern Arabians use this name only for the tract from the Sea of Galilee

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to the Dead Sea, and call the southern part el Arabah. Cf. Robinson, vol. iii. p. 333 ff.

[8] In regard to the sources of the Jordan, the most accurate investigations in that district in the most recent times have shown, that to the two original springs named by Josephus, Banias (Paneas) and the Leddân, rising in Tell el Kady, must be added also the Nahr Hasbâny, flowing from Hasbeia, as the most distant but least copious source. These unite in the valley of Huleh above the lake and form the Jordan. Comp. Ritter [Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 161 ff.] and Robinson. The Jordan, הַיַּרְדֵּן, that is, the descending, flowing river, is called by the Arabs Sheria or Sheriat el Kebir, that is, the great watering-place.

[9] According to de Bertou's certainly not very reliable survey, the level of el Huleh lies 18½ Paris feet below that of the Mediterranean (Ritter, *l.c.*). It is more certain that, according to Captain Lynch's measurement, the surface of the Sea of Tiberias is 612 Paris feet, and the surface of the Dead Sea 1236 Paris feet, below the Mediterranean, consequently the fall of the Jordan between the two seas amounts to 623 feet.

[10] The usual name of this sea in the geography of Palestine—the lake of Merom—arises from a geographically and grammatically incorrect interpretation of the מֵי מְרוֹם, waters of Merom, Josh. xi. 5, 7, in Reland's *Palæst. ill.* p. 262; see my *Biblical Commentary on Josh.*, Eng. tr. This lake is not mentioned in the Old and New Testaments. Josephus (*Ant.* v. 5. 1) calls it λίμνη Σαμοχωνῖτις or Σεμοχωνῖτις, the Arabs call it Bahr el Huleh, which name appears to have existed even in the time of Josephus; comp. Tuch in *Journal of German Oriental Society*, ii. p. 428. This lake, which contracts very much during the summer, lies in a marshy district, which, together with the lake, is equal in extent to the Sea of Tiberias, and in its whole formation presents no uncertain traces that "at a former period the entire basin was similarly covered with water, and only by degrees, by the rushing through of the numerous mountain streams rushing down from its north and west sides, were they filled up so far into marshes which are even at the present day frequently converted by the spring floods and rains into great connected sheets of water" (Eng. tr. *l.c.*).

[11] Called in the Old Testament יָם כִּנֶּרֶת, Num. xxxiv. 11, Josh. xiii. 27, or יָם כִּנֶּרוֹת, Josh. xii. 3; in 1 Macc. xi. 67, λίμνη Γενησάρ (also in Josephus), or λίμνη Γεννησαρέτ, Luke v. 1; according to the Targum, גִּינֵסַר or גִּינֵסַר; in Matt. iv. 18, ἡ θάλασσα

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τῆς Γαλιλαίας; in John xxi. 1, ἡ θ. τῆς Τιβεριάδος. Desolate as the surroundings of this sea may be at the present period, it still presents much that is attractive, and testifies to the beauty and fertility of which Josephus bears witness. "The wide sheltering mountain basin, with its rising terraces, is favourable to tropical growth; even at the present day, date palms, citron and orange trees, indigo plantations, rice fields, plantations of sugar-cane, are here indigenous, although almost uncared for, whilst the heights are encircled by cool breezes" (Ritter, *l.c.*).

[12] The Dead Sea, θάλασσα νεκρά, Pausan. v. 7. 3, *mare mortuum*, Justin. xxxvi. 3, 6, is called in the Old Testament יָם הַמֶּלַח, Salt Sea, Gen. xiv. 2, etc., or יָם הָעֲרָבָה, Deut. iii. 7, iv. 39; also the anterior or eastern sea, Joel ii. 20, in opposition to the western or Mediterranean Sea. In Josephus and the classical writers usually called λίμνη Ἀσφαλτῖτις, by the Arabs Bahr Lut (Lot's Sea). It derives the name of Salt Sea from its waters containing salt to the amount of 25 per cent. (Robinson, *Palestine*), and probably also from the extensive bed of rock salt on its southern shore; and Sea of Asphalt, from the numerous pieces of asphalt which float from time to time upon it and are cast ashore. Its situation, nature, and properties have only in recent times been more accurately ascertained by Robinson, and still more by the navigation of it carried out by Captain Lynch, from which the remarkable result appeared that the bottom of this sea consists of two different portions, the limits of which are marked off from each other by a peninsula stretching from the eastern shore far into the sea. The basin lying on the north of this peninsula has an average depth of from 1000 to 1200 feet, while that on the south, on the contrary, covering only a fourth of the whole length, is at most only 16 feet deep, generally much less, the bottom of which is covered with a salt sediment which is heated by means of the hot springs underneath. Comp. Lynch's *Account of the United States Expedition to the Jordan and the Dead Sea.* This complete dissimilarity of the ground renders very probable the opinion already expressed by Robinson, that the southern basin first originated from the catastrophe in the vale of Sodom, described in Gen. xix., and that the northern portion certainly was already in existence prior to that catastrophe. The older opinion, that before the origination of the Dead Sea, related in Gen. xix., the Jordan flowed downwards into the Elanitic Gulf, is opposed to the result of the more recent investigations, viz. that the Araba to the south of the Dead Sea rises considerably above the level of this sea, and at a distance of some miles from the northern point of the

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Elanitic Gulf forms a watershed from which the northern wadys flow downwards to the Dead Sea. This view is also completely refuted by Fraas, *Aus d. Orient*, who shows that betwixt Ras el Feskah and Ras Ghuweir, and opposite to the precipitous wall of the mountains of Moab, not a trace even is visible either of volcanic rocks or of volcanic action in the widest sense (disturbance of strata, flaws, fractures, upheavals or depressions), p. 66, and that the strata which are to be seen amid all the vast differences of level (from the Mediterranean as far as the Dead Sea) are almost horizontal (p. 72). From this he draws, p. 73 ff., the following conclusion: "The Jordan chasm, with its greatest depression in the middle of the Dead Sea, is so closely connected with the formation of the whole land, that no one can any longer imagine that the Dead Sea was the result of a more recent volcanic phenomenon." It was at all times and from the very beginning a store-basin reservoir for the rain water of the entire district. But the Jordan chasm and the Dead Sea had in prehistoric times a much higher level, which as the climate changed in Europe and Northern Africa, as well as over the whole Arctic hemisphere, gradually sank to the present level, in consequence of which the sea, on account of the increased evaporation, received the large amount of salt peculiar to it. Only the southern part of the Dead Sea originated from the catastrophe of the vale of Sodom, recorded in Gen. xix., by means of a volcanic phenomenon in the wider sense of the word, as these occur in the neighbourhood of such chasms, and must be connected with the fluctuations of level, and manifest themselves in those frightful earthquakes by which the district of the Jordan has been devastated in ancient and modern times (p. 78). [Tristram, *Land of Israel*, 4th ed. p. 291 ff.]

[13] This deeper watercourse is probably to be understood by גְּאוֹן הַיַּרְדֵּן, Jer. xii. 5, xlx. 19, l. 44; Zech. xi. 3.

[14] Comp. Lynch's narrative with the subjoined map of the River Jordan. Regarding the breadth and depth of the Jordan and the properties of its waters, comp. the collection of the various researches by Tobler, *Zwei Bücher Topographie von Jerusalem*, ii. p. 669 ff.

III. The land east of the Jordan [15] is a level plateau, which extends in the north far towards the east, but becomes narrower in the south, its average height above the level of the sea being from 1200 to 2000 feet. Towards the east it loses itself in the desert of the Euphrates' steppes, and westwards slopes into the Jordan valley in a steep rocky wall

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from 2000 to 3000 feet in height, and is furrowed by the larger rivers Hieromax (Yarmuk or el Mandhur), Jabbok (Zerka), and Arnon (Modscheb), which rush into the deep valleys or ravines, hemmed in on both sides by high rocky walls, and by many other lesser wadys, which carry their waters from the east to the Jordan and Dead Sea. The northern portion of this district, in which is situated the eastern branch of the Hermon, which extends from the ridge of Dschebel Heisch, 3000 feet in height, downwards to the northern end of the Sea of Galilee, and in which the ancient kingdom of Bashan was situated, includes not only the extensive and very fruitful plain of Hauran, rich in grain, and partially covered with the most luxuriant pasturage but entirely destitute of trees, which is bounded towards the south by the mountain range of Hauran, a more elevated terrace plateau, full of plains, elevations, and cliffs, with corn fields and thick woods, but also the gloomy basaltic district el Ledscha, a labyrinth of low rocks here and there studded with oaks, and covered with numerous ruins of deserted ancient cities. The southern part of Peræa, the land between the Hieromax and the Arnon, the ancient Gilead, is divided by the Jabbok into a northern and southern half, and is a land of caves of the chalk and lime formations, abounding not only in mountains, wooded with fine oaks, pines, and other kinds of trees, but also in extensive flats and plains, with splendid pasture grounds for cattle, while the valleys are covered with corn fields and fruit trees; once a well-cultivated and thickly-peopled district, but now quite deserted, and still a country which has been little examined.[16]

[15] The biblical designation of this territory, עֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן, Gen. l. 10 ff.; Deut. i. 5, etc.; τὸ πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, Matt. iv. 25; Mark iii. 8, and also simply τὸ πέραν, Matt. viii. 18, 28, etc., became a standing geographical term amongst the Israelites only after their settlement in Palestine, although it was certainly in use at an earlier period, from the point of view that the country west of the Jordan formed the true kernel of the promised land; but then also, mostly with more precise designations, as מִזְרָחָה, Num. xxxii. 19, or מִזְרַח שֶׁמֶשׁ, Deut. iv. 41, 47, 49; Josh. i. 15.—Josephus uses the form Περαία, *i.e.* χώρα or γῆ, and in a wider sense only of Gilead. Comp. Raumer, *Palestina*, p. 225.

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[16] The most minute description of the whole of Peræa is given by Ritter [Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 199 ff.], and of the volcanic region of the Hauran by Consul Wetstein, *Reisebericht über Hauran u. die Trachonen*, with map. Berlin 1860.

§ 10. *Climate and Temperature of Palestine.*

From its position on the 32nd degree of latitude, Palestine enjoys in general a moderately warm climate, without much change in the length of the day during the whole year.[1] The heat, however, in the different regions varies greatly, according to situation. It is greatest in the plains of the Jordan (the Ghôr), where in summer the heat becomes oppressive and scorching, owing to the steep rocky walls on both sides, which exclude the cooling western breezes; it is less oppressive on the low land on the Mediterranean; whilst in Galilee and on the mountains of Ephraim and Judah the air is much fresher, and only on particular days is oppressive heat produced by strong winds from the south.[2] In winter (חֹרֶף) much snow frequently falls on the mountains, generally, however, not until February, but it seldom lies many days; only the summit of Hermon is covered with eternal snow, whilst the most beautiful spring and summer prevails in its valleys. In general, only that time of the year is here called winter during which cold north and north-west winds predominate, which bring rain, storms, and snow. This begins with the so-called early rain (יוֹרֶה), which principally falls in November and December, after the autumnal equinox, about the time of the winter sowing of the wheat and barley, then on into February alternates with falls of snow on the mountains, and ends with the so-called "latter rain" (מַלְקוֹשׁ) in March, before the beginning of the harvest of the winter fruits, at the seed-time of the summer fruits, which generally lasts only for a few days, indeed in some years continues only for some hours.[3] From that time summer commences (קַיִץ), the period from April till October, in which as a rule scarcely any rain falls, consequently rain in the time of wheat harvest is regarded as a miracle (1 Sam. xii. 17).[4] At this season the heat increases more and more, until in August it becomes quite unbearable, whereas in September colder nights set in and mitigate the heat. Through the continuance of the heat the soil becomes

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dry, and the grass and plants fade; but owing to the dew which falls copiously during the night, they are preserved from being entirely blighted.[5] The winds also, in Palestine as in all the countries which border on the Tropics, are tolerably regular. From the autumn equinox on till November the north-west wind prevails, which makes the air dry, bright, and biting, and brings the early rain; from November to February, west and south-west winds chiefly blow, named by the Arabs "the fathers of the rains;" these are succeeded from February to June for the most part by east winds, amongst which the south-east wind especially is tempestuous,[6] and on account of the noxious exhalations which it brings with it from the Dead Sea and the Arabian desert, has a blighting effect upon vegetation; finally, from July onwards north wind, with west and other winds blow, often in very irregular alternation. From this regular change in the temperature the climate of the land is to be described generally as very healthy.[7]

[1] On the longest day, the sun rises shortly before five o'clock, and sets soon after seven; on the shortest day, sunrise takes place a little after seven, and sunset shortly before five o'clock; so that the longest day contains fourteen hours and eleven minutes, the shortest nine hours and forty-eight minutes.

[2] "The climate of the mountainous country on which Jerusalem is situated differs from that of the temperate parts of Europe and America more in the alternations of wet and dry seasons than in the degrees of temperature. The variations of rain and sunshine, which in the West exist throughout the whole year, are in Palestine confined chiefly to the latter part of autumn and the winter; while the remaining months enjoy almost uninterruptedly a cloudless sky. . . . The high elevation of Jerusalem secures it the privilege of a pure atmosphere; nor does the heat of summer ever become oppressive, except during the occasional prevalence of the south wind or sirocco. During our sojourn from April 14 to May 6, the thermometer ranged at sunset from 44° to 64° F., and at 2 P.M. from 60° to 79° F. This last degree of heat was felt during a sirocco, April 30. From the 10th to the 13th of June at Jerusalem we had at sunrise a range of from 56° to 74°; and at 2 P.M. once 86°, with a strong north-west wind. Yet the air was fine, and the heat not burdensome." Robinson's *Palestine*, vol. i. pp. 428, 430. . . . "The climate of Jericho is excessively hot . . . indeed, in traversing merely the short

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distance of five or six hours between Jerusalem and Jericho, the traveller passes from a pure and temperate atmosphere into the sultry heat of an Egyptian climate." Robinson's *Palestine*, vol. i. p. 553.

[3] "The autumnal rains, the early rains of Scripture, usually commence in the latter half of October or beginning of November; not suddenly, but by degrees; which gives opportunity for the husbandman to sow his fields of wheat and barley. The rains come mostly from the west or south-west, continuing for two or three days at a time, and falling especially during the nights. Then the wind chops round to the north or east, and several days of fine weather succeed. During the months of November and December the rains continue to fall heavily; afterwards they return only at longer intervals and are less heavy; but at no period during the winter do they entirely cease. Snow often falls in Jerusalem in January and February to the depth of a foot or more, but does not usually lie long. The ground never freezes. . . . The whole period from October to March is one continued season of rain, without any regularly intervening term of prolonged fair weather." Robinson's *Palestine*, vol. i. p. 429.

[4] "In ordinary seasons, from the cessation of the showers in spring until their commencement in October or November, rain never falls, and the sky is usually serene." Robinson's *Palestine*, vol. i. p. 430.

[5] "A very heavy dew had fallen during the night, so that the tent was wet as with rain." Robinson's *Palestine*, vol. i. p. 430.

[6] Under the term east wind (קָדִים, Ps. xlviii. 8; Isa. xxvii. 8, etc.),—as the Hebrews had only designations for the principal winds from the four regions of the earth,—are also to be included the boisterous winds from the south-east and the south. Thus the Arabs named to Robinson a violent wind "*Shurkiyeh* or *east wind*," although it blew from the south. The simoom, they said, differs from it only in its greater heat, the haze and sand and discoloration of the air being the same in both. Should it overtake a traveller who has no water with him, it may in certain circumstances prove fatal to him.—The water may be employed not only for drinking, but it may also be advisable to wash the skin with it. The simoom, they said, prevails only during the season when the kamsin blows in Egypt. This is the case during the months of April and May. Comp. also Robinson's *Palestine*, *l.c.*: "The sirocco wind now increased to a violent tempest, bringing up the sand and dust from the desert, and filling the air so as to obscure the sun. The whole atmosphere became of a deep dun or yellowish hue." Descriptions of the simoom or samum are given by Oedmann,

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vermischte Samml. aus d. Naturkunde, iv. p. 1 ff., and Rosenmüller, *A. und N. Morgenl.* ii. p. 235 ff.

[7] Comp. further, especially von Raumer, *Palästina*, and Robinson's *Physical Geogr.* p. 367 ff.

§ 11. *The Natural Products of Palestine. Minerals and Plants.*

Palestine was formerly a very fruitful land. Moses already describes it as a "good land; a land of brooks of water, of fountains, and depths that spring out of valleys and hills; a land of wheat and barley, vines, fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of olive oil and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it; a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass" (Deut. viii. 7–9); a land that floweth with milk and honey, not as the land of Egypt, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs, but a land of hills and valleys, which drinketh water of the rain of heaven (xi. 10, 11, comp. Neh. ix. 25, 35). It was therefore capable, notwithstanding its small extent, of maintaining a very numerous population.[1]

Palestine was deficient in *minerals*, since the ground of the plateau land on both sides of the Jordan, including the Ghor, belongs to the chalk formation, the flats on the coast consist of alluvial land, and basaltic rocks predominate only in the Ledscha and in Hauran.[2] The metalliferous Lebanon was not occupied by the Israelites. The surrounding district, especially the southern side of the Dead Sea, contains only rock salt, sulphur, and asphalt (bitumen); mines of sulphur are to be found near Jericho, and several iron mines in the mountains of Lebanon. All other minerals and metals had to be imported from abroad.[3]

All the more abundant, however, was the productiveness of the *vegetable* world.[4] Of various kinds of grain, wheat and barley were produced in great abundance, the land in many places bringing forth an hundred fold (Gen. xxvi. 12). Wheat furnished the daily bread, so that barley was used for bread only by the poor, but was chiefly used along with straw as fodder for the cattle (1 Kings iv. 28; 2 Kings vii. 1; Ezek. iv. 12, xiii. 19). Millet also (כֻּסֶּמֶת, Ezek. iv. 9, the marsh millet),

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spelt or fesels (כֻּסֶּמֶת, a kind of wheat with a three-cornered pointed grain),[5] lentils (עֲדָשִׁים), and beans (פּוֹל) were cultivated; and of cooking vegetables, cucumbers (קִשֻּׁאִים, comp. Isa. i. 8), tasting almost like melons, bitter herbs (מְרֹרִים), probably lettuce, which was eaten with the paschal lamb, cummin (כַּמּוֹן, Isa. xviii. 25; *κύμινον*, Matt. xxiii. 23), dill (*ἄνηθον*, Matt. xxiii. 23), mint (*ἡδύοσμον*, *mentha hortensis*) and rue (*πήγανον*, Luke xi. 42), as well also as mustard (Matt. xiii. 31; Luke xiii. 18 f.). For clothing, flax (פִּשְׁתָּה, Josh. ii. 6) and cotton (שֵׁשׁ, and later בּוּץ) were made use of, which grew in abundance. Of beautiful sweet-scented flowers, the land produced white and red roses, white and yellow lilies, in which the plain of Sharon was especially rich, anemones, hyacinths, wallflowers, narcissus, tulips; of aromatic and other plants and shrubs, hyssop (אֵזוֹב, *ὀρίγανον*, wild marjoram), with a stalk a foot in length, and leaves covered with soft down; the caper (אֲבִיּוֹנָה, Eccles. xii. 5); wormwood (לַעֲנָה, *ἄψινθος*), which is mentioned along with the frequently occurring darnel or deadly nightshade; the cypress or camphire shrub (כֹּפֶר, *κύπρος*, Song of Sol. i. 14, iv. 13), with its flowers and leaves coming up in grape-like clusters of a whitish-yellow colour, and with an aromatic scent, and which, when dried, boiled, and pulverised, furnishes a valuable pigment; the mandragora (mandrake), with its small, yellow, sweet-smelling apples (דּוּדָאִים, Gen. xxx. 14; Song of Sol. vii. 13);[6] the juniper shrub (רֹתֶם) or broom, which supplies bright glowing charcoal for fuel (Ps. lxx. 4); the gourd (קִיקָיוֹן, Jonah iv. 6 ff.), *ricinus*, which is also to be met with in Palestine in sandy soils; and several shrubs yielding balsam, such as the cistus (לט, Gen. xxxvii. 25; λήδος, *cistus creticus*), from the branches of which the sweet-scented, rich and oily gum ladanum, *λήδανον*, was gathered; the buckthorn shrub (נְכֹאת, *tragacantha*, Gen. xxxvii. 25), from whose roots the tragacanth gum is obtained; the oil-tree myrobalanus of the ancients (*Elæagnus angustifolia*, L.), whose olive-like fruit, about the size of a walnut, has a fat oily kernel, out of which was pressed a healing oil, the Zachæus oil, or oil of Jericho, and the balsam shrub (בֹּשֶׂם or בָּשָׂם, Song of Sol. v. 1, 13).[7]—Palestine was also very favoured in vines (גֶּפֶן), which attained, especially in the neighbourhood of Hebron, a goodly

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tree-like size, and bore clusters 12 lbs. in weight, and vineyards (Judg. xiv. 5; 1 Kings xxi. 1; Song of Sol. i. 14; Isa. xvi. 8 ff.; Jer. xlviii. 32 ff.), in noble fruit trees, figs, and pomegranates (תְּאֵנָה and רִמּוֹן), pistachio nuts (בָּטְנִים, Gen. xliii. 10), almond and walnut trees (לוּז, שָׁקֵד, אֱגוֹז, Song of Sol. vi. 11),[8] particularly in oil trees (זַיִת) and other kinds of fruit trees and nut trees, such as wild olive trees (עֵץ שֶׁמֶן, *ἀγριέλαιος*, Rom. xi. 17, 24, oleaster), sycamore trees (שִׁקְמָה, *συκάμινος*, *συκόμορος*), tamarisks (אֶשֶׁל, Gen. xxi. 33; 1 Sam. xxii. 6), terebinths (אֵלָה),[9] out of which, when an incision is made in the trunk, the true turpentine flows forth with an agreeable perfume like citron or jessamine, and with a mild taste, and which gradually hardens into a transparent gum; oaks (אַלּוֹן, אֵלָה), in which Bashan especially was rich, holm oak (תִּרְזָה, Isa. xiv. 14), and date trees (תָּמָר), especially around Jericho; whilst the cypresses (בְּרוֹשׁ) and cedars (אֶרֶז), frequently mentioned in the Old Testament, and applied to the construction of splendid buildings, grew only on Lebanon.[10]

[1] Profane writers also bear witness to the great fertility of Palestine; not merely Josephus in various parts of his writings, but Tacitus also, who says in *Hist.* v. 6 of Judea, regarding the soil, Exuberant fruges nostrum ad morem, præterque eas balsamum et palmæ; Justinus, who in his *Hist.* xxxvi. 2 remarks of Jericho, Non minor loci ejus apricitatis quam ubertates admiratio est; by Ammianus Marcell. xiv. 8, and others. At the present day, indeed, the land has become very desolate—in consequence of the curse with which the children of Israel were already threatened by Moses on account of their disobedience against the Lord (Deut. xxv. 16, xxiii. f., xxxii. ff., xxix. 22 ff.); but, notwithstanding, it still presents, even amid this desolation, many traces of no small fertility. The Old Testament account as well as Josephus bears indubitable testimony to its former very populous condition. Comp. Raumer, *Palästi.* p. 80 ff.

[2] According to Fraas, *loc. cit.* pp. 40–100, the soil of the plateau land on both sides of the Jordan consists of strata of chalk, flint, argillaceous marl, chalk-lime, hippuriten-lime (under the name of Melekeh, a valuable freestone in and around Jerusalem), and Nerinean marble (called Missih), in regular layers; the Ghor, also in great measure of the same material; the plain close to the Mediterranean of alluvial land, a reddish

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sand, which is here and there cemented to a hard marine mussel sandstone. The former supposition, that the strata of the mountains of Judah and Ephraim consisted of Jura limestone (Russegger, von Raumer), was based on an inaccurate definition of the petrifactions. The basaltic formation of the Hauran extends only by Beisan towards Tabor on the plain of Jezreel, as far as the Sea of Tiberias.

[3] Chiefly through the Phœnicians, who imported these partly from their colonies, especially silver, iron, tin, and lead, from Tartessus in Spain, partly from Arabia (gold from Ophir), partly from the countries of the Caucasus, and exchanged with the Israelites for wheat, oil, balsam, honey, and pastry. Ezek. xxvii. 12, 13, 19; Jer. x. 9.

[4] The principal works on Biblical botany are Celsius, *Hierobotanicon*, two parts, Upsala 1745–47. Forskal, *Flora ægyptiaco-arabica*, Haun. 1775, 4. Rosenm. *bibl. Althk.* iv. 1 (*Bible Natural Hist.*). Compare besides the botanical articles in Winer's *R. W.*, Schenkel's *Bibellex.*, and in Riehm's *Handwörterb. des bibl. Altertums*, Bielefeld and Leipzig 1875 ff. [also Tristram's *Nat. Hist. of Bible*].

[5] Whether, however, כֻּסֶּמֶת signifies *spelt* is doubtful. The corresponding Arabic word, Kursenne or Kersenne, designates in modern Syria a species of vetch (*vicia sativa*); comp. Wetzstein on Delitzsch, *bibl. Comm üb. d. Jesaja*, p. 705 (Eng. tr. *in loc.*). Vetches harmonize well with Isa. xxvii. 25, where the Latin version translates it by *vicia*, but not with Ex. ix. 32. Compare Celsii *Hierob.* ii. p. 98 ff.; and Gesenius, *Thes. s.v.*

[6] For more minute information about the Dudaim, see Wetzstein on Delitzsch, *Comm. z. Hohenl.* (*Bibl. Comment.* iv. 4). p. 439 ff. (Eng. tr.).

[7] It is doubtful whether by צֳרִי is to be understood the balm of Gilead (Jer. viii. 22; Gen. xxxvii. 35), the fruit of the oil tree, or the sap of the genuine balsam tree, the Opobalsamum. Strabo, xvi. 763, Diodorus Siculus, ii. 48, xix. 98, testify that the balsam shrub grew in gardens in the neighbourhood of Jericho. Comp. also Josephus, *Ant.* xiv. 4. 1, xv. 4. 2; *Bell. jud.* i 6. 6. And Pliny observes in his *Hist. nat.* xii. 54: Balsamum uni terrarum Judææ concessum quondam in duobus tantum hortis, utroque regio . . . a Pompejo Magno in triumpho arbores quoque duximus. Servit nunc hæc et tributa pendit cum sua gente, etc. Comp. generally, Winer, *R. W.* i. p. 131 ff. [Riehm, *s.v.*]

[8] The Israelites seem also to have cultivated apple and pear trees, although it is still doubtful whether תַּפּוּחַ, Joel i. 12, Song of Sol. ii. 3, viii. 5, means the apple or quince tree, and whether בָּכְאִים, 2 Sam. v. 23, 1 Chron. xiv. 15, according to the Septua-

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gint and Vulgate, ἄπιος, denoted the pyrus, pear tree, or the trembling poplar. In the gardens of Palestine at the present day are to be found not only apple and pear trees, but also apricot, orange, and citron trees. Comp. Robinson's *Palestine*, in various places. Schubert, *Reise in das Morgenland*, iii. p. 115. [Tristram, *Nat. Hist.* p. 335.]

[9] In Wady Sumt, probably the Valley of Terebinths, where David fought with Goliath (1 Sam. xvii. 2), Robinson still found an immense butm-tree (*Pistacia Terebinthus*), which spread its branches far and wide, like a stately oak. The butm is the terebinth of the Old Testament, not an evergreen tree, but one whose small, feathery, lanceolate leaves drop off in autumn and are renewed again in spring. Robinson, *Palestine*, vol. iii. pp. 54, 369.

[10] Robinson gives a description of the far-famed cedar grove on Lebanon in his later investigations, p. 546 ff. Recent travellers besides him have discovered forests of cedars on other parts of this mountain. Compare Robinson, *l.c.*, and Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. p. 638 ff. There are groves of cedar on the Taurus range which in size surpass those of Lebanon.—The cypress (בְּרוֹשׁ, Vulg. *abris*), rising in a slender, tapering form to the height of thirty feet, the timber of which ranks next in firmness and durability to that of the cedar, is to be met with not only on Lebanon (comp. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, xvii. p. 666), but likewise, according to Dioscorides, at Ascalon (Ritter, xvi. p. 88), and here and there in Judea, in the neighbourhood of streams. Yet now the tall cypress is only planted in gardens in and around Jerusalem (Ritter, xvi. p. 482).

§ 12. *The Animal Kingdom of Palestine.*

The animals are in Lev. xi. divided into four classes: (1) Larger terrestrial animals (בְּהֵמָה עַל הָאָרֶץ, ver. 2); (2) aquatic animals (אֲשֶׁר בַּמַּיִם נֶפֶשׁ הַחַיָּה, vv. 9, 10); (3) birds (הָעוֹף, ver. 13); (4) smaller animals (שֶׁרֶץ, vv. 20, 29, 41 ff.); and these classes were again distinguished into clean, that is, eatable, and into unclean, whose flesh was not to be eaten (comp. Lev. xi. and Deut. xiv. 1–20).[1] The larger terrestrial animals were, moreover, in the Old Testament separated into cattle בְּהֵמָה, that is, tame domestic animals, and into beasts of the field or wild beasts, or merely חַיָּה, Gen. vii. 14, 21, viii. 1, and elsewhere. Of these, those which were cloven-footed, that is, with hoofs quite cleft through, and which chewed the cud, were clean; all the others, which had none, or even only one of these

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characteristics, were not to be eaten. Of the domestic animals—horned and small cattle בָּקָר וְצֹאן, that is, oxen (bulls, שׁוֹר) and cows, sheep and goats, formed a very considerable portion of the possessions of the Israelites. Not only Gilead and Bashan, which on account of their superior pasture-grounds were given by Moses (Num. xxxii.) as a possession to the tribes of Reuben and Gad, who were rich in herds of cattle, but likewise the country on this side the Jordan, or Canaan proper, included not a few districts very well fitted for the rearing of cattle. The Israelites also imported thence many oxen, bulls, and cows, and still more sheep and goats, so that not only was there no scarcity of milk and meat, and thousands of lambs, sheep, calves, and steers could be annually offered in sacrifice, but oxen were likewise employed for tillage, for ploughing, and threshing the corn, for drawing waggons, and bearing burdens (1 Chron. xii. 40), and no inconsiderable trade was carried on in goats and sheep (Prov. xxvii. 26). Goats in the Old Testament were separated into two kinds, תַּיִשׁ or עַתּוּד, and שָׂעִיר, and still at the present day in Syria there is to be found, in addition to the common European goat, the so-called Mamre goat, named from Mamre, near Hebron, with long drooping ears, of a bright red colour, with two small horns, which supplies very good milk for nourishment (Prov. xxvii. 27). In addition to the common species of sheep, the Israelites had also those with the fat tail (אַלְיָה), which is constantly mentioned as amongst the fat pieces destined for the altar (Lev. iii. 9, vii. 3, etc.).[2] The Israelites, moreover, numbered amongst their live stock of unclean animals, asses and she-asses (חֲמוֹר, אָתוֹן), as well as camels (גָּמָל), which were chiefly used for the transportation of merchandise and goods, and for travelling (Gen. xxvii. 25; 1 Chron. xii. 40, xxvii. 30).[3] On the other hand, horses, which existed in Egypt as early as the time of Jacob (Gen. xlvii. 17, l. 9), and mention of which occurs amongst the Canaanitish tribes in the age of Joshua and the Judges (Josh. xi. 4; Judg. iv. 3, 7 ff.), were first imported amongst the Israelites by David, who took many as booty from the Aramaic tribes (1 Sam. viii. 4), and by Solomon, who traded to a great extent in horses from Egypt (1 Kings x. 28; 2 Chron. i. 14), so that in the time of the later kings of Judah the number of horses and war-horses became

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very great (Isa. ii. 7). Mules (פֶּרֶד) also are first mentioned in the reign of David (2 Sam. xiii. 29, xviii. 9; 1 Chron. xii. 40). Prior to that period, asses were used for riding (Judg. x. 4, xii. 14, and elsewhere), were likewise yoked to the plough (Deut. xxii. 10), and employed for driving the mill (Matt. xviii. 6; Luke xvii. 2). The dog (כֶּלֶב) also, which among the Israelites was a despised savage and bloodthirsty animal (1 Kings xiv. 11, xvi. 4; 2 Kings ix. 33 ff.), was in more recent times, at least in some of the species, regarded as a domestic animal (Tobit v. 17; Matt. xv. 27). Swine, on the other hand, as being unclean animals, were certainly not kept by the Israelites.[4]

Of the beasts of the field, the clean and edible game were the hart (אַיָּל and אַיָּלָה, or אַיֶּלֶת, hind, female deer), buck (יַחְמוּר), antelopes or properly gazelles (צְבִי, *Antilope dorcas;* Luther renders it roe), the steinbock or horned goat (יָעֵל), and, moreover, four species of gazelles, דִּישׁוֹן, אַקּוֹ, תְּאוֹ, and זֶמֶר (Deut. xiv. 5), which cannot be identified with certainty. The unclean included the hare (אַרְנֶבֶת), the jumping hare, or the marmot, jerboa (שָׁפָן), as well as all wild and rapacious animals. Those of this class to be met with in Palestine were the boar or wild hog (חֲזִיר מִיַּעַר), which is mentioned in Ps. lxxx. 3 as an animal destructive to the fields; there are still frequently found in the valley of the Jordan and in the vicinity of Lake Huleh, wolves (זְאֵב) and bears (דֹּב, 2 Kings ii. 24). Lions (אַרְיֵה, אֲרִי, and לָבִיא) and lionesses formerly haunted Palestine, chiefly living in the bushy banks of the Jordan (Judg. xiv. 8; 1 Sam. xvii. 34 ff.; 1 Kings xiii. 24 ff.; Jer. xlix. 19, l. 44; Zech. xi. 3), but there they are no longer to be found. Panthers or pards (נָמֵר, Jer. xi. 6) are still to be met with in Lebanon and in the central mountains of Palestine; hyenas (עָרְבִי Jer. xii. 6), foxes (שׁוּעָל), mentioned in the Song of Sol. ii. 15 as spoilers of the vines, and jackals (אִיִּים), which are probably intended to be included among the foxes of Samson (Judg. xv. 4 f.).

Of aquatic animals, all those inhabiting lakes and streams, and furnished with fins and scales, were clean and edible. Fish existed in such abundance in the Lake of Gennesaret, that in the time of Christ many of the dwellers near this lake supported themselves by fishing (John xxi. 11; comp. Matt.

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iv. 18; Mark i. 16; Luke v. 3). Yet no distinct *kinds* of fish are named in Scripture.[5]

In regard to birds, Palestine possessed numerous doves (יוֹנָה) which in ancient times were reared in dove-cots (Isa. lx. 8). These had generally pale grey plumage, with yellowish feathers on the neck, which in sunshine glittered like silver and gold (Ps. lxviii. 15); and wild or wood pigeons, which built their nests in the clefts of the rocks (Jer. xlviii. 28; Ezek. vii. 16); turtle doves also (תּוֹר), which, although birds of passage (Jer. viii. 7), are indigenous to Palestine and Syria, and could likewise be offered in sacrifice in place of domestic pigeons; partridges (קֹרֵא, 1 Sam. xxvi. 20; Jer. xvii. 11), cranes, and swallows (סוּס וְעָגוּר, Jer. viii. 7), mentioned as birds of passage; sparrows (דְּרוֹר) and other lesser birds (צִפּוֹר, Ps. lxxxiv. 4; Prov. xxvi. 2).[6] Fowls, on the contrary, are never mentioned in the Old Testament, but only in the New (Matt. xxiii. 37, xxvi. 34; Luke xiii. 34, xxii. 34). Besides, as unclean birds are reckoned many birds of prey, such as ravens, eagles, vultures, hawks, falcons, storks, bats, etc.; more are specified in Lev. xi. 13, 19; Deut. xiv. 12–18.[7]

The lesser animals (שֶׁרֶץ) are again divided into four kinds: (1) The small creeping things that crawl upon the earth (שֶׁרֶץ הַשֹּׁרֵץ עַל הָאָרֶץ, Lev. xi. 29), amongst which were reckoned the weasel (חֹלֶד), the mouse, field mouse (עַכְבָּר, comp. 1 Sam. vi. 5), and several sorts of lizards [8] (Lev. xi. 29, 30), and to which the frogs (צְפַרְדֵּעַ) and the moles (חֲפַרְפֶּרֶת) also belong (Isa. ii. 20). (2) Those which crawl upon their belly (הוֹלֵךְ עַל־גָּחוֹן, Lev. xi. 42), amongst which may especially be reckoned the snakes (נָחָשׁ), several very venomous species of which are enumerated in the Old Testament, whilst those serpents seen by travellers in modern times in Palestine are said not to be poisonous,[9] and the worm (רִמָּה), probably a general designation for many kinds of small creeping things. (3) The winged animals (שֶׁרֶץ הָעוֹף, Lev. xi. 20); to this class belong locusts, which frequently appear in Palestine as a plague of the land, and of which four species, הָאַרְבֶּה, הַסָּלְעָם, הַחַרְגֹּל, חָגָב, are mentioned as eatable (Lev. xi. 22); bees (דְּבוֹרָה), which were very numerous in Palestine, especially wild bees, which built in hollow trunks of trees, clefts of rocks, caves, even in the dried-up carcases

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of animals (Judg. xiv. 5 ff.), and produced honey; hornets (צִרְעָה), a large species of wasp very troublesome to man (Ex. xxiii. 28; Deut. vii. 20; Josh. xxiv. 12); flies (זְבוּב), of which a kind of small black fly frequently come in entire hosts, and creep into the mouths and nostrils of man and beast, so that they can only be got rid of by means of smoke and fire; and moths (עָשׁ and סָס, *σής*). Finally, (4) the many-footed animals (כָּל־מִרְבֶּה רַגְלַיִם); of this class there are occasionally mentioned the ants (נְמָלָה, Prov. vi. 6), the spiders (עַכָּבִישׁ, Isa. lix. 5), the flea (פַּרְעוֹשׁ, 1 Sam. xxvi. 20), the scorpion (עַקְרָב, Deut. viii. 15; *σκορπίος*, Luke x. 19, etc.), whose stings cause inflammation. These animals even in modern times are very numerous in the low lands of the Jordan below Jericho, and other small insects, such as maggots, caterpillars, which are included under the words תּוֹלַעַ, or תּוֹלָעָה, or תּוֹלַעַת (Ex. xvi. 20; Deut. xxviii. 39); finally, the snails (שַׁבְלוּל, Ps. lviii. 9). On the other hand, the purple snail, two varieties of which are to be found on the Palestinian shores of the Mediterranean, is nowhere mentioned in the Scriptures, although frequent allusion is made to purple.

[1] The principal works on Biblical Zoology are Sam. Bocharti, *Hierozoicon recens.* E. Fr. C. Rosenmüller, 3 tomi, Leipsic 1793 ff., 4to. Petr. Forskal, *Descriptiones animalium, avium, amphibiorum, piscium, insectorum, vermium, quæ in itinere orientali observavit.* Ed. Carst. Niebuhr, Hauniæ 1775, 4to. Rosenmüller, *Hbd. d. bibl. Alterthsk.* iv. 2 (*das bibl. Thierreich*). Comp. therewith Friedr. Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, H. 1. *Assyrische Thiernamen*, Leipsic 1874. Compare besides the zoological articles in the *Real-Wörterbücher* of Winer and Riehm, [also Smith and Kitto's *Cyclopædias*].

[2] The multitude of the neat cattle and small cattle possessed by the Israelites may be inferred from the following statement: that in Solomon's household there were annually consumed 3650 fatted cattle, and 7300 oxen out of the pastures, and 36,500 sheep (1 Kings v. 3); that the wealthy Nabal had 3000 sheep and 1000 goats (1 Sam. xxv. 2); that at the dedication of Solomon's temple 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep were offered as peace-offerings (1 Kings viii. 63), and at the celebration of the Passover in the reign of Josiah 30,000 lambs and kids, and 3000 bullocks were given by the king as Passover offerings (2 Chron. xxxv. 7); and according to Josephus (*de bell. jud.* vi. 9. 3), the number of paschal lambs in one year amounted to

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256,000 head. The fattest and strongest cattle were obtained from Bashan (Ps. xxii. 13; Amos iv. 1). In modern times the bull is in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem small and insignificant, larger in Upper Jordan and Tabor, and best in the country east of the Jordan between Jacob's ford and Damascus (Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 114). Moreover, in Galilee, especially at the Lake of Huleh and likewise in the neighbourhood of the sea-coast, are found buffaloes, wild, ugly, vicious animals, which probably are to be understood as the רְאֵם (Deut. xxxiii. 17; Ps. xxii. 21), which has been translated by the LXX. *μονοκέρως*, by Luther as unicorn. Comp. Schubert, *Reise*, iii. p. 117. Robinson's *Palestine*, iii. p. 563 f., and Winer, *R.W.* i. p. 309 ff. [Riehm, *s.v.*]

[3] Camels, which formed a portion of the wealth of the patriarchs (Gen. xii. 16, xxxiv. 10 ff., and other passages), were also a prized possession amongst the Israelites. These seem, however, to have been reared only by the rich, as, for example, by King David (1 Chron. xxvii. 30). Besides, only camels with one hump are to be met with in Syria and Palestine. But the Israelites were unacquainted with elephants, for which the Hebrew language contains no name at all, although elephants' tusks, ivory (שֵׁן and שֶׁנְהַבִּים), was imported as an article of commerce as early as the reign of Solomon (1 Kings x. 18). It was only at a later period, during their wars with the Seleucidæ, that the Jews learnt to know the animals themselves (1 Macc. vi. 35 ff.; 3 Macc. v. 2 ff.).

[4] In the Talmud the Jews are forbidden to keep swine amongst their herds (comp. Othonis, *lexic. rabb. phil.* p. 530 f.). Accordingly the keepers of the swine mentioned in Matt. viii. 28 must certainly have belonged to the heathen inhabitants of the country. Yet compare Winer, *R.W.* ii. p. 437, note 2.

[5] The great fish by which Jonah the prophet was swallowed (Jonah ii. 1) is the giant shark, *Canis carcharias*, or *Squamus carcharias*, to be met with in the Mediterranean, whose throat is so large that it can easily swallow a man whole. Comp. Winer, *R.W.* i. p. 374 f. The behemoth, poetically described by Job xl. 15, is merely the Nile horse or hippopotamus, inhabiting only the Nile and other African rivers and lakes.

[6] It has been convincingly proved by Wetzstein on Delitzsch, *Psalmencomm.* ii. p. 385 ff., 3rd ed., that דְּרוֹר denotes the sparrow, and not the swallow. צִפּוֹר, on the other hand, signifies small birds in general, amongst which the sparrow, of course, may often be included.

[7] For more regarding the unclean birds, see Sommer, *Bibl. Abhandl.* vol. i. p. 253 ff. Leyrer in the *P.R.E.* xiv. p. 599 ff., and in my Bibl. Commentary on Lev. xi. 13 ff. (Eng. tr. *in loc.*).

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[8] See the different interpretations in Sommer, p. 261 ff., and Leyrer, *loc. cit.* p. 606 ff. To this class belong also the crocodile, which is found in a river near Cæsarea Palestinæ (comp. Raumer, *Pal.* p. 93 f.). In the Old Testament, however, the Egyptian crocodile alone is mentioned, and is designated in Job xli. 1 by לִוְיָתָן, and in Ezek. xxix. 3 by תַּנִּין.

[9] Robinson (*Palestine*, ii. p. 657) saw near Eglon in the plain of Judea a large black snake, six feet long, which was killed by the mule-drivers. On the serpents referred to in the Old Testament, see Winer and Riehm under the article *Schlangen*.

§ 13. *The Influence of the Land of Canaan on the Development of Israel.*

Palestine, notwithstanding its situation on the Mediterranean Sea, offered no specially favourable harbours for the development of navigation; but, on the other hand, from the great diversity of its fertile soil, so well adapted for agriculture and the rearing of cattle, presented rich means of subsistence for a numerous population. Thus it was indicated beforehand to the people of Israel that agriculture and the rearing of cattle were to be regarded as the main business of their life on earth. But however fertile the soil was for this purpose, yet Palestine was not one of those countries whose soil demands neither cultivation nor fostering care, but its soil yielded rich increase only to the manual labour which cultivated it and reared its products, whilst at the same time the climate of the country was free, both from the excessive heat which exercises an enervating influence on body and mind, and from the intense cold which paralyses and represses thought and action.[1] At the same time, the great fertility of the land was less influenced by the labours and industry of man, since it mainly depended on the divine blessing, on the rain and the dew of heaven, without which no plant could thrive and no fruit could grow. If this land, then, in the heaven-sent fertility of its springs and brooks, valleys, hills, and mountains, includes in itself all powers of blessing for the production of an abundant supply of the gifts of the earth, yet nevertheless it conceals in the peculiar constitution of its soil and in its climatic influences the desolating, scorching wind, the locust, the earthquake,[2] and other plagues to which it is

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exposed, as well as manifold germs of the curse, which as a consequence of sin burdens the earth, and may strike the sinner at any moment. This contrast between blessing and cursing, between life and death, appears in the most striking manner in the plain of Jordan. The beautiful Alpine Lake of Gennesaret, with its waters alive with a profusion of fish and flocks of aquatic birds, and with its fertile shores once stocked with fruit trees of the most varied kinds, presents a charming picture of the exuberance of animated life; whilst, on the other hand, the Dead Sea, with its sterile and desolate surroundings, brings before us a fearful image of death and destruction. In this stern contrast between the fulness of life and the desolation of death, which occur in this land so very close to each other, as, for instance, in the frightful desolate wilderness of Quarantania, and the blooming balsam gardens and palm hedges of Jericho, Palestine seems indeed a land on which the eyes of the Lord are always fixed, from the beginning of the year even to the end of it (Deut. xi. 12), as a land flowing with milk and honey (Ex. iii. 8--17) for Israel so long as it kept faithfully the covenant with the Lord, but likewise as a land on which the curse could easily take effect; "the whole land thereof is brimstone, and salt, and burning; it is not sown, nor does it bear, nor does any grass grow therein, like the overthrow of Sodom and Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboim, which the Lord overthrew in His anger, and in His wrath" (Deut. xxix. 23). If, then, the constitution of the country exercises in general no small influence on the development of its inhabitants, then was the land of Canaan, allotted as an inheritance to the children of Israel from its central and thereby isolated position in the world (comp. § 8), and through its soil so susceptible of blessing and cursing, in the fullest measure suited for and created as a nursery for the kingdom of God. Israel could fulfil its destiny to preserve and cherish the divine revelation of salvation only in a land where, separated from the mighty waves of the universal life of nations, it could peacefully and uninterruptedly pursue the task appointed to man by his Creator, to occupy the earth. Thus, indeed, in such a land, whose soil everywhere abounds with traces of the divine blessing of grace, but, at the same time, likewise by the portents of nature and

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climatic conditions continually calls to mind the severity of the divine judgment, its inhabitants are urged to steadfast perseverance in the covenant with God, to secure the blessings promised them by Him, and not to draw down upon themselves the curse of blight and destruction which should befall the rebellious.

[1] Canaan lies midway between those great extremes of natural life, in which the earth from the very beginning confronts in a quite overpowering manner the human race, as *e.g.* by the heat and luxuriance of the East Indies, as well as by the freezing desolation of Greenland. Regions of this kind have a quite overwhelming effect upon sinful man, either by way of paralysis or intoxication, favouring in either case the dream of sensual life. Lange, *d. Leben Jesu* (Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 314).

[2] A frightful earthquake took place in the reign of Uzziah, about 785 B.C. (Amos ii. 1), to the terrors caused by which Zechariah referred (xiv. 5) even after the exile. Josephus (*Ant.* xv. 5. 2) gives an account of a violent earthquake about the year 31 B.C. Jerome on Isa. xv. mentions one which occurred during his childhood, by which Areopolis was destroyed. Abdollatif (*Relation de l'Egypte par de Sacy*, p. 414 ff.) mentions an earthquake which extended over the whole of Syria, Hauran, and Galilee, and laid waste the towns of Banias, Akka, and Nabulus. Finally, the earthquake of 1st Jan. 1837 is well known, which destroyed the towns of Safed and Tiberias, and the effects of whose shock extended to a width of 100 miles in the normal direction of the Ghor, and was felt on the western side of the Ghor at a distance of eighteen to twenty miles. Compare the report of Mr. Thomson, missionary, in Robinson's *Palestine*, ii. p. 529 ff.

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II.

BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY.

PART I.—THE RELIGIOUS RELATIONS OF THE ISRAELITES.

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GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

§ 14. *The Early Phases of Israelitish Worship.*

THE worship of God is as old as the human race. It has its root in a necessity of the human soul as native to it as the consciousness of God itself, which impels it to testify by word and act its love and gratitude to the Author of life and the Giver of all good.[1] We would refrain from expressing any opinion as to whether the progenitors of the human family had begun to offer sacrifices of praise and thanksgiving while still in Paradise. At the same time, we know from the earliest records of our race, not only that the sons of our first parents felt impelled to present a portion of the produce of their labour in sacrifice to Him who, even after the fall and the expulsion from Eden, did not entirely withdraw His gracious presence from the first pair and their descendants, but also that the practice of calling upon the name of the Lord had been introduced as early as the days of Enos, the grandson of Noah (Gen. iv. 26), or, in other words, that by this time the regular and solemn worship of God as Jahve, *i.e.* as God of salvation, was being celebrated in word and act, *i.e.* with prayer and sacrifice.[2] It is true, no doubt, that those two modes of embodying divine worship—the invoking of God's name, or the offering up of praise, thanksgiving, and prayer on the one hand, and the presenting of sacrifices as a sign and symbol of the heart's

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devotion to the personal God on the other — were not instituted by any express command on the part of the Divine Being Himself. At the same time, they are not to be regarded as mere matters of human invention. It would be nearer the truth to say that they are as divine as they are human in their origin, seeing that they are based upon the relation of man to God involved in his creation, and are evoked by a sense of the divine training and guidance under which he finds himself after his creation. And hence it is that they are to be met with among every people reaching back into prehistoric times and gradually developing as the nations themselves develop, though assuming different phases among different people. For scarcely had the human race existed a generation or two till it parted into two divergent sections; on the one hand, the Cainites departing farther and farther from God, and sinking deeper and deeper into the vanities of a mere sensuous life; the Sethites, on the other, clinging all the more tenaciously to Him, and allowing themselves to be influenced and guided by His goodness and grace. Then, again, the flood was hardly past when the same divergent movement reappeared among the sons of the godly and righteous Noah, from whom it gradually spread among the families, tribes, and nations into which they multiplied and ramified, till, in the course of time, the worship of these latter degenerated more and more into superstition and idolatry.

But in primitive times God took care to maintain for Himself, in the heart of a race which still was true to Him, that form of worship which Enos had introduced, so that not only do we read that Enoch walked with Him (Gen. v. 24), but that even at a time when, through the carnal intercourse of the sons of God with the children of men, impiety and moral corruption had become rampant, Noah was still found righteous before God, to whom, after his deliverance from the flood, he testified his gratitude by presenting burnt-offerings upon an altar built expressly for the purpose (Gen. vi. 9 and viii. 20). Nor did God proceed in this way in primitive times alone, for, in a subsequent age, He chose for Himself a faithful servant from the heart of a degenerate humanity in the person of Abraham, whom He called from the midst of his idolatrous surroundings to be the depositary of His revelation of

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grace, and whom He constituted the father and founder of that people which was destined to preserve the knowledge and worship of His name till the time should come for the Saviour of the world to issue from its midst. All the other families of the earth, on attaining to the rank of nations, multiplied their modes of worship according to the nature of the political constitution which they might happen to adopt; and, to suit the number and variety of their deities, they devised a corresponding variety of ritual, with a numerous priesthood and a multitude of sacred observances. It was not so, however, with Abraham and the posterity born to him in terms of the divine promise; for their mode of worship was not merely of the simple kind which one would expect to find among those living the life of shepherds in what was to them a land of pilgrimage, but was at the same time of a character duly in keeping with the divine revelations that had been repeatedly imparted to them. Wherever they pitched their tents for any length of time, they were in the habit of building *altars* in order that, in compliance with ancient usage, they might call upon the name of the Lord (Gen. xii. 7, 8, xiii. 4, 18, etc.). Those altars were, doubtless, simple mounds (בָּמוֹת) composed of earth and stone, while the victims sacrificed upon them consisted of animals of an edible (*i.e.* clean) nature taken from the folds.

No information has come down to us regarding the particular ceremonies observed in connection with those sacrifices; but we may venture to assume that along with them prayer would be offered up, and that by the patriarchs in person, and not through the medium of priests, the father of the family or chief of the tribe being in the habit of also discharging the functions of priest in his family or tribe. Moreover, those sacrifices were, for the most part, burnt-offerings, *i.e.* offerings that were entirely consumed upon the altar, although at an early period we also meet with instances in which a portion of the flesh of the victims offered was reserved for use at the sacrificial feasts (Gen. xxxi. 54, xlvi. 1). In determining what kind of animals were to be offered to the Lord, the patriarchs were guided by the hint conveyed by the sacrifice, which, by way of ratifying his covenant with him, God called upon Abraham to offer (Gen. xv. 9); while

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they could not fail to gather from the command to sacrifice Isaac, and the way in which the matter terminated (Gen. xxii.), that the animal victim was intended to be regarded merely as a symbol of the heart's devotion to God.—Now, whether those sacrifices were regularly repeated at stated times, or whether they were offered only on special occasions, such as that mentioned in Job i. 5, we are again at a loss to say. Yet the practice of erecting altars in the various localities at which a considerable halt was made, with the view of calling upon the name of the Lord, would seem to point to a systematic worship, and consequently a worship regularly celebrated at stated seasons, although, previous to the time of Moses, we can discover no historical traces of the observance of the Sabbath or seventh day of the week.

Besides altars, the patriarchs were likewise in the habit of erecting *memorial stones* (מַצֵּבוֹת) on spots where God had favoured them with special revelations and promises, and of consecrating them by anointing them with oil,[3] and of pouring drink-offerings upon them (Gen. xxviii. 18 f., xxxv. 14 f.). Then, again, mention is made of a vow which Jacob made at Bethel on the occasion of his fleeing from Esau, and which was to the effect that if God would be with him, watch over him, supply his wants, and bring him safe back, he would acknowledge Jehovah to be his God, would consecrate the pillar he had set up and make it a house of God, and would render to Jehovah the tenth part of all that He might give him (Gen. xxviii. 20 ff.). In the narrative of the fulfilment of this vow, as given in Gen. xxxv. 1 ff., we read that after due preparation, in course of which he caused the strange gods that were in his house to be taken away and buried, and ordered the members of his household to wash themselves and change their garments, Jacob proceeded to Bethel and built an altar there. From all this we may infer that he did not omit to give to God the promised tenth of all that he possessed, although—the narrative being silent on the point—we are unable to say in what way this tenth was disposed of.[4] To the above-mentioned forms of worship—which in conformity with ancient usage the whole of the patriarchs were already in the habit of observing, and in respect of

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which they differed from the rest of mankind only in so far as, instead of worshipping the deified forces of nature, they served the almighty Creator of heaven and earth, who had revealed Himself to them under the name of Jehovah,—the rite of *circumcision* was afterwards added. In pursuance of a divine order, and as a token of the covenant which Jehovah had made with him, Abraham performed this rite on himself and all the male members of his household, his posterity being also enjoined to observe it as an inviolable obligation in all time coming (Gen. xvii. 10 ff., 23 ff.).—Nothing further is known regarding the forms of worship that obtained among the patriarchs.

[1] There are two antagonistic views regarding the origin of religion. 1. The one—and that the one which at the present day is most widely entertained—denies that it can be traced to a supernatural source. The advocates of this view, while either leaving the question of the origin of the human race out of view altogether, or, on the Darwinian principle of evolution, conceiving of man as derived in course of development from the brute, are inclined to maintain that the original condition of the human family was of an extremely rude and imperfect character, and that fetishism, as being the lowest, was also the earliest form of religion, and that for this reason we ought to regard religion, even in its most advanced forms, as springing originally from a barbarous fetishism. Such is the view not only of Constant, Waitz, Schultze (*Der Fetischismus*, Lpz. 1871), but also of Spiegel in his *Abhandl. zur vergleichenden Religionsgeschichte*, Ausland 1872, No. 1 f. But the grounds on which this opinion is based are weak in the extreme. Spiegel, following Schultze, takes his idea of the men of primitive times from the savages of the present day, such as the inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, the Bushmen, and the Esquimaux. His notion is that their range of observation, and consequently their language as well, was restricted to a very limited number of objects, and these of a purely material kind; that, like the tribes just mentioned, their entire thought and concern was limited to their natural instincts and the means of satisfying them,—the instincts, that is, of hunger, sexual desire, and the need of rest; that they evinced a tendency to transfer to objects, regarding the true nature of which they happened to be ignorant, qualities which they themselves possessed; that, accordingly, they conceived of everything about them as endued with life, and because they saw, or fancied they saw, that every effect was associated with some

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object or other, they regarded that object as the efficient cause, and looked upon it in the light of a fetish. Among the objects which they treated in this fashion were the elements, especially wind, water, and fire, also stones, plants, animals, mountains, and, at a more advanced stage, the firmament, the sun, moon, and stars; and ultimately, when they came to see that the heavenly bodies too were governed by fixed laws, they went so far as to imagine that behind them there dwelt other beings still on which these were dependent, and because those beings or powers could not be perceived with the outward sense, they felt constrained to assume that it was by them that heaven and earth had been created. But this conception of primeval man and of savages is a mere creation of the fancy inspired by authors, who, as Peschel puts it, *Völkerkunde*, 2nd ed. Leipz. 1875, p. 138f., being either full of idle Rousseau dreams regarding the happy state of nature among the South Sea islanders, or "intoxicated with the teachings of Darwin, were bent on discovering, somewhere or other, the existence of tribes that still retained their original animal state, as if for no other purpose than to furnish information for the men of to-day." "That portion of the human race," observes the same profound investigator, p. 139, "has still to be discovered which is not in possession of a vocabulary more or less copious, and a grammatical system as well, among whom ingeniously sharpened weapons and a multifarious assortment of implements are not to be met with, or to whom the means of producing fire is a secret." And again, at p. 147 he says: "If as yet we have never been able anywhere to discover a community living without the use of fire, then to apply the designation 'savage' to any people is a misnomer, originating in a false conception of things. It is no less inaccurate to speak of any tribe as being in a state of nature; the most we can say of it being that it is half-civilised, for it is certain, if anything is, that we have no means of knowing, nay, that we are unable even to conceive, what was the condition of our race in a state of nature." Now, if this be the conclusion to which ethnology leads, and if, as Peschel remarks, p. 273, "history and ethnology can point to countless tribes that have never been able to attain to so lofty a pitch (as to believe, that is, in the existence of a supreme incomprehensible Being), nay, to many that, from the higher ideas to which they had attained, have sunk back into a state of error and delusion from which the lapse of hundreds, nay, even of thousands of years has failed to emancipate them," then there is nothing in the shape of substantial fact on which to base the hypothesis that in the first stage of its existence the human race lived in a state of animal coarseness and barbarism. Not only so, but even to argue from that

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progressive advancement of civilised nations from one degree of culture to another to which history points, that the human race was at the commencement destitute of culture altogether, is logically incompetent. The most that history and ethnology teach us is that, so far as we can know anything at all regarding the primitive condition of individual nations, especially with the help of comparative philology, there have existed civilised and half-civilised peoples in all stages of development, and that those of them who were the depositaries of civilisation settled in the central countries of the Old Continent from India onwards as far as the British Islands, while alongside of them to the north and the south there dwelt half-civilised populations whose primeval condition is wrapped in profound obscurity. Then, lastly, there is Spiegel's argument in support of the view that religion has forced its way up from the rudest fetishism to the stage at which the oldest religions of Asia make their appearance in history, and which he bases on the fact that even the most highly-developed religions retain numerous traces of the more rudimentary stage through which they have passed, as, for example, the worship of stones among the Indians, and of the Baitulia among Semitic nations. Such an argument, however, would be cogent only if the stone and Baitulia worship in question were to be regarded as identical with a rude fetishism, and if a relapse into a state of ignorance and superstition happened to be a thing altogether inconceivable. Pfleiderer, *Zur Frage nach Anfang u. Entwicklung der Religion*, in the *Jahrb. für protestant. Theologie*, 1875, Nr. 1 (Lpz.), pp. 65–116, likewise rejects, as erroneous and incompatible with the real character of the religious conceptions even of the most uncivilised nations, the view which traces the origin of religion to the intellectual necessity of finding a cause for every phenomenon, and that always, in the first instance, in the material object. Gerland again, speaking of the religion of the Australians in his continuation of Waitz's *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, vi. p. 796, says: "Nowhere is there clearer evidence of the truth of the assertion that the present condition of the Australians as regards culture points back to a higher stage of development in the past than here (*i.e.* in religion), where in every detail we seem to hear the dying echoes of the better things of a bygone age; but by no means do we catch the impression that we have to do with a half-developed stagnant state of things. Consequently the view so variously expressed, that the Australians show no traces of a religion or a mythology, must be regarded as utterly erroneous. At the same time, it must be admitted that it is a religion that is utterly degenerate, that has sunk into a barbarous, confused,

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often inconceivably absurd demonology, into a superstitious dread of spectres."

2. The older view, again, which ascribes the knowledge of God possessed by the progenitors of our race, as well as the forms of worship which they observed, to a divine revelation, still finds distinguished advocates in modern times in Schelling (in his *Einleitung in die Philosophie der Mythologie*), and in Max Müller (in his *Essays*). According to Müller, that feeling of sonship which distinguishes man from every other creature, and not only exalts him above the brute, but completely secures him against sinking into a purely physical state of being, that original intuition of God, and that consciousness of his being dependent on a higher power, "can only be the result of a primitive revelation in the most literal sense of the word." "In the creation itself God has revealed Himself to us. In His works He has made Himself known in His majesty and might before the face of man, to whom He gave eyes to see and ears to hear, and into whose nostrils He breathed His living breath, yea, the Spirit of God." At the same time, he would not be supposed to imply that the original belief in a Divine Being had as yet assumed the character of conscious monotheism, but was rather to be described as heathenism, and that in attempting to reduce this belief to a scientific form, men sank into polytheism; while Schelling, on the other hand, traces the origin of polytheism to a degenerating of the religious consciousness (see below, § 16, note 5).

[2] Compare Iken, *De institutis et ceremoniis legis mosaicæ ante Mosen. Dissert.* 1 and 2, in the 2nd vol. of his *Dissertatt. phil. theol.*, ed. Schacht, Traj. Bat. 1770.

[3] According to Delitzsch, in his *Commentary on Genesis* (4th ed. p. 397), Jacob took the stone that he had used as a pillow, set it up as מַצֵּבָה, and poured oil upon the top of it, by way of consecrating it as a sacred monument, as the nucleus of a sanctuary. This setting up of consecrated memorial stones (comp. Gen. xxxi. 45; Ex. xxiv. 4; 1 Sam. vii. 12) reminds one of the heathen practice of worshipping anointed stones (*λίθοι λιπαροί, ἀλῃλιμμένοι, lapides uncti, lubricati, unguine delibuti*) and Baitulia, a practice which, emanating from India, spread over the entire East, and travelled as far as Greece and Rome, where Cybele was worshipped under the form of a black stone; this heathen practice being simply a corruption of that which obtained among the patriarchs (Augustine, *civ.* xvi. 39). The Baitulia-worship was especially associated with meteoric stones, which were supposed to descend from this or that god, and were regarded as permeated with divinity; at least it was to such stones that the designation *Βαίτυλος, Βαιτύλια, betyli*, was first

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applied (Photii *Bibl.* i. p. 348, ed. Bekker; Plinii *hist. nat.* xxvii. 9; comp. Orelli's note to Sanchuniathon, p. 30 f.). This subject is discussed in all its details by Grimmel, *De lapidum cultu apud Patriarchas quæsito*, Marb. 1853, where he gives excellent reasons for disputing the supposed connection of βαίτυλος with בית־אל.

[4] For various conjectures regarding this point, see Iken, *l.c.* p. 19 ff., whose own view of the matter is expressed in the following terms: Ut decimam illam partem cultui et gloriæ Dei et secundum ejus voluntatem, pie impenderet . . . partim Deum sacrificiis pie colendo, partim sumptus ad promovendum cultum publicum, quocunque etiam modo id fieri posset, suggerendo, partim erga pauperiores, officia caritatis observando et jura hospitalitatis pro illorum temporem ratione exercendo. Comp. Gen. xviii. 2 sqq.; Heb. xiii. 2, ut et Job xxxi. 32. Similarly Kurtz, *Gesch. d. Alt. Bund*, i. p. 243 [Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 323].

§ 15. *General Character of the Mosaic Worship.*

The simple worship of the patriarchs could no longer satisfy the children of Israel, now that they had grown to be a numerous people, had been delivered from Egypt, and at Sinai had had the honour of being chosen by the Lord as the people of His covenant. If Israel, as a nation with a duly organized civil government, was to fulfil its divine mission, it was necessary that its religious affairs should also be remodelled, and that the character and style of its worship should be fixed and regulated, not only generally, but in every detail, by positive divine enactments. At the same time, this remodelling of religion is not to be regarded as the introducing of an entirely new system of worship, seeing that the sacred services which, as the people of the covenant, Israel was required to observe and maintain, were rendered precisely to the same God as their fathers had served and worshipped before them. This of itself was a reason why the worship introduced by Moses had to be grafted upon that of Israel's ancestors, why it had to be incorporated with the latter, its own system improving and perfecting it only as the circumstances of the Israelites as a confederation of tribes or as a monarchy might seem to require, and organizing and completing it in such a way that all its forms and ceremonies might prove suitable means for furthering Israel's divinely-

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appointed mission. This object was further secured by the Mosaic worship, inasmuch as it embraced all the elements that are essential to a perfect system of worship, not only giving precise directions as to the place where worship was to be celebrated, with its whole structure and arrangements, and instituting a distinct order of sacred functionaries, but also prescribing the religious ceremonial and fixing the sacred seasons, as well as the manner in which they were to be observed, and bringing the whole of those matters into such a mutual relation with each other as to form one harmonious whole. Nor could such a system fail to bear the stamp of genuine worship, seeing that Moses had framed it in accordance with divine revelation, and that Jehovah, the God of Israel, is the true God. Yet it might seem as though this view of the matter could hardly be reconciled with the material and sensuous character that pervades the entire Mosaic system, and with the circumstance that many of its forms and ceremonies are such as belong no less to the rituals of pagan religions. These facts have been variously misconstrued, and have been taken advantage of for the purpose of disparaging the divine origin and character of the Mosaic worship. Those who have proceeded in this way start with certain abstract notions regarding the "worshipping of God in spirit and in truth" (John iv. 24), sometimes misapprehending the relation of the outward forms to the ideas embodied in them, and sometimes even going the length of taking the material form for the very essence of the worship itself.[1]

[1] This purely material conception of the Mosaic worship has its ultimate root in an entire misapprehension, not only of the kingdom of God and scriptural revelation, but of the nature of religion generally, this latter being supposed to consist merely of so many facts regarding the being and the works of God, and so many moral precepts bearing upon our duty to God and man. The first instance in which we meet with it is in Maimonides, a Jewish philosopher of the Middle Ages, who in his *Moreh, Nevochim, Doctor perplexorum*, ed. J. Buxt. lib. iii. c. 45–49, traces the majority of the ceremonial enactments to an outward antagonism to idolatry, for he knows of no higher object that the entire law could have had than the extirpation of idolatry (*Totius Legis scopus et cardo consistit in hoc, ut Idololatria e medio tollatur, nomen ejus delcatur*, p. 445).

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This view was pushed still further by his commentator, Rabbi Schem Tob, who, in a passage quoted by Bähr (*Symbol.* i. p. 14 f. 2nd ed.), reduces the whole Mosaic worship to the level of a mere imitation of the modes of paying homage to an earthly king. It was introduced into Christian theology by John Spencer, of England, in his *De legibus Hebræorum rit. earumque rationibus, libri* iv., where he undertakes "leges Mos. non sine ratione, *quamquam mutabili et temporaria* datas evincere." This ratio, according to Spencer, is of a twofold character, a *ratio primaria*, agreeably to which the law was to form a medium ordinarium, quo Deus ad idololatriam abolendam, et Israelitas in ipsius fide cultuque retinendos, uteretur, and a *ratio secundaria:* ut legis istius ritus et instituta rerum altiorum σκιαγραφίαν quandam exhiberent, et rebus quibusdam evangelicis et officiis moralibus, tanquam in typo vel imagine repræsentandis, inservirent (p. 19). According to the *ratio primaria*, the essence of the theocracy lies in God's being the King of Israel, and that a rex politicus, militaris et cœlestis, and in the Israelites being required to worship Him in the last-mentioned capacity. In the law this was so provided for: ut ritus et instituta, Dei cultum spectantia, semper aliquid regum mortalium sorte sublimius et augustius olerent, et eodem tempore Jehovæ tribuerent infirmitatem regis et majestatem Dei; nempe ut hac ratione sensus et affectus majestati cœlesti consentanei incuterentur, et legis institutis non minus Dei honori quam plebis imbecillitati consultum esset (p. 231 f.). But the way in which this worship originated was as follows: Quando itaque Deo jam res esset cum rudi populo, a suis seculique moribus nulla machina dimovendo; eorum (scil. gentium, Ægypti præcipue) ritus nonnullos paululum emendatos leni animo tulit: et per συγκατάβασιν illam Israelitas a gentium idolis et ceremoniis sensim et suaviter avocare studuit, quos statim et cum violentia quadam avellere non potuit (p. 640), or as it is put shortly before: Deus interim (ut superstitioni quovis pacto iretur obviam) ritus non paucos, multorum annorum et gentium usu cohonestatos, quos ineptias norat esse tolerabiles, aut ad mysterium aliquod adumbrandum aptos, in sacrorum numerum adoptavit. From these quotations we have good reason to anticipate that the writer would not be disposed to regard the *ratio secundaria* with too much favour. Accordingly he omitted from the two subsequent editions (comp. Pfaffii *dissert. prælim.* p. 2) the following passage contained in the first: Nam in Judæorum ritibus et ceremoniis tot mysteria statum Evangelicum spectantia latuerunt, ut gens illa non minus regnum propheticum quam sacerdotale videretur, and only in connection with a few ritual observances here and

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there do we find him speaking of a *ratio mystica et typica*.—At first, no doubt, these views encountered violent opposition, and numerous attempts were made to refute them (comp. the collection given by Pfaff in the *dissert. prælim.* prefixed to his edition); they were not, however, suppressed, but, through the influence of the Deism and Rationalism of the previous century, they gradually grew in favour till they became the leading views of the age, so that ultimately the advocates of supernatural revelation themselves, Hess and Köppen, availed themselves of them as weapons for the defence of the Old Testament; and, in more recent times, they have been once more revived by Knobel (*die Bücher Exod. u. Levit.* p. 13 f.), though in a somewhat modified form. For the authorities bearing on this point, and for a refutation of the above view, consult Bähr (*Symbol.* i. pp. 14 ff. and 53 of the 2nd ed.).

It is true, no doubt, that the Mosaic worship embodies itself for the most part in outward forms and ceremonies. But, in the first place, man—as a being consisting of body as well as spirit—cannot enjoy purely spiritual intercourse with God the absolute Spirit, but can only give expression to his relation to the Creator through the channel of corporeal media. If religious thought and feeling seek to express themselves at all, they can only do so in word and act. No doubt the word is the immediate expression of what is in the mind, yet it is always, at the same time, something material and outward; and this is true in a still higher degree of the act. Now, if words and acts are necessary forms in every kind of worship, it follows that these forms, as being the expression of man's spiritual relations to God, must be copies or impressions of religious ideas; they must stand in a definite relation to those ideas, *i.e.* they must have an allegorical or symbolical character. And this holds true not only with regard to the Mosaic worship alone, but also as regards the rituals belonging to the whole of the religions of ancient times.[2] Then, in the second place, every worship, if it is to manifest and foster the religious life, must also assume a character corresponding to the stage of spiritual development at which the religious consciousness has arrived for the time being. At the period now in question the people of Israel, like all the nations of antiquity, and especially those belonging to the East, was in the earliest stages of its development, having in Moses' time only reached, as yet, that

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stage at which things are usually apprehended by direct perception, and where the distinction between the spiritual and the corporeal, the ideal and the real, has not yet shaped itself before the mind with perfect clearness. According to this mode of viewing things, which is characteristic of the infancy and early days of the human race generally, "the whole, real visible world is," to use the language of Bähr, "the outward manifestation of a corresponding ideal one; the whole creation, as it is the work of God, so it is, at the same time, the witness and revelation of Him as well; nothing in nature is a mere dead mass, but all things serve as body and integument for the supernatural and the divine; everything, down even to the very stones, seems instinct with life, for the divine source from which it emanates is absolute life itself."[3] A worship intended to suit such a stage of development must of necessity abound in outward forms and ceremonies, if it is to express the religious life in its various aspects and relations. For it is precisely at such a stage that the need is most urgently felt of clothing religious truths in material forms, of apprehending, contemplating, and representing them under such forms.

But besides this, there is the peculiar character of the revealed religion of the Old Testament. The religion of the Old Testament is monotheism in contradiction to the polytheism of heathen nations; yet it is not this alone, but it is at the same time a revelation of saving grace, a healing agency for restoring man to that living fellowship with God, the source of life, which had been destroyed by sin. The one true God, whom Moses announces to the Israelites under the name of Jehovah, is not merely the Almighty Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the world, and of every creature in heaven and earth, not simply the eternal, absolute Spirit, but also the Righteous and Holy One, the Good and Merciful One, who has destined man, whom He had made in His own image, to partake of the felicity of life which springs from personal fellowship with Himself, from holy personal love; not only the infinitely exalted One, seated on a throne far away in the world beyond, but, at the same time, the Omnipresent and the Near, who affectionately watches over all His creatures, stoops down to help the weak and the distressed,

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seeks to conduct those who have wandered from Him back again to the fountain of life, and who, when the whole thoughts and aims of man had grown to be evil from his youth up, selected for Himself from the heart of an utterly degenerate humanity, and in the person of Abraham and his seed, a race that was designed to be in a special sense His people, and to which, in a special sense, He would be *God*, in order that, through this people, He might prepare the way for the salvation of the world. With a view to the carrying out of this gracious purpose, He plants His kingdom in and among this people by redeeming them from their bondage in Egypt, and by imparting to them, at Sinai, such a body of directions for the regulation of their life that, if accepted and complied with, Israel would become to Him "a peculiar treasure (סְגֻלָּה) above all people" (Ex. xix. 5 f.), — "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation."

The purpose which the Old Testament religion was intended to serve—designed as it was to be *a blessed means of laying the foundations of the kingdom of God* — would necessarily contribute largely to the multiplication of its forms of worship. For the truth is, the kingdom of God does not consist merely of an inward fellowship of life, in virtue of which God dwells by His Spirit in the hearts of men, quickens, governs, and blesses their thoughts and feelings; but if in this world and amid a temporal order of things, it is to possess the character of reality for men living in bodies of flesh and blood, it must also embody itself in outward forms and institutions, calculated to bring the whole inner and outer life of the man into living union with God. If the domain of man's religious relations to God—relations which must necessarily find their corresponding expression in worship — became in this way considerably enlarged, it has to be still further borne in mind that the act of entering into a covenant at Sinai did not consummate that living fellowship between Israel and Jehovah which constitutes the essence of the kingdom of God,—because for this the people was not ripe as yet,—but was merely a preliminary step in the direction of such fellowship, the nation requiring, in the first instance, to be trained through the discipline of the law to a righteous behaviour before God, and to the sanctifying of their life in Him.—In consequence

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of that alienation from God brought about by sin, to which in keeping with its sensuous tendencies Israel, too, had yielded, it was impossible for the Old Testament dispensation to assume any other character than that of a mere preparatory arrangement. Still the gracious proceeding of God in entering into a covenant with His people was not merely the foundation upon which His kingdom was to be built, but on God's side a real relation was already presupposed—a relation containing within itself the germ of true and perfect fellowship of life with Him. The reality of this relation shows itself not only in the fact that Jehovah, as Lord and King, now gives a constitution to His people, assigns them the land of Canaan as their heritage and property, and henceforth protects, guides, and governs them, but it is impressed no less upon the worship prescribed to Israel. For this worship was so organized that, in its forms and arrangements, the fellowship of life, which God had graciously vouchsafed to the people of the covenant, was exhibited and reflected in a way that was not only intelligible and stimulating to the religious thought of the people in the stage of development which they had then reached, but was also well adapted to educate a sinful people like them in the fear and love of God, to unfold their spiritual life, and to lead them onward towards that perfection to which, under the new covenant, they were destined to attain in the enjoyment of true reconciliation with God through Christ, and in view of which perfection Old Testament worship acquired a typical significance as well.

[2] As all who have thoroughly investigated the matter have acknowledged; comp. the passages bearing on the point as quoted by Bähr, *Symbol.* i. p. 30 f. 2nd ed., from such authorities as Creuzer, K. O. Müller, and Welcker.

[3] Comp. Bähr as above, p. 30.

Now if, in accordance with what has just been stated, the material form of the Mosaic worship may not only be accounted for by the nature and ultimate object of Old Testament revelation, but is necessarily involved in every true scriptural conception of the kingdom of God in its earliest phase as merely preparing the way for the salvation of mankind, we then are further bound to reject as erroneous

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every view which fails duly to distinguish between form and essence in connection with this worship, whether on the one hand it confounds the form with the essence, or on the other regards the outward form as not belonging to the essence of the Mosaic religion, but as an external addition, superimposed upon it merely by way of accommodation to the rudeness of a people scarce receptive as yet of spiritual truth. Thus it also appears, from what has been stated above, that a *symbolical* as well as *typical* significance attaches to the forms of worship generally, so that all that remains to be more precisely determined is the character of this symbolism and typology, both being frequently confounded with each other, and early writers, as a rule, failing to distinguish carefully between symbol and type. For these two things are not mere figurative representations used with the view of elucidating spiritual truths, but in the domain of religion they rather form the sensible substrata of supersensible truths and religious relationships,[4] though, in the domain in question, they differ from each other in this, that the *symbol* is an object that addresses the outward senses, and the meaning of which is not to be found in its outward or material expression, but in the supersensible idea which it serves to body forth. The *type*, on the other hand, is taken in the language of theology and the Church to be an object with a supersensible meaning, an object which points to something in the future, which portrays beforehand something or other that is to be realized in the future, and is therefore not merely figurative, but prefigurative, so that the type is sometimes called "a prophetic symbol."[5]

[4] For the evidence, as given by Creuzer in his *Symbolik*, that the term σύμβολον had been introduced into the domain of religious thought as early as the days of Æschylus, Aristophanes, Xenophon, and other classical authors, see Bähr, i. p. 18 of 2nd ed.

[5] The term τύπος (from τύπτω, to strike) means, literally, the impression produced by a blow; hence its use in the sense of impression, copy, model. A type, says Tholuck in Herzog (*Encyclopædie*), "is that which gives in a lower sphere the stamped impression of something belonging to a higher. In nature and history the law that operates in the lower repeats itself in the higher order of things, and always on a loftier

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and more transcendent scale. It is upon this fact that the scriptural idea of the type is based." The practice of referring the type to something future has been borrowed from such Biblical phraseology as: τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος, Rom. v. 14 (comp. Col. ii. 17; Heb. ix. 11, 24); comp. Bähr, p. 74, note.

Well, then, the *symbolical character* of Old Testament worship does not lie merely in the circumstance that its institutions and rites shadow forth the invisible realms and the sacred obligations of the Israelites towards God, but more particularly in the fact that, through its symbolical forms, that worship gives outward expression to the relation into which God has entered with His chosen people on the one hand, and to the attitude of the people toward God and His compassionate favour on the other. This worship is the symbolical representation of the kingdom of God on its inward religious side,—a representation that gives to the degree of living fellowship with Himself, which at that stage the Holy One was pleased to vouchsafe to Israel, its genuine expression, and that an expression well calculated to foster this fellowship. And, accordingly, the tabernacle (the temple) for example, the place in which the worship centred, was understood to be the house of God in which He dwelt, and where, to the people that came there to seek His face, He manifested Himself as near and present; matters, however, being so arranged that the people themselves were not permitted to enter into His immediate presence, but had to confine themselves to the outer court of His house, where they might hold communion with Him only through the medium of a consecrated priesthood. This barrier, by which the unholy people was shut out from the presence of the holy God, ran through all the different acts of worship, sacrifice, consecration, and purification, all of them having been suggestive of separation from God, and having had as their ultimate object the entire removal of sin and impurity, in order that reconciliation with Him might be brought about. — It was this ethical character, or this circumstance of its indicating in and through its manifold forms the existence of a moral and spiritual fellowship between God and the people, that essentially distinguished this worship from that belonging to the Gentile religions, which latter, by pantheistically identifying God

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with the world, revealed no other relation between gods and men than that which is purely cosmic and physically real.

By a correct appreciation of the nature of the relation in which the symbolical form of the Mosaic worship stood to the essence of the Old Testament revelation, we at the same time dispose of the difficulties and objections which have been raised against conceiving of this form as symbolical in its character, as when it is urged, for example, that the Israelites were incapable of apprehending the material form in a symbolical sense, and that the Law nowhere furnishes the necessary key to the interpretation of the symbols. The former of these objections is based upon erroneous ideas as to the degree of culture to which the Israelites had attained, as well as the modes of thought that obtained in the ancient world. At the time of their departure from Egypt the Israelites were not a wild nomadic horde, but in the course of their stay in that country, which was then the most civilised in the world, they had attained to a tolerably high degree of development. There they gradually abandoned their pastoral mode of life in favour of those agricultural pursuits that form the basis of all civilisation; there they learned to dwell no longer in tents, but in better homes; there they acquired the knowledge of all sorts of handicraft, and some amount of dexterity in art; and there they had daily opportunities of witnessing the symbolical emblems and usages of the Egyptian religion, so that, to say the least of it, they could not possibly have been strangers to symbolical modes of thought and conceptions, even supposing that these latter had been unknown in more primitive times, and had not characterized, as confessedly they did, the entire ancient world from the earliest days.[6]—The other objection is due, in the case of many who urge it, to the fact that what they have in view is a conscious symbolism, *i.e.* a symbolism in which the author of it selected and determined the outward sign in which the idea to be portrayed might be embodied, and in which the person worshipping God by means of it would be clearly conscious of the distinction between the outward act and the spiritual idea underlying it; whereas, in the earlier stages of development among ancient people, no difference whatever was

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recognised between substance and form, the figure was looked upon as being itself the reality, and the symbolism of the most ancient religions was more or less of an unconscious character. But this refined distinction between conscious and unconscious symbols is the creation of logical speculation, and is incompatible with the modes of thought that prevailed in more ancient times. This primitive way of looking at things, which is now so foreign to our abstract and speculative habits of thought, did not require to have the symbols interpreted in order that they might be understood. And accordingly anything like a guide to interpretation of symbols was as little known among the Israelites as among the ancient Egyptians and Indians, whose forms of worship were much more complicated than the Mosaic. Besides, it has to be borne in mind, on the one hand, that the rudiments of the Mosaic worship—its altars, sacrifices, purifyings—had been inherited from the fathers, and that the Mosaic law did not introduce an entirely new method of worship, but was only a developed form of the patriarchal worship so modified as to suit the altered circumstances of the nation. At the same time, it has to be further remembered, on the other hand, that the Mosaic law is not taken up merely with certain ceremonies to be observed in worship, but that it also embraces records of divine revelations as well as certain general precepts of a moral and religious character, all of which furnish a copious source of information regarding the nature of God and His dealings, and bear testimony as much to the holiness and righteousness as they do to the grace and mercy of the one true God; and finally, that even in the law itself we here and there come across hints and suggestions as to the meaning and object of certain ceremonial regulations; comp. Ex. xxviii. 30, 38; Lev. ii. 13, x. 17, xvi. 21 f., xxvi. 41; Deut. x. 16, etc. In such hints every pious Israelite would find such a key to the deeper spiritual meaning of the outward forms of worship as he felt he required in order to the due satisfaction of his higher needs. Moses and the more enlightened among his contemporaries were no doubt more or less clearly conscious of the distinction between the material forms of worship and the spiritual ideas embodied in them; but we must not venture to assume that a similar degree of

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enlightenment existed among the people at large; and still less must we insist that the possession on the part of the people of a full insight into the meaning of the various symbols of worship was necessary, if we are to justify the symbolical character given to the Mosaic system.[7] But if, as often happened, especially at a subsequent period, the mass of the people confounded the essence of worship with its outward form, this was due, not to the symbolical character of the worship, but to the material tendencies of the people themselves,—tendencies which not only alienate heart and soul from God's word, but also darken the judgment and the reason, and render the natural man unsusceptible of religious truth.

[6] Comp. Hengstenberg's *Beitrr. zur Einl. in d. A. T.* ii. p. 430 ff. [Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 483 ff.]; also his *Bücher Mosis u. Ægypten*, p. 136 ff. [Eng. tr. p. 133 ff.]. Knobel's notes on Ex. xxv. p. 254; and Bähr, *Symbol.* i. p. 39 ff. of the 2nd ed.

[7] In answer to the theory of a mere unconscious symbolism in the Mosaic worship, Hengstenberg, *Beitrr.* iii. p. 617 ff., has endeavoured to prove by a series of arguments that this symbolism was of a purely conscious nature; but the most that his arguments go to prove is that it was not exclusively unconscious. For a correct view of the matter, consult Bähr, *Symbol.* i. pp. 37 f., 43 f. of the 2nd ed.

The *typical character* is entirely peculiar to the Old Testament worship; it is foreign to the rituals of Gentile religions, however much they may share with it the *symbolical* character. For the typical character is based upon the nature and object of the Old Testament economy as a preparatory dispensation, founded by God with a view to the ultimate revelation of His grace in all its fulness in the kingdom of God under the New Testament. Accordingly the typology of the Old Testament does not pervade the worship alone, but all the other theocratic institutions as well, extending to the historical journeyings of Israel under divine guidance, and to the personages that played a prominent part in its history, to priests and prophets; and hence the distinction between types as embodied in persons on the one hand, and things or events on the other. This

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is taught in the New Testament as plainly as words can teach it, for there Christ does not merely declare that He is come to fulfil the law and the prophets (Matt. v. 17), but likewise demonstrates the fact by His deeds and sufferings; while the Apostle Paul, again, is found describing the whole law as *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν* (Gal. iii. 24). In conformity with this principle, not only events and persons, as, for example, the setting up of the brazen serpent (John iii. 14), the conducting of Israel through the wilderness (1 Cor. x. 1–6), the deluge (1 Pet. iii. 20 f.), Melchisedec the priest and king (Heb. vii. 1 ff.), the prophet Elijah (Matt. xi. 14), etc., but objects and institutions, are invested with a typical significance. It is exclusively with the types of this latter class, especially those of the ceremonial law, that we are here concerned. The ceremonial law, taken as a whole, is described as *ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιὰ τῶν μελλόντων* (Heb. viii. 5, x. 1; Col. ii. 17); but it is in the *sacrificial death* of Christ, above all, that the complete fulfilment of the whole sacrificial worship is seen to be realized, and the shadow seen to merge into the substance (Heb. viii. – x.). Not only so, but a considerable number of the different ordinances connected with the ceremonial system are explained in a typical sense, the *ἱλαστήριον*, for example (Rom. iii. 25), circumcision (Col. ii. 11), the offering of incense (Rev. v. 8), and so on. This relation of the Old Testament to the New, and this typical method of explaining the Mosaic legal system as preliminary to and preparing the way for the grace and truth revealed in Christ, have accordingly been recognised by divines in every age of the Church. But until more recent times their scope has not been correctly apprehended and developed, the Fathers using *σύμβολον*, *τύπος*, and *ἀλληγορία* interchangeably, and the older theologians in general taking all the Old Testament institutions as applying immediately to Christ, without noting, in the first instance, the symbolical, *i.e.* the figurative, significance which these had for Old Testament times and for the Old Testament Church.[8] This lasted till Bähr, in his *Symbolik des Mos. Cultus*, succeeded in demonstrating the symbolical character of this worship. Because the Mosaic worship had been prescribed to the

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Israelites, and because Israel, again, by means of the law was to be trained for its mission of becoming the medium of salvation for all the nations of the earth, it follows, he argues, that "the symbolism and typology of that worship must be carefully distinguished, and must on no account be confounded or identified with one another. The symbolism serves as foundation and substratum for the typology, which, but for it, would, as it were, hang in the air." Consequently, the symbolical meaning is the primary; the typical, on the other hand, is the secondary one; the former must therefore take precedence of the latter, as certainly as the Old Covenant precedes the New, that rests and is based upon it. This, however, is not to be understood as implying that the typical sense is on that account any the less important; so far from that, both of them are equally important, inasmuch as it is in the typology that the verities underlying the symbolism of the Old Testament worship are first fully realized. "In so far as the religious idea symbolically embodied in the Old Testament has attained to full realization in the New, so far does the New Testament shed back its light upon the symbols of the Old; it is in this light that the meaning of the symbols comes to be first correctly and unmistakeably apprehended, it is through it that it is first duly corroborated. Any interpretation of a Mosaic symbol that is incompatible with the truths of the New Testament can never be regarded as an accurate one." [9]

From this it would not seem to be difficult to discover the correct interpretation of the symbols of worship, seeing that the typical explanation of them given in the New Testament will serve as a corrective in case of any mistake and confusion arising in connection with the symbolical interpretation. And yet the diversity of opinion that prevails among those who cultivate that department of study bearing upon the interpretation of the various symbols, is evidence of itself that the matter is not so simple as, considering the relation mentioned above, it would seem to be. For this the following reasons may be assigned. In the first place, the New Testament rarely furnishes any express, still less any *complete* interpretation of the Old Testament types, confining itself merely to

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occasional observations with regard to some individual point or other. Even in the Epistle to the Hebrews, when the writer is pointing out how Christ, by means of His holy life, His passion, and His ascension, had offered an all-sufficient sacrifice for our sins, and procured for us an eternal redemption, it is only the more salient points of the Old Testament sacrificial system that are touched upon and that are shown to have been fulfilled in Christ's giving Himself to death, and by His exaltation to the right hand of the Divine Majesty. Numerous other elements that undoubtedly possess a symbolical significance are left unnoticed and unexplained.—Then, in the next place, the kingdom of God which Christ, by coming into the world, has founded for all nations, is not as yet fully perfected, but is still in process of development, and only awaiting its complete realization at the second coming of our Lord, so that as yet we do not see everything fulfilled that was prefigured in the Old Testament dispensation. But the types being, as they are, prophetic symbols, have this in common with prophecy, that it is only after they have been fully realized that they become perfectly clear and intelligible. Now the future perfecting of the kingdom of Christ is doubtless intimated to us in the New Testament; but the intimation is conveyed, especially in the Apocalypse, in figurative language of a symbolical character, borrowed from the forms belonging to the Old Testament theocracy,—language which, in its turn, required to be interpreted for us, because our minds, confined as they are within the narrow boundaries of time and space in this lower world, are incapable of comprehending or of conceiving the supersensible objects and spiritual realities of the kingdom of glory in any other way than by means of some figurative representation of them in which they are contemplated as "in a glass darkly." We must further add that the symbolism and the typology of the Old Testament are not exactly convertible terms, that although all the typical forms of worship have a symbolical meaning as well, still everything having a symbolical significance is not to be regarded as typical at the same time, for many institutions and ceremonies belonging to the Old Testament dispensation that were indispensable to complete the materials of the figurative conception are annulled the moment

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the substantial realities emerge into view. Accordingly the various numbers and measurements, for example, that are mentioned in connection with the tabernacle and its furniture, were undoubtedly symbolical though possessing nothing of a typical significance, as may be seen from the fact that the cubical shape of the holy of holies in the tabernacle and the temple recurs in the description of the heavenly Jerusalem (Rev. xxi. 16); and unquestionably the cubical form under which the site of the New Jerusalem is represented, is only to be taken in a symbolical sense, and not to be regarded as a typical realization of the building of the holy city of God. The regulations as to the sprinkling of the blood of the sacrifice, partly upon the altar of burnt-offering and its horns, partly upon the horns of the altar of incense, and partly toward the lid of the ark, have a deep symbolical significance for Old Testament times; and yet it would be somewhat difficult to prove that they possessed any typical significance bearing upon the sacrifice of Christ. And, finally, we have still further to notice that it would seem to be inconsistent with the very nature of a symbol to try to reproduce the powerful impressions which it awakens in a series of elaborate thoughts. Were we to attempt to translate the primary impression awakened by the numbers mentioned in connection with the construction of the tabernacle, or by its various metals and colours, into a series of dogmatic propositions, we would speedily land ourselves in a region of fanciful conceits.[10]

As the result of all that has just been stated, we get the following general rules for our guidance in *symbolical* interpretation. In the first place, in every description given us of the various ceremonies and institutions of worship, we must carefully distinguish between elements of an essential character and those matters that are only of secondary importance, and that are necessary merely in the way of giving outward shape and embodiment to the service. We will find an important hint as to the necessity of attending to this distinction in the precision and detail with which the principal points are described, as compared with the brief way in which the accessories are disposed of. In the next place, the specific name of each individual item of worship and its relation to the entire system are to be noted, and these two elements are

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to be employed as the basis of any inquiry we may make with a view to discover the spiritual significance of the worship itself. Further, the hints that are dropped, partly in the law and partly in subsequent books of the Old Testament, regarding the meaning of this or the other form or ceremony, as well as the statements occurring in the New Testament with reference to their fulfilment, are to be duly noted, for every interpretation that is at variance with the religious ideas and truths of the Old and New Testaments is at once to be dismissed as erroneous. And lastly, every individual symbol can only admit of one primary sense, and not of a variety of interpretations, and that too a sense calculated to suit every case to which it may be applied.[11]

In order, on the other hand, to find out the *typical* meaning of the symbols of worship, the principal thing to be seen to is that that meaning is based upon the symbolical one, and that it is in no way incompatible with it. Then we must keep strictly in view the distinction between the forms of Old Testament worship (objects and actions) on the one hand, —forms which were indispensable to such a temporary embodiment of the kingdom of God as was suited to the limited capacities of the people, and which were destined to fall away as soon as that kingdom was widened and extended to all the nations of the world,—and, on the other, between the religious ideas themselves, so pregnant with eternal meaning, that are wrapt up in the limited material form,—ideas that belong to the very essence of God's kingdom. Thus typology will be saved from degenerating into a thing of arbitrary conceits, from wandering into the regions of an insipid or over-refined ingenuity. Lastly, as regards the fulfilment of the Old Testament types in Christ and in the kingdom of God which He founded, we are to observe, on the one hand, that whenever an instance of such fulfilment is noticed in the New Testament, it is, as a rule, only the substance of the thing that is given, without entering into any full and exhaustive argument for the purpose of showing that the type has been realized in the antitype; and, on the other, that the New Testament kingdom of God is not to be regarded as having reached as yet its ultimate perfection in that historical manifestation and development of it which we find in the

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Christian Church, but as awaiting its full consummation at the second coming of Christ, when there shall be a new heaven and a new earth. By keeping those two points carefully in view, we shall help most materially to secure typology against its erroneous tendency to confine the biblical type within too narrow a range.

[8] A copious selection of authorities bearing on this point is given by Bähr, *Symbol.* i. pp. 79–83 of the 2nd ed., and by Tholuck in his article, "Vorbild," in Herzog's *Encyclopædia* [comp. Fairbairn's *Typology of Scripture*, 3rd ed. 1856]. The Fathers touched upon the types, but more in an incidental way, in the course of their allegorical expositions of Scripture. But it was reserved for the Dutch theologians of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, above all for Coccejus († 1669) and his disciples Cramer († 1659), Witsius († 1708), Edzard († 1708), van Till († 1713), and others, to elaborate typology into a regular system; a system, however, which from their being utterly incapable of appreciating the ideal view of the connection between the Old and New Testaments, those writers handled in so arbitrary and insipid a fashion that it fell entirely into disrepute. At the same time, neither Bengel, with his clear exposition of the organic connection between the two dispensations, nor Michaelis, with his flat and feeble *Entwurf der typischen Gottesgelehrtheit*, Gött. 1752, 2nd ed. 1763, nor Hiller, in his more instructive *Neues System aller Vorbilder Jesu Christi durch das ganze A. Test.*, Stuttg. 1758 (republished in 1858 under the editorship of Knapp), can be said to have succeeded in their attempts to combat it; for they too, like all the other opponents of typology, have fallen into the fundamental error of confounding the symbol, the type, and the allegory. This radical defect also mars the otherwise able sketch of typology by J. Fr. v. Meyer in the *Blätter für höhere Wahrheit*, 10 Samml. 1831.

[9] Bähr's own words in his *Symbolik* as above, p. 78.

[10] On this point comp. the remarks of Riggenbach, *die Mos. Stiftshütte*, p. 49.

[11] With this comp. the five following rules of interpretation, laid down and accompanied with a more precise statement of the grounds of their adoption, by Bähr in his *Symb.* i. p. 89 ff. of the 2nd ed.:—1. In order to ascertain the meaning of any symbol, we must possess, above all, a correct knowledge of its nature. 2. The symbols of the Mosaic worship, generally speaking, admit only of such an interpretation as will harmonize with the religious ideas and truths of Mosaism,

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and with its clearly expressed principles. 3. In proceeding to interpret any symbol, we must begin first of all with its name. 4. Every symbol, no matter how varied the connections in which it may be found, has always the same fundamental meaning. 5. In every symbol, whether it be a thing or an act, that which reveals the idea to be symbolized must be carefully distinguished from that which is necessary merely in order to its appropriate expression, and which therefore is to be regarded in the light of an accessory.

§ 16. *Relation of the Mosaic Worship to the Heathen Rituals of Ancient Times.*

As the Mosaic worship contains many institutions and usages that are in some respects kindred and analogous to the rituals of ancient heathen nations, we feel called upon, before proceeding further, to enter somewhat fully into the question as to the relation in which the elements common to Mosaism and Heathenism stand to each other, because a decisive answer to this question is of essential importance, not only as regards the correct appreciation of the Mosaic worship in general, but also as regards the due understanding of its various forms and ceremonies, and because at the present day it is a point on which opinion is still divided.

I. The older orthodox theology maintained that the Mosaic institutions were all of them strictly original and given by God through Moses, and that corresponding or kindred forms of worship found among the heathen were mere imitations of what had been divinely revealed, and were borrowed from the books of Moses.[1] But this view was too much at variance with the facts of history to be able to hold its ground for any length of time. For of the ancient heathen worships, many are demonstrably older than the Mosaic; while others—no matter whether at a later or an earlier period—came into existence in a way so entirely independent of the Mosaic system, that the idea of their borrowing from it, imitating it, or making a model of it, is quite out of the question.

[1] The real author of this view is the Jewish historian Josephus, who, in his eagerness to exalt his people in the

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eyes of Greeks and Romans, represents all the sages of antiquity as having borrowed their doctrines and their laws from the writings of Moses. But the full development of this view was reserved for the seventeenth century, when it was based, on the one hand, on dogmatic grounds, so that the origin of heathen idolatry was ascribed to the devil as *simia Dei*, and the efforts of the heathen to imitate the Mosaic worship were designated by the term κακοζηλία; while, on the other, it was supported by a learned array of historico-philological arguments. The writers to whom the view in question was indebted for such support were Vossius in his work entitled *De theologia gentili s. de origine ac progressu idololatriæ*, libr. ix. 1641; Dilherr in his treatise, *De κακοζηλίᾳ gentilium;* Bochart, in whose works it is turned to account in various ways, and with in many instances an unhappy ingenuity, and the French bishop Huet, who at last pushed it the length of absurdity in his *Demonstratio evangelica*, pars I. prop. IV. cap. 3 ff., where we find an attempt to demonstrate that "*universa propemodum Ethnicorum theologia*" has emanated "*ex Mose Mosisve actis aut scriptis;*" that the *Taauth* of the Phœnicians, the *Adonis* of the Syrians, the *Osiris*, the *Apis* and *Mnevis*, the *Serapis* and *Horus* and *Anubis* of the Egyptians, the *Zoroaster* of the Persians, the *Apollo*, *Pan*, *Priapus*, *Aesculapius*, the *Cadmus*, *Danaus*, *Cecrops*, *Minos* and *Perseus* of the Greeks, that, in short, all the gods and heroes of heathen nations — not even excepting those of the Indians, Germans, Gauls, Britons, and Americans — are all to be identified with one and the same individual — the now deified Moses.—It is upon such views as this that Schelling pronounces judgment when he appropriately observes (*Einleit. in d. Philos. der Mythologie*, 1856, p. 86): "Such interpretations may merely be mentioned here as *sententiæ dudum explosæ* in case any one should ever think of reviving them, as has recently been done in the case of certain others."

II. A greater measure of approval was accorded, and to some extent is still accorded, to the view that what is common to the Mosaic and heathen worships has its original source in heathenism, that God either imported it into the Mosaic worship out of loving condescension to the spiritual weakness of the Israelitish people, blending it with that system in a way calculated to promote monotheism and discourage polytheism,[2] or that it forms the ethnic ground or element out of which—whether through divine revelation

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or in consequence of the gradual opening of the human mind to the light of the pure knowledge of God—monotheism has sprung.[3]—But as far as the *former* modification of it is concerned, this view starts with the mistaken notion that the forms of worship and the ceremonies of religion have no inward relation to the essence of religion itself, that they are not the expression and reflection of spiritual, religious ideas, but are intended simply as a means of securing the people, which was unreceptive as yet of pure spiritual truth, against the seductive influences of a sensuous idolatry, and of winning and attaching them to the exclusive worship of the *one* God. For such an object, however, the means would have been extremely ill suited and injudiciously chosen. For if the forms borrowed from the idolatrous rituals of the heathen had had no inherent religious significance, they could not possibly have contributed in any way towards promoting the worship of the true God, but would only have served to confirm the people in their materialistic tendencies, and instead of awakening amongst them a receptivity for the true spiritual worship of God, would only have had the effect of stifling it. Had they, on the other hand, been inwardly and organically identified in any one respect with heathen idol-worship, then they could never have succeeded in drawing away the people of Israel from heathenism and in alienating them from it; but, on the contrary, would necessarily have tended to foster and strengthen their idolatrous proclivities. Nor could this inevitable tendency have been successfully counteracted by any modification or adaptation of those forms and ceremonies. For, to say nothing of the fact that a people of so rude and sensuous a character as Israel is here supposed to be, would be of too untutored a character to be able to penetrate the spirit and meaning of such modifications, the knowledge and worship of God, which they would be intended to embody, would have differed from heathen idol-worship only in this, that, instead of the numerous imaginary deities of the heathen, Israel would be found to have retained and worshipped only one god, but a god who would have nothing in common with the living and true God, who founds His kingdom upon earth for the purpose of redeeming and saving mankind, except the designation *one* God, while in reality he would be

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merely the creation of the human mind, a mere speculative god. For a god who would employ such means as are here in question for the purpose of establishing his worship among men could not claim to be the all-wise Creator, Preserver, and Ruler of mankind, could not claim to be that eternal Love that cares and provides for His fallen creatures, could not claim to be the God of the spirits of all flesh who gives to all His creatures life, and breath, and all things (Num. xvi. 22, xxvii. 16; Acts xvii. 25).—We see then that the misapprehension of the inward connection between the Mosaic forms of worship and the outward temporary manifestation of the kingdom of God has its ultimate root in a total misconception of God's revelation of salvation, and is based upon ideas of God which—because they are not derived from divine revelation, but emanate from the ordinary time-spirit of deism—degrade the glory of God's loving condescension to the necessities of mankind, to the level of a wretched accommodation to human error and superstition,—an accommodation which it would be impossible to reconcile with the love and wisdom of God as displayed in the methods employed by Him for training mankind.

As soon, then, as Deism came to be superseded by Pantheism, the foregoing conception of the relation of the Mosaic worship to the essence of the religion itself had necessarily to give way to the *other* modification of the view mentioned above—*i.e.* to the theory that the forms and ceremonies in question are relics of a heathen nature-worship into which the spiritual and ethical ideas of the Mosaic religion were infused after the idea of the unity and spirituality of Jehovah had taken a deeper and firmer hold upon the minds of the people.—This opinion has over the other this unquestionable advantage, that it claims for the outward forms of worship a deeper, a *spiritual* significance, that it regards them as symbols of specific religious ideas; it is, however, still more incompatible than ever with the Bible revelation. While the former view only misapprehends the character of the revelation of God's grace and the nature of His kingdom, the latter does away with the very idea of such a revelation, and reduces the purely ethical relation of the personal God to men, who are His own creatures, to a natural mental process,

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to a development of the ordinary spirit of the world in the mind of man, without reflecting that it is impossible for the human mind to struggle up from the nature-worship of heathendom to the knowledge and worship of the one true God, either by any power of its own or by the help of the universal spirit of the world. But if, in order to solve the matter, we are to have recourse to a revelation given by an absolute spirit that exercises uncontrolled sway over the affairs of the world, we must at the same time concede to that spirit the right and the power to create for the new spiritual ideas which it has engendered and awakened in the human mind, the corresponding material forms in which to embody them. Had it really been the case that, in the course of a mental development such as has been supposed, the Israelites did emerge from idolatry into the knowledge of a Supreme Being of a purely spiritual nature, we may surely venture to affirm that no such idea of God could possibly have been awakened and accepted without at the same time bringing about an entire change in the symbols of worship. For as Jehovah, the God of Israel, and the gods or idols of the heathen are diametrically opposed to each other, it follows that if the idol-worship were once to be abandoned, then the symbols that belong to it and that reflect its spirit would necessarily be discarded along with it, and would have to make way for a new set of symbols and forms of worship calculated to embody the spiritual idea of God that would in that case have dawned upon the mind. The incorporating of monotheistic ideas with polytheistic forms, or the idealizing of the symbols belonging to sun and light worship into symbols of a purely Hebraic or monotheistic character, is a thing that, considering the utter disparity that exists between Mosaism and Heathenism, is to every thinking mind simply inconceivable, and can only be maintained by those who have neither made themselves acquainted with the spirit of the Mosaic religion nor learnt to comprehend the distinction that exists between a religion and its emblems and forms of worship. As Mosaism has neither been "engrafted" upon the natural religions of the East, nor is to be regarded as having grown out of them like flowers and fruit from the tree and its branches, so as little can its forms of worship be said

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to have sprung from the forms and ceremonies belonging to the idolatrous worships of Egypt or Asia.

In neither of its modifications does the view in question derive confirmation either from undoubted historical testimony or from any distinct traces of the existence of any such system of borrowing as is here in question. No doubt the prolonged stay of the Israelites in Egypt, their intercourse with the Egyptians, and the influence which the sacred usages and the idolatry of that people must have exerted upon them, have all been appealed to. But however much this influence may serve to explain how God came to be worshipped at Sinai under the image of the golden calf, it fails to account for the institution of the Jehovah-worship which Moses prescribed to the Israelites, or of the forms in which it was embodied. This worship contains so few forms and ceremonies of a specifically Egyptian character, that he alone would venture to trace its origin to Egypt who is thoughtless enough to profess to find something conclusive in every apparent resemblance and in every remote analogy, an analogy which, on closer examination, completely vanishes. How very slender those points of resemblance must be, may be gathered *à priori* from the fact that modern advocates of the heathen origin of the Mosaic institutions have had recourse to the Phœnicians and other Asiatic peoples[4] in the hope of finding among them what the circumstances of ancient Egypt precluded them from finding there. But as in those quarters less still was to be found, they saw nothing for it but to make up for the absence of historical testimony and actual facts by falling back upon subjective fancies or the arbitrary interpretations of Philo of Alexandria, who was entirely out of sympathy with the spirit of Old Testament revelation.

[4] Germs of this view already occur in incidental utterances of several of the Fathers (Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, Chrysostom, Theodoret) regarding heathenism and its relation to the divine revelation. Chrysostom speaks of the matter in the most explicit terms possible in the following passage from his 6th homil. on Matth.: Μὴ τοίνυν ἀνάξιον εἶναι νομίσῃς αὐτοῦ (Θεοῦ) τὸ δι' ἀστέρος αὐτοὺς καλέσαι· ἐπεὶ οὕτω καὶ τὰ Ἰουδαϊκὰ πάντα διαβαλεῖς, καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τοὺς καθαρμοὺς καὶ τὰς νουμηνίας καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν

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καὶ τὸν ναὸν δὲ αὐτόν· καὶ γὰρ ἐξ Ἑλληνικῆς ταῦτα παχύτητος ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν· ἀλλ' ὁμῶς ὁ θεὸς διὰ τὴν τῶν πλανηθέντων σωτηρίαν ἠνέσχετο διὰ τούτων θεραπευθῆναι, δι' ἃν οἱ ἔξωθεν δαίμονας ἐθεράπευον, μικρὸν παραλλάξας αὐτά· ἵνα αὐτοὺς κατὰ μικρὸν τῆς συνηθείας ἀποσπάσας ἐπὶ τὴν ὑψηλὴν ἀναγάγῃ φιλοσοφίαν. For more on this view consult Bähr, i. p. 55 f.—It was systematically developed by Spencer in his work entitled *de legg. Hebr.*, the purport and tendency of which have been indicated above, sec. 15, note 1, and *àpropos* of which we may here further mention that this writer does not only represent sacrifices as springing *e gentium ruditate*, but regards the whole religious institutions of the Gentiles generally as derived "vel a fraude sacerdotum ethnicorum, qui fabulam suam de religione magna varietate rituum exornarunt, ut plebi gratior accederet et sibi ipsis quæstuosior, vel e pruritu et lascivia ingenii humani, cui veterum omnium fastidium statim obrepit; aut e superstitioso et puerili illo dogmate, quod operosis quibusdam ceremoniis et cultus sui circumstantiis artem et elegantiam sapientibus Deum demereri liceat"; not only so, but he traces them back to their ultimate source in the devil as "primarium tot ceremoniarum magistrum" (pp. 639, 640).

[8] The former view of this relation was adopted by Görres in his *Mythengeschichte der asiat. Welt*, 2 vols. Heidelberg 1810; the latter by Vatke in his *Bibl. Theologie u. Relig. des A. Tests.*, Berlin 1835.—Görres starts with the idea that at no time has any people ever been without the pure conception of divinity; that, on the contrary, such a conception has been equally present in all ages, although it has not always been apprehended and embodied in the same fashion; for the view which every individual age has formed of God and the nature of things has always taken its complexion from the general thought of the period, and accordingly he regards the worship of the elements and star-worship in the form in which it is met with in the ancient nature cults of the East, as the earliest phase of religion. On those nature-religions, with their accompanying dogmas, he believes the Mosaic doctrine to have been "engrafted," so that however much its fundamental idea of the unity and invisibility may be opposed to everything like Pantheism and Sabæism, no one acquainted with such matters can have any difficulty in detecting the physiological ideas that pervade the entire system, but which are specially conspicuous in the arrangements of the tabernacle as well as of the temple, which was modelled from the former arrangements in which, with Philo, Görres finds a symbolic representation of the whole universe—heaven, earth, and sea, the two hemispheres, the seven planets, the twelve months, the four elements, and so on.—

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Vatke concurs with Görres in this view of the symbols of worship, but materially differs from him in so far as, in accordance with the principles of Hegelianism, he substitutes a logical process wrought out in the absolute idea for the development of the religious consciousness, resolves the personality of God into the general spirit that pervades the world, and, interpreting the whole Mosaic legislation and history in a mythical sense, represents the Israelites in the time of Moses as worshipping Saturn, and as devoted at a later period to the Phœnician worship of Hercules and the sun, while he regards the monotheistic principle as having originated first of all in the enlightened spirit of the prophets.

[4] Vatke's way of stating the view is such that the whole religious standpoint of the Hebrews can only be conceived of as "a spiritualizing of some Sabæan form of religion, and that a form which differed from the one that prevailed among the Syro-Canaanitish communities, and which therefore must be presumed to have obtained among the Hebrews previous to their settling in Palestine." He likewise combats the view that several elements in their religious symbolism were derived from the Egyptians; and in doing so, he advances arguments that are sound, along with not a few that are the reverse (as above, pp. 195 ff., 662 ff.).—Ghillany (*Die Menschenopfer der alten Hebräer*, 1842), Daumer (*Der Feuer- u. Molochsdienst der alten Hebräer als urväterlicher, legaler, orthodoxer Cultus der Nation*, 1842), Kuenen (*De godsdienst von Israel*, vol. i. 1869, p. 222 ff.) go much farther still, alleging as they do that the Moloch-worship of Asia Minor, with its accompanying human sacrifice, was the lawful worship of the Israelites in the time of Moses. Similarly Planck (*Die Genesis des Judenthums*, 1843), who, however, subsequently revoked this view in his essay on "*Der Ursprung des Mosaismus*" in Zeller's *theol. Jahrbb.* iv. p. 459 ff., declaring at p. 476 that "it is altogether a mistake to try to find in the worship of Moloch the original source and starting-point of the religious ideas of the Israelites." Duncker (*Geschichte des Alterthums*, 3rd ed. 1863, i. p. 319 ff.) and Hartung (*Die Rel. u. Mythol. der Griechen*, 1865, p. 32) maintain the view that in the time of Moses the Israelites merely worshipped the ancestral family god as their guardian divinity, and that it was reserved for the prophets to evolve monotheism out of the existing polytheism. In answer to all those opinions it has been well remarked by J. G. Müller in Herzog, *Encyclopædia*, ix. p. 720: "Whatever views may be held with regard to the date of the composition of the Pentateuch, this much is clear, that at a later period a religion so

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essentially new as the Jehovah-religion was, could never have been offered to the people as an ancient one, if a conviction of the antiquity and priority of that religion had not prevailed even among such of the Hebrews as were given to idolatry, or in any case among those remnants, above all, that in every age clung to orthodox monotheism."—If then, in common with the profoundest thinkers, we must regard the principle of the Hebrew religion as it comes before us in the Old Testament Scriptures, and as we find it in history engaged in sharp and perpetual conflict with the religions of heathendom, as being entitled to lay claim to undoubted originality, it is as impossible that that principle can have been gradually educed from a pre-existing Moloch-worship as it is, with even the most careful cultivation, to get grapes from thorns, or figs from thistles. That is a law of nature that operates in the domain of spiritual things as well as in the animal and vegetable world. Those views have been refuted in a searching and exhaustive manner by W. Wilh. Graf v. Baudissin in his *Jahve et Moloch sive de ratione inter Deum Israelitarum et Molochum intercedente. Dissert. inaug.* Lps. 1874.

III. The correct conception of the relation in question will readily present itself if we distinguish not only between form and substance in the Mosaic worship, *i.e.* between its outward or material forms, and the truths embodied and reflected in those forms; but if in these forms themselves, we in turn distinguish the universal human element that is inherent in the very nature of worship, or that is due to that measure of spiritual advancement to which the religious consciousness of the ancient world had attained, and that consequently will be found constantly recurring in the cults of numerous heathen nations, widely as they may be separated from each other from those portions or elements to which nothing parallel or similar is to be met with, except among a people here or there, with whom Israel may have been brought into contact in the ordinary intercourse of life.

The Mosaic religion is in its nature and origin essentially different from all the religions of heathendom. The *former* is a divine revelation and the worship of the true God, while the latter are simply mythologies, and in their inmost essence mere nature-worships, although mythologies are by no means to be regarded as the mere creation of human

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fancy, but as a "theogonic" process elaborated in the human consciousness, and as presupposing a primitive revelation within the mind of man.[5] For the human mind no sooner began to exercise its power of free self-determination, than, instead of yielding itself up to the guidance of the Divine Spirit, it followed the leading of one that was of a mere sublunary kind, one that approached it from the world of nature, and suffered this spirit to acquire that influence over it which should have been exercised by the Spirit of God alone. The result of this was that it fell so completely under the sway of the spiritual forces that preside in nature, that however much it might strive to realize that those spiritual powers, incapable though they were of being apprehended through any inward or outward sense, were distinctly traceable in their workings and their influences upon human life,—were but manifestations of the infinite Spirit from whom its existence and life were derived; still it could not grasp the now lost and only true source of all being. For the longer it was enslaved by the world-spirit in its varied manifestations in the sphere of mind and nature without being able to attain to the knowledge of the absolute Spirit that, with divine freedom, presides over the world and permeates it all with the breath of His life, the more did it come to look upon the operations and forces of nature as emanations from the divine Being, and to invent gods of its own, which, though they could not be said to be mere creations of the imagination and the reason, but real powers (*δαιμόνια*), were nevertheless natural powers and natural gods, and nothing more.[6] To suit the nature of these gods of heathendom, there were also corresponding forms of worship which the various civilised nations of antiquity have elaborated and improved upon in proportion as they became more and more enlightened. Because, from their pantheistic way of looking at things, they regarded the nature and existence of God as identical with the nature and existence of the spirit that underlies and pervades the material world, and because the infinite *personal* God was foreign to their religious consciousness, we find that the forms of worship

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associated with their religions likewise assumed an out and out cosmical character. Hence it was that, in keeping with their materialistic modes of thought, their gods were either embodied in natural objects or in images made to resemble them, or even in some instances presented under living forms selected from among men, or taken from the animal kingdom. The temples, as being the abodes of those gods, were constructed so as to resemble heaven or the κόσμος, representing as a well-ordered system of things the universe.[7] Finally, man's relations to the gods came to be outwardly exhibited in a series of acts and ceremonies of an extremely varied character, being adapted in every instance to the particular phase in the mythological development of religious ideas that might happen to prevail, and evincing an earnest and painful endeavour on the part of the worshipper to appease the wrath of the gods, to secure their favour and assistance, and to become partakers of their powers and gifts, or to merge his own life into that of the universal spirit of the world, that in it his own individual being might be absorbed and lost.

The Mosaic religion, on the other hand, places the people of Israel in a relation—sanctioned by divine revelation—of ethical and personal fellowship of life with the personal, living God; a relation which was so embodied in the theocracy, with its political institutions and its religious or ceremonial observances as prescribed by the law of Moses, that in the former the earthly material, and in the latter the heavenly and spiritual sides of the kingdom of God, found their genuine expression. Accordingly, if the worship, as reflecting the relation of Israel to Jehovah, was to fulfil the end for which it was designed, of so fostering its spiritual life that Israel should become a holy people, reconciled and united to its God, it was necessary that it should likewise exhibit the inward or heavenly and spiritual side of the kingdom of God as it appears in the Old Testament, and that not only faithfully and distinctly, but also in a way suited to the religious consciousness of the people. Such a presentment would prove to be a true and distinct one, provided it discarded all forms and institutions calculated to obscure or even distort in any way whatsoever the religious

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truth that was revealed under it. But if it was at the same time to be in keeping with the mental capacities of the people, then in order to their spiritual apprehension the religious and moral ideas which constitute the inward or spiritual essence of the kingdom of God would have to be clothed in outward forms, would have to be rendered visible by means of material representations. And accordingly the worship, as a whole and in all its details, required to assume a form in which the glory of the eternal God as compared with the nothingness and sinfulness of mortal man would be as distinctly reflected as were the gracious relations into which the Holy One entered with sinners in order to sanctify and save them. And so the idea, rooted in the very nature of the kingdom of God, that God enters into true fellowship of life with His people, that He dwells amongst them, could not possibly have been represented by means of an image of God set up in a temple, because the Infinite One would thereby be brought down to the level of finite beings, but only through the medium of a symbol such as would shadow forth His invisible nature in a way less derogatory to His infinite glory. And if, for the purpose of conveying the idea of God's dwelling in the midst of His people, a house of God was deemed necessary, then that house required to be so constructed and arranged that the infinite distance between God and man, the Holy One and the sinner, should not be effaced or even in the least degree diminished, a circumstance which further explains why God's communion with His people had to assume the ethical character of expiation for sin and the sanctification of the sinner.

From all this it will be seen that the forms, too, of the Mosaic worship could not but be, and more and more become, fundamentally different from those that prevailed among the heathen religions. But this fundamental difference does not compel us to assume that, so far as its external aspects are concerned, it might not possibly have adopted many institutions, ordinances, usages, and ceremonies akin to, resembling, or identical with those that may be met with in connection with heathen worships. It has in common with these latter not merely altars, temples, priests, sacrifices, purifications, and other usages, but we may likewise detect common features

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and points of resemblance in the arrangements of the altars and temple, in the sacerdotal regulations, in the material of the sacrifices, in the ritual and other sacred observances, without our being under the necessity of supposing on that account that there had been any borrowing or imitating either on the one side or the other. For there are many (*a*) elements of worship that arise, as a simple matter of necessity, out of the very nature of an outward or public worship itself, so that it would be impossible to find a single religion in which they are not to be met with. Just as there never was a single people, no matter how rude, in which even a spark of the consciousness of a divine Being still survived, that did not offer sacrifices to the gods in which it believed; so as little can we find among civilised nations any that have not had their altars, their temples, and their priests. In those institutions of public worship, universal ideas—ideas that are native as it were to the religious consciousness—are bodied forth in such a way that they (the institutions) come into existence as if spontaneously, in proportion as men become more and more enlightened, and may be appropriately described as the universal human element in worship. Among these we may also include certain universal symbolical ideas, —white, for example, as a sign of purity, red as the colour of the blood and the life,—which are also to be met with among almost all the nations of the world, and that without having borrowed them from one another. All those matters are to be accounted for by the unity of the human race and of its religious consciousness.—(*b*) Then, in the next place, this unity of the race is seen, on closer investigation, to point to its common descent of man from one and the same couple of progenitors;[8] and should we be disposed to reject *this* view of the matter, it has still to be borne in mind that the fact of the descent of the majority of the civilised nations of the ancient world from one parent-tribe is a result of modern philological and historical inquiry that can no longer be questioned. Seeing, then, that the religious institutions of many, or rather of the whole of those nations, date back to a period anterior to that at which their earliest historical records commence, we may regard it as quite possible that many of the elements entering into their worships have likewise had

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their origin in the one common paternal home, and have been handed down by tradition from generation to generation, without our being under the necessity of supposing that they borrowed from each other after they had broken up into separate tribes.—(*c*) Nor, in the last place, could that intercourse of the various nations with one another which history records fail to exert some influence upon their modes of worship, seeing that, as a rule, the ideas that are latent in the human mind are first awakened and variously developed by contact and intercourse with other men. Such an educative influence as this *must* have been, and by Divine Providence *was*, designed to be exerted upon the Israelites by their prolonged residence in Egypt. It was not intended that when there the Israelites were merely to grow to be a populous community in the fertile land of Goshen that had been apportioned them, nor even, under the heavy oppression to which they were subjected, to learn to abominate the idolatry of the Egyptians and to cleave all the more tenaciously to the faith of their fathers; but it was meant that, at the same time, their spiritual and religious ideas generally should be expanded, and that they should be trained and prepared for the due understanding of that worship that was afterwards to be prescribed to them by Moses. Again, with regard to Moses himself, the object of that strange providential arrangement which led to his being brought up at the Egyptian court was simply that he might be instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians so as to qualify him to become Israel's lawgiver, the great mission for which God had destined him.[9] For although the Mosaic legislation, with the institutions of worship that form an integral part of it, is based upon divine revelation, still divine revelation does not refuse to avail itself of human culture and knowledge, but interpenetrates them with its own elevating and illuminating influences to render them the better fitted for promoting the aims of the kingdom of God. Therefore it is quite possible that various forms belonging to Egyptian worship, *i.e.* such forms as in themselves did not embody any religious ideas of a specifically heathen kind, but only those of a universal nature, and which first came to acquire their heathen character through inward contact with what was

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specifically heathen, were imported into the Mosaic worship, and having been organically incorporated with it, came to be pervaded with the spirit of the Jehovah-religion, and were then turned to account in building up the kingdom of God in Israel.

Now, although the three elements just mentioned have exerted a certain influence upon the organization of the Mosaic worship, still it is no longer possible to detect and point out the influence of one or other in detail. Such distinct criteria as might enable us to do so are entirely wanting, partly because we are neither sufficiently informed regarding the origin and sources of the Egyptian worship, nor as to the character and complexion of Israelitish worship previous to the time of Moses, and partly, too, because the Mosaic system represents one complete whole, that is, not only organically united in all its external elements, but pervaded throughout by *one* spirit, the Spirit of God,— a whole in which the elements derived from divine revelation no longer admit of being distinguished with anything like certainty from such as owe their origin simply to the ordinary development of the human mind. Accordingly it is those forms and ceremonies alone that can be regarded as Egyptian which occur for the first time only in Egyptian and Mosaic worship and nowhere else, which, moreover, can be proved to have existed among the Egyptians earlier than among the Israelites, proved, that is, to have been unknown to the Israelites previous to their coming to Egypt, and lastly, which are of so specific and individual a character that they could not be developed independently of one another. Only a very few traces, however, of such forms and ceremonies are to be discovered in the Mosaic worship, and those few of but trifling importance.[10]

[5] Comp. the profound discussions of Schelling regarding this matter in his *Einleitung in die Philosophie der Mythologie* as above, where he discards as scientifically untenable in the highest degree the view that the human family originally existed in a state of half or complete animal stolidity, and that its religion began with pure fetishism. Nor does he discard merely the view itself, but the conceptions of

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mythology that sometimes accompany it, according to which this latter is regarded as a product of the poetry of the various nations and their poets, or as a result of the physical and philosophical speculations of ancient sages; whereas mythology, as he at the same time points out, has its origin in a decline of the religious consciousness, and makes its appearance for the first time in history as a consequence of the great crisis at which the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of the various tribes of the world took place.

[6] That the fundamental character of heathenism lies in its worship of nature is acknowledged by the most competent authorities in this department of study, however much they may differ in opinion as to where the realm of myth begins and ends in the case of each individual heathen nation. Among the authorities in question we may mention Stuhr (*die Religions-Systeme der heidn. Völker des Orients*, Berl. 1836), who proceeds on the principle of popularly understanding the embodiments of heathen consciousness in the narrowest and most rigid sense possible, and can find no other way of accounting for their origin and their character but by strictly connecting them with the natural phenomena peculiar to the different countries of the world. He considers that the contrast which heathenism presents to Judaism, Christianity, and Islamism is conditioned and determined by the fact "that when the heathen consciousness is unfolding itself, it has necessarily to move amid the manifold operations and activities of nature and the forces of the world" (p. xviii.), "because the spiritual life of heathen nations has sunk down into the life of nature, has become swallowed up in it" (p. xix.). Then there is Wuttke (*Geschichte des Heidenthums*, Bresl. 1852), who defines the difference between heathenism and the Hebrew-Christian religion as follows:—"The divine in heathenism is *not free*, whereas in Christianity it is existence absolutely *free*, absolute spirit" (i. p. 19); nor does he regard heathenism in the light of "a revolution in the intellectual history of the world," but merely as a check in the progress of the race, as a forward movement that is impeded at every step by immorality coming in its way (p. 24). Although, in accordance with this view of the matter, he distinguishes in heathenism an objective and a subjective, a merely natural and a purely spiritual side, he nevertheless affirms with regard to the objective aspects of it, which he considers to be those under which it is viewed by the largest portion of the human race, that "at this standpoint man does not, as a rule, seek for truth within himself, but outside of himself, consequently outside of the mind also, and therefore in *nature;* because,

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generally speaking for the mind, objective existence is just nature; this standpoint, therefore, is essentially that of *naturalism*" (p. 12). But he adds, on the other hand, with reference to the subjective form under which the subjective mind is supposed to dominate objective existence, to dominate nature, and under which the individual mind is understood to be striving to gain the ascendency (p. 13), that this form even in its most highly developed shape — Hellenism and Romanism — has not outgrown the dualistic conception of mind and matter, and that objective nature, however much it may be resisted, and sometimes effectually controlled by the subjective mind, always continues to be for the mind a power that is foreign to its own nature, which it can never hope entirely to overcome, and which persists in asserting, in spite of all it can do, its own well-founded claims (p. 14). Here we have it admitted, that even the religion of the nations referred to has not got beyond the nature-basis common to the rest of heathendom. Creuzer again expresses himself to the same effect (*Symbolik u. Mythol.* 3rd ed. 1837) when he says that "in the religious system of the Egyptians, and not in theirs alone, but in that of *all* ancient nations (the Hebrews being by anticipation excepted), is essentially a religion of nature, or one that rests upon a physico-elementary basis" (i. p. 133 f.); and that "the fundamental nature of the Greek and Roman religions lay in the worship of material nature, is a fact which, in the early edition of this work, I have already been compelled to admit as the result of my inquiries regarding the various divinities and worships of the world" (i. p. 66). Comp. further on this point Bähr (i. p. 46 ff.). Even Schelling's objection (as above, p. 206 f.) to the explaining of polytheism as a deification of nature, to the effect that in such an explanation mythology after all appears only as something false and likewise as something merely subjective, that is to say, consisting of such conceptions as have no corresponding reality outside of them, is an objection that can be urged only against the view which denies all objective reality to the gods of the heathen, but not against the theory adopted by ourselves, which recognises the existence in the gods in question of real spiritual forces, and in accordance with which, therefore, it would be permissible with him to characterize mythology as "a theogonic process," although we cannot see our way to identify those forces "with the purely creative powers, whose earliest act was to produce consciousness itself" (p. 207).

[7] Comp. the authorities in Bähr, i. p. 146 ff.

[8] Schelling (as above, p. 97) had already characterized "the judgment which pronounces the variety of races to be

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conclusive evidence against the original unity of the human race" as a "rash one." He further refers to this matter at greater length in the following passage at p. 98: "It is not merely in deference to tradition, or in the interest of any moral sensibility, but in consequence of purely scientific considerations, that we feel bound—notwithstanding the fact which confronts us, and has never as yet been quite got rid of, that the progeny even of individuals belonging to different races are themselves in turn capable of having offspring—to adhere to the view of the *unity of the descent* of the human race, so long as it cannot be shown to be impossible on such an assumption to understand the natural and historical differences that exist in the human family." In the present day the original unity of the human race is acknowledged by all competent anthropologists and ethnologists. See Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, pp. 7–47.

[9] "It was precisely this learning of the wisdom of the Egyptians that formed the aim and object of God's providence in His dealings with the boy (Moses), nay, we may say with the whole of Israel. For it was with a view to acquire the wisdom and culture of Egypt, to secure them as a human substratum for the divine revelations and dispensations that were to follow, that the sons of Jacob left the land in which their fathers sojourned, the land of hope and promise for their descendants. But in Moses the fortunes of the entire Israel of the period, and of God's providential dealings with them, might be said to have been concentrated." Kurtz, *Gesch. des A. Bundes*, ii. p. 49 [Eng. tr. vol. ii. p. 183].

[10] In his *Geschichte des Reiches Gottes u. d. A. B.* (II. i. p. 113 f.) [Eng. tr. vol. i. p. 243]. Hengstenberg has greatly modified the views maintained by him in his *BB. Mos. u. Aeg.* pp. 147–205, as to the references to Egypt in the Mosaic institutions, and has expressly observed at p. 115, that even on the assumption of the correspondence in question, a literal borrowing on the part of the Israelites is not to be thought of.

FIRST DIVISION.

THE ISRAELITISH PLACES OF WORSHIP.

FIRST CHAPTER.

§ 17. *The Mosaic Tabernacle.*

Whilst the patriarchs worshipped God merely at simple altars,—and during the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt

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altars are not even mentioned,—Moses at Sinai instructed those skilful master-builders, Bezaleel and Aholiab, to build a sacred tent (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, tent of the congregation, rendered by Luther: *Hütte des Stifts*), after the model that had been shown him in the mount, and the plan, construction, and setting up of which are described in Ex. xxv.-xxvii., xxxv.-xxxviii., and xl.[1]—This tent consisted of the *dwelling place* (מִשְׁכָּן) and a court (חָצֵר) running round the four sides of the dwelling place. See illustrations, Table I.

The *dwelling place* (*A*) was of an oblong shape, 30 cubits long, 10 wide, and 10 high, and consisted of a framework of 48 pillars of shittim wood,[2] each $1\frac{1}{2}$ cubits wide, 10 high, and about $\frac{1}{2}$ a cubit thick, and overlaid with gold. Those pillars were so placed that twenty of them were ranged along each of the two sides, and eight along the back. They stood upright near to and alongside of each other, the two end ones in the sides meeting the two end ones in the back, and forming an angle.[3] At its lower end each board had two tenons, one opposite the other (יָדוֹת אִשָּׁה אֶל־אֲחֹתָהּ, Ex. xxvi. 17, xxxvi. 22), which were inserted into sockets (אֲדָנִים) of silver, each a talent in weight. To the outside of the wall golden rings were attached, probably three to each board, one at the top, another in the middle, and the third at the bottom, through which were passed crossbars covered with gold for the purpose of fastening the boards together and giving stability to the walls.[4] In the front part of this framework a curtain (מָסָךְ) was suspended, and formed the entrance to the dwelling place. It was hung upon five pillars of shittim wood (*b*) overlaid with gold, and having capitals similarly overlaid. The pillars rested on pedestals of brass, while at the top they had golden hooks (וָוִים) attached to them, in which gilded poles (חֲשֻׁקִים) were inserted to which to fasten the curtain.—In the inside the dwelling place was divided into two parts by means of a curtain (פָּרֹכֶת, xxvi. 31, or פָּרֹכֶת הַמָּסָךְ, xxxv. 12, xl. 21) hung with golden hooks (*g*) on four pillars overlaid with gold and resting on pedestals of silver. The hindermost division (*h*) contained the *holy of holies* (קֹדֶשׁ הַקָּדָשִׁים)—10 cubits in length (depth), breadth, and height; the front division (*c*), on the other hand, contained the *holy place* (הַקֹּדֶשׁ), of the same breadth and height,

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but 20 cubits in length.—On the top by way of roof the framework was covered with two curtains laid one upon the other. The inner or lowermost curtain, which was made of carpet, was called the dwelling place (xxvi. 1, 6, xxxvi. 8, 13); the other, spread over the latter, but made of goats' hair, formed the roof of the dwelling place (xxvi. 7, xxxvi. 14). Over these again there were still two more coverings, the lower one made of rams' skins dyed red, the upper of badgers' skins (תַּחַשׁ), to complete the roof of the tent (מִכְסֶה לָאֹהֶל), xxvi. 14, xxxvi. 19, xl. 19.

The two veils, each consisting of one piece 10 cubits square, were skilfully manufactured from fine linen[5] thread of a dark blue, a dark purple, and a bright scarlet colour,[6] each veil, however, being of a different make from the other; the inner one was embroidered (xxvi. 31) with figures, cherubim; the outer was made of a variegated cloth (xxvi. 36), with simple stripes and without any figures upon it.[7] The inner or lower roof-covering was also similar in texture and pattern to those of the inner veil although not all of one piece, but made up of ten separate pieces, each 28 cubits long and 4 wide, and so put together that each five were sewn together broadwise into one piece 28 cubits long and 4 wide, and provided with 50 loops (לֻלָאוֹת) at the long ends and fastened with clasps attached to the loops, was so spread over the top of the framework that the joining would lie exactly over the inner veil. Now, as only 30 cubits longwise and 10 broadwise were required to cover the roof, the curtain hung down over the walls 9 cubits on each of the sides and about 10 at the back, not, however, over the outer, but the inner walls; a circumstance which, of itself, would appear to have entitled it to the designation of the "dwelling place."[8] The second covering for the roof was woven from fine goats' hair, and was made up of eleven separate pieces, each 30 cubits long and 4 wide, but also sewed together in breadths in such a way that they formed two halves, six of the coverlets being in the one and five in the other, while those two halves were fastened together by means of 50 loops and 50 brass hooks, so as to make one whole covering. The half consisting of the six pieces, and therefore 24 cubits long, was spread over the holy place in such a way that the sixth piece, not being

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required for the roof, was doubled over the front of the tabernacle, *i.e.* was made to project so as to form a sort of eaves (xxvi. 9). The whole of it, however, did not project thus, but it was so arranged that the other half should hang over the back of the dwelling place (xxvi. 12), the result being that the part where the two halves just mentioned were joined together with the loops and hooks did not come to be exactly over the joining in the undermost roof, but somewhat farther toward the back.[9] This covering hung down over the outside of the walls and almost reached the ground, being only as far from it as the thickness of the boards. The nature of the two uppermost coverings is not further described. They were fastened by means of pegs (יְתֵדוֹת) of brass (Ex. xxvii. 19, xxxviii. 11), which, like ordinary tent-pins, were driven into the ground.[10]

[1] The earlier literature on the tabernacle may be found in any of the modern descriptions of it. As belonging to recent times we may mention, besides Bähr's exhaustive account in the first volume of his *Symbolik*, Friederich's *Symbolik der Mos. Stiftshütte*, Lpz. 1841.—Neumann's *Die Stiftshütte in Bild u. Wort*, Gotha 1861.—Riggenbach's *Die Mos. Stiftshütte*, Basel 1862. To these we would add the following articles: "Stiftshütte" by Winer in his *Bibl. Real-Wörtb.;* Diestel in Schenkel's *Bibellex.* v.; Riehm in his *Handwörterbuch;* Scholz, i. p. 23 f., and Hanneberg in Ewald's *Alterthümer;* and the articles on several disputed points by Kamphausen in *d. Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1858, 1, and by Fries and Kamph. *ibid.* 1859, 1, and Delitzsch's Pentateuch critical studies: II. *Die Stiftshütte*, III. *Der Raücheraltar*, in Luthardt's *Zeitschr. für Kirchl. Wissensch. u. Kirchl. Leben*, Leipz. 1880, pp. 57 ff., 113 ff.

[2] שִׁטָּה, for which, as familiar to the German people, Luther has substituted the fir, *i.e.* the pine tree, is the acacia, a species of tree that grows in the hot districts of Asia and Africa, and belonging to the genus mimosæ (not to be confounded with what in Germany is called the acacia, viz. the *Robinia pseudacacia*, indigenous to North America). The Egyptian and Arabian acacia (*acacia vera*), the *spina ægyptiaca* of the ancients, the sant (*sont*) of the Arabians, is a large full-branched tree, growing mostly in the direction of its width, and covered with double thorns from three to four centimetres long, and is the only tree to be found on the Sinaitic peninsula from which posts and boards can be cut. According to Theophrastus (*hist. plant.* iv. 3), rafters were cut from it 12 cubits long. In ancient times, before the tree-growth of the peninsula had been

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laid waste to furnish charcoal for the Arabians, it is quite possible that there may have been acacias so large as to admit of boards being cut from them a cubit and a half wide. The wood is yellow in colour, becomes gradually darker, almost black in fact, resists decay, is light, and yet at the same time very hard. Comp. Delitzsch in Riehm's *Handwörtb. des bibl. Altert.* i. p. 42 f., and Bähr, *Symb.* i. p. 288.

[3] The thickness of the planks is not stated. The old view, still maintained by Bähr, Neumann, Riggenbach, Kamphausen, Diestel, and others, that it was a cubit thick, is founded merely on the circumstance that the eight boards in the back wall being each a cubit and a half, we have 12 cubits in all; whereas the width of the dwelling place itself was only 10 cubits, and so, it is argued, the remaining 2 cubits may have served to cover the ends of the two side walls, in which case it would follow that the boards were 1 cubit thick. But this hypothesis is not borne out by the text of Scripture. In the precise description given in Ex. xxvi. mention is made in vv. 18–21 of twenty boards with their corresponding forty sockets for each of the north and south walls; then in ver. 22 of six boards with two sockets each for the west side, and in ver. 23 of two more boards for the two back corners of the dwelling place; and those two latter boards are expressly distinguished from the other six by the words: "make them לִמְקֻצְעֹת הַמִּשְׁכָּן." The first mention made of eight boards and sixteen sockets is in ver. 25, where the totals are given. The assertion that all (the boards) were equally high and equally wide—in support of which Bähr, p. 104, quotes the words: "thus shalt thou make all the boards of the dwelling place," Ex. xxvi. 17—is based upon an erroneous exegetical interpretation of the terms of this verse, which are as follows: "thus (namely, two tenons for every board) shalt thou make for all (לְכֹל) the boards of the dwelling place." The width of the two boards intended for the מִקְצֹעֹת is not stated in the text, while the fuller description of them in ver. 24 points to a special mode of constructing them, such as does not permit us without further information to ascribe to them the same width as the others. When it is said in ver. 24: "they shall be תֹּאֲמִים, *geminati*, at the bottom, and also תַּמִּים, *integri*, at the top," the language is no doubt very obscure and very ambiguous; but unquestionably the words יִהְיוּ תֹאֲמִים . . . וְיַחְדָּו יִהְיוּ תַמִּים convey this much, that the corner boards were not separate single boards 1½ cubits wide, but consisted of two parts and yet whole at the same time, *i.e.* with two parts forming an angle. We omit giving all the modern interpretations of this verse. Riggenbach (p. 23 ff.) has

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enumerated nine different ones, and has rejected them all as untenable; but he himself attempts a tenth, which, in turn, is characterized by Riehm in the *Lit. blatt. z. Allg. KZ.* 1864, Nr. 21, as a failure. Riehm again attempts one of his own, in which Riggenbach subsequently concurred, and which runs thus: "And they shall be divided into two below, and at the top they shall be one board as far as the first ring." "One board" would mean, like the other boards, 1½ cubits wide and 1 cubit thick; "divided into two" would, on the other hand, mean that in the case of each of the two corner boards one of the corners was taken off from the bottom up to the first ring, so that when cut, as they were, out of one piece of wood whose surface was a square, a re-entering right angle would be formed. But Diestel (*Stiftsh.* p. 407 f.) is fully warranted in saying, with reference to the interpretation, that "ingenious though it be, it has failed to convince us. If, through the scooping out in question (apparently) two sides, exactly equal, were obtained, then we must conceive of the hollowed-out part as being very large, which would serve no good purpose, besides considerably weakening the binding power of the corners.—If, on the other hand, the hollowed-out part was small, the difference in the shape of the boards, as compared with that of all the others, would be so slight as scarcely to justify their receiving a special designation." But Diestel's own hypothesis, that in the description in the passage in question we have two opposite views blended together by way of gloss, is nothing more than a convenient way of getting over a difficulty. We therefore adhere to the interpretation given in the note on ver. 23 in the *bibl. Comm.:* Two boards shalt thou make for the corners or angles of the dwelling place on the two hindermost parts. לְמִקְצֹעֹת, literally, "into cornered boards," in conformity with מִקְצֹעַת, a corner, ver. 24, comp. Ezek. xlvi. 21, from קָצַע, to cut off, to hew off, literally, "something cut off," therefore corner-piece, ver. 24: "and they shall be double (תְּאֹמִים) from below upwards, and they shall be one (תַּמִּים, *integri, i.e.* forming one whole) at the top (at the top of each) with reference to the one ring; thus shall they both be made," is to be understood as meaning that the two corner boards were to consist of two pieces joined together at right angles, so that as double boards they would form one whole from the bottom to the top. The qualifying phrases "from the bottom upwards," and "at its head," though divided between the two predicates, תְּאֹמִים, double, and תַּמִּים, whole, belong to both. The corner boards were to be double from the bottom, and were at the same time to be all one piece. But the qualifying phrase, "with reference to the

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one ring," is to be regarded as implying that the corner boards were to form one piece, with respect to the fact that each was to have but one ring, in the corner namely, and not two, one on each side. The one ring in question is the one in the middle into which the middle crossbar, which projected somewhat at each side of the structure, was to be inserted, so that the ends of the crossbars in both the side and back walls would thus be pushed into one and the same ring. But the difficulty that, if we assume the corners to have been angular boards with two sides, the length of the dwelling place would exceed the 30 cubits to which it was limited by the length (inside) of the portion of the board connected with the side wall, is not so formidable as to compel us on that account to adopt the view that the corner boards were planks 1½ cubits wide, with smooth, proportioned side surfaces. The portion of the angular board connected with the side wall need not be supposed to have been very wide,—not longer at the inside corner than 6 inches,—leaving ¾ of a cubit for the width of the board on the outside. Now 6 inches is not such a serious addition to the length (30 cubits) of the dwelling place as to affect to any appreciable extent that cubical and square shape of the holy of holies and the holy place to which so much significance was attached. But it is likewise possible that on the edge of this side portion of the board a kerbstone was cut out, or an indentation made, and the ends of the side boards immediately adjoining so made as to admit of their being attached to the kerbstone or indentation, in which case there would be no addition to the length of the dwelling place at all. The circumstance of such an arrangement not being mentioned cannot be alleged as proving that it did not exist, for in the text there are no further details as to the way in which the structure was framed.

[4] Ewald's assumption (*Alterth.* p. 425 [E. Tr. p. 317]), that the rings were fastened to the boards on the inside, would manifestly imply a breach of propriety, and is not less erroneous than the view of Raschi, Lightfoot, Lund, Baumgarten, and Riggenbach, p. 33, to the effect that the middle crossbar passed through the heart of the boards. The expression בְּתוֹךְ הַקְּרָשִׁים cannot be quoted in support of this view, for the rendering "at the middle" is justified by Ezek. xv. 4, Deut. iii. 16, and Gen. xv. 10. The text gives the number of the bars as *five* for every side. Since, however, that in the middle is the only one with regard to which it is stated that it extended from one end of the structure to the other (Ex. xxvi. 28, xxxviii. 33), Bähr, p. 108, is undoubtedly correct in inferring, as he does from this, that the other bars did not run from end to end, but that in the case of each of the others there were two

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bars extending along the entire wall, each of which would therefore be only half the length of the middle bar, so that there would only be three. So Raschi, and latterly P. Scholz, *Alterth.* i. p. 151.

שֵׁשׁ מָשְׁזָר (Ex. xxvi. 1, 31, etc.) is byssus woven from twisted thread, though not of fine linen, but of cotton material of a white colour (שֵׁשׁ, from שׁוּשׁ, to be white). There might be some difficulty in distinguishing byssus of a fine texture from fine linen, and accordingly the ancients more frequently employ the term λίνον, *linum*, to designate cotton cloth; and so Pliny, for example, says (*hist. nat.* xix. 1): *Superior pars Ægypti in Arabiam vergens gignit fruticem, quem aliqui gossypion vocant, plures xylon et ideo lina inde facta xylina . . . Nec ulla sunt eis candore mollitiave præferenda. Vestes inde sacerdotibus Ægypti gratissimæ.* But that the byssus made use of in the tabernacle and in making the priests' garments was not linen (Celsius, Braun, Knobel, and others) but cotton, is a fact that cannot be reasonably questioned, as is likewise admitted by Bähr, who had previously decided in favour of linen in the 2nd ed. of his *Symb.* p. 289 f.—The opinion adopted by Rosenmüller, Gesenius, and others, and re-echoed by Schrader in Schenkel's *Bibellex.* i. p. 380, that שֵׁשׁ sometimes, and unquestionably in Ex. xxxix. 28, means the finest linen, can hardly be said to be borne out by Ex. xxviii. 42, Lev. xvi. 4, that are quoted in its favour. According to Ex. xxviii. 42, the breeches of the priests were no doubt of בַּד, which in Ex. xxxix. 28 is described as שֵׁשׁ מָשְׁזָר; and according to Lev. xvi. 4, the high priest in offering the sacrifice on the great day of atonement was required to wear garments of בַּד. But as little does it follow from this that בַּד means fine linen, as it does from the circumstance that in Ezek. xliv. 17 f. the dresses prescribed for the use of the priests in the new temple were of פִּשְׁתִּים, flax, and not of צֶמֶר, wool, especially as the prescriptions for the new temple, as found in Ezekiel's visions, are throughout of a stricter character than those of the Mosaic law; for example, none but the sons of Zadok are allowed to minister at the altar (ver. 15), the priests are forbidden to marry widows (ver. 22). But that בַּד is not synonymous with פִּשְׁתָּה is evident from the fact that, in the law, linen garments are called בִּגְדֵי פִשְׁתִּים (Lev. xiii. 47 f.), whereas there is no mention anywhere of פִּשְׁתִּים in connection with the dresses of the priests, and the only thing of this sort that occurs in conjunction with שֵׁשׁ is בַּד as material for the breeches of the

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priests, and distinguished from simple byssus by being described as twisted (מָשְׁזָר). The meaning of בַּד is no doubt open to dispute, but derived as it is from בָּדַד, to separate, it is every way probable that it signifies pure white, therefore white stuff or cloth (Dietrich in Gesenius' *Lex.*); an opinion the correctness of which is not in the least disproved by an appeal to Philo and Josephus, who describe the garments of the priests as λινᾶν, and to the later Rabbinical writers, who render שֵׁשׁ and בַּד by פִּשְׁתָּן. This, to go no farther, will be seen from the following interpretation of Aben Esra: *Schesch* idem est quod *bad*, species quædam lini in sola Ægypto nascens, tenuis et alba, quæ non tingitur, for as everybody knows it is not the case that either flax or wool grows *in sola Ægypto.*— Besides, from the earliest times the manufacture of byssus was carried on in Egypt; comp. Hengstenberg, *BB. Mos. u. Æg.* p. 143 f. [Eng. tr. p. 143], where the Israelites also became acquainted with it, and hence we find that several families of the house of Judah are specially mentioned in connection with it (1 Chron. iv. 21), and that at a later period Hebrew housewives still showed great dexterity in this department of industry (Prov. xxxi. 22).

[6] For the purple colours and purple cloths — תְּכֵלֶת, hyacinth, אַרְגָּמָן, purple, and תּוֹלַעַת שָׁנִי, crimson or scarlet—comp. the *Lex.* and *Realwörterb.* The material was woollen,—comp. Num. xix. 6 with Heb. ix. 19, where שְׁנִי תוֹלַעַת is rendered by ἔριον κόκκινον,—not of sheep's wool, however, but of cotton wool (comp. Herod. iii. 47: εἴρια τὰ ἀπὸ ξύλων), and it was dyed in the wool or yarn, and not after being made into cloth; comp. the *Abhandl. über die Purpurfärbereien u. den Purpurhandel im Alterthum*, by Schmidt in his *Forschungen auf dem Gebiete des Alterthums*, Th. i. (1842) p. 96 ff.

[7] In regard to weaving we should distinguish on the one hand the kind called מַעֲשֵׂה חֹשֵׁב, artistic weaving (Ex. xxvi. 31), in which figures, flowers, and, in some instances, gold thread (Ex. xxviii. 6, viii. 15) were woven in carpet fashion into a white ground, and on the other מַעֲשֵׂה רֹקֵם, parti-colour weaving (Ex. xxvi. 36), in which the stuff was woven from yarn of different colours so as to form stripes or cubes. The Rabbinical writers take מַעֲשֵׂה רֹקֵם in the sense of embroidered work in which the figures or flowers are worked into the plain stuffs by means of a needle. But this rendering of the words is inconsistent with grammar and fact alike; comp. Bähr, *Symbol.* i. p. 292 ff.

[8] Bähr (i. pp. 112–116), founding partly on the purpose which the roof pieces in question were intended to serve, viz. "for the

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dwelling place," and partly on the analogy of Solomon's temple in which, not the roof alone, but the walls as well, were ornamented with representations of palms, cherubs, and flowers, has proved this so conclusively—in opposition to the received view still maintained by Friederich, Kamphausen, Riggenbach, and others, to the effect that those *finer curtains* also hung down on the outside of the wooden walls—that there is no room for further doubt in the matter.

[9] Comp. author's comment. on Ex. xxvi. 7-13. Starting with the assumption that the joining of the two halves of this covering must necessarily have lain exactly over the joining of the lower coverings, Bähr (p. 117) is at a loss to reconcile ver. 12 with ver. 9. But the assumption is without adequate ground.

[10] Those leather coverings did not hang down flat upon the walls, but, as in the case of ordinary tents, were stretched out in a slanting direction; comp. Riggenbach, *Stiftsh.* p. 35.

§ 18. *The Court of the Tabernacle.*

The court (*B*) consisted of a space of ground 100 cubits long and 50 wide that went round the four sides of the dwelling place, and along the outer edge of which was ranged a series of pillars. Those pillars were sixty in number, and 5 cubits high. They had silver capitals and pedestals of brass (*k*). Hangings of fine byssus were suspended upon them by means of silver rods inserted into silver hooks attached to the pillars. There was a space of 5 cubits between each of the sixty pillars; on each of the two sides were twenty, along the back ten, and the same number in the front. In the front, however, the hangings came round only a distance of 15 cubits on each side, so that a space of 20 cubits wide was left in the middle for the door. Over this latter was hung a variegated curtain 5 cubits high and 20 wide, the colours, besides that of the twined byssus of which it was made, being blue, purple, and crimson. This curtain, like that of the dwelling place, was suspended (*l*) on four pillars[1] (Ex. xxvii. 9–18, xxxviii. 9–20).

The position of the court and the dwelling place was regulated by the four cardinal points, so that the front and the entrance looked toward the east, the back toward the west, and the two sides to the north and south respectively (Ex. xxvi. 18–22, xxvii. 9–13, xxxvi. 23–27, xxxviii. 10–

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13; comp. Num. iii. 38).—It is probable that the dwelling place did not stand exactly in the middle of the court, but rather more toward the back of it, so that, as Philo informs us, the two sides and the back were all of equal width, whereas the space in front was 50 cubits square.

[1] The difficulty that, according to Ex. xxvii. 14–16, xxxviii. 14 f., the number of pillars in the front, on which the hangings on each side were suspended, is stated to be three, and those by which the curtain over the entrance was supported, to be four, may be got over in this way. Since all the delineations of the tabernacle make it appear that to support hangings 15 cubits wide it would be necessary to have four and not merely three pillars if standing as they do 5 cubits apart, let us do, as Friederich in his *Symbolik d. Stiftsh.* p. 19, has done, and calculate the corner pillars as half pillars because belonging to two sides, and likewise the pillars where the hangings and the entrance curtain meet as halves also, because belonging to both of these.—On the question as to the number of the pillars (sixty, not fifty-six) and the mode of calculating them, see the author's comment. on Ex. xxvii. 10–15.

§ 19. *The Furniture of the Tabernacle.*

Each division of the tabernacle had special furniture of its own. In the holy of holies stood the *ark of the covenant* with the *mercy-seat* (*i*); in the holy place, in front of the vail and toward the middle of it, was the *altar of incense* (*f*); toward the south the *lamps* (*e*); and toward the north the *table* for the *shewbread* (*d*) (Ex. xxx. 6, xl. 22–26); in the court was the *altar for burnt-offerings* (*m*), and the *laver* (*n*) standing right before the entrance to the dwelling place, so that the laver was duly situated between the altar of burnt-offering and the dwelling place (Ex. xl. 29, 30).

I. The *ark of the covenant* or *ark of the testimony* (אֲרוֹן הַבְּרִית or אֲרוֹן הָעֵדוּת, Ex. xxv. 10–21, xxxvii. 1–9) was a chest made of acacia wood 2½ cubits long, 1½ wide, and the same in depth. It was overlaid with gold within and without, was ornamented with a golden border (זֵר) that went round the whole four sides, and at the corner pieces or feet on back and front (פַּעֲמוֹת [1]) it was provided with golden rings through which were passed wooden poles [2] covered with gold for the purpose of carrying it. Upon this ark, in which the *testimony*,

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i.e. the two tables of stone, with the "ten words" (decalogue) written on them were deposited (Ex. xxv. 16; Deut. iv. 13, x. 1, 2), lay a massive golden plate of the same length and width as the ark itself, and designated the Capporeth (כַּפֹּרֶת). At the two ends of this plate were two golden cherubim of embossed work,[3] which covered the Capporeth with their outstretched wings, and which had their faces turned toward each other, though their eyes were at the same time directed toward the Capporeth.[4] Although forming part of the ark, and serving to cover the testimony that lay within it, still this plate is not to be regarded in the light of a mere lid, but, as its name implies, as playing a part in the expiatory system, as the mercy-seat on which Jehovah is enthroned, and bending from which He reveals Himself to Israel (Ex. xxv. 22).

[1] פַּעֲמוֹת are not corners, but *feet*, *i.e.* feet bent outwards as for walking, and which probably were not merely under the ark, but fastened to the lower corners of it in such a way as to project downwards like corner fillets (Ex. xxv. 12, xxxvii. 3, and 1 Kings vii. 30; comp. Thenius's note on 1 Kings vii. 30).

[2] Those poles for carrying the ark from place to place were not taken out of their rings in the side of it, but were required to remain in the rings at all times, Ex. xxv. 15. It is uncertain, however, whether the poles were attached to the longer or the shorter sides of the ark, and whether the latter stood longwise in its place in the holy of holies, *i.e.* from east to west, or broadwise, *i.e.* from north to south. Comp. Deyling, *Observatt. sacr.* ii. p. 434, and Winer, *Real-W.* i. p. 203.—It is impossible to prove from 1 Kings viii. 8 that the direction in which the poles lay was from east to west; but from 1 Kings viii. 7, where it is stated that in the holy of holies in the temple the two gigantic cherubim (1 Kings vi. 23 ff.) covered with their outstretched wings the ark and its poles, it may certainly be inferred that the ark stood longwise, *i.e.* from south to north. This direction, too, is doubtless to be regarded as the more natural one for the poles, for, in an oblong piece of furniture, it is just the sides that would naturally occur to one as being the longer parts, which would further seem to be hinted at in the Hebrew term עִלְּוֹת, Ex. xxv. 14. Comp. author's *bibl. Comm.*, and Bähr's note (in Lange's *Bibelwerk*) on 1 Kings viii. 7, 8.

[3] מִקְשָׁה usually means *rounded, turned work.* Bähr (*Symb.* i. p. 451), following in this instance the author of the Babylonian

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version and Raschi, correctly understands it to have been work *beaten out* and laminated with the hammer. The statement in Gesenius, *Thes.* iii. p. 1243, to the effect that the cherubim were made of wood and merely overlaid with gold, is quite erroneous.

[4] The various views regarding the form and nature of the *cherubim* (כְּרוּבִים) are of a very divergent character. For the literature of the subject, comp. Bähr, *Symb.* i. p. 362 f. of the 2nd ed.—Speaking generally, we may distinguish three leading theories: the *symbolical*, the *mythical*, and the *real*. 1. According to the first of them, the cherubim are taken as *figures of a purely symbolical nature*. This view has found decided advocates in Bähr, as above, Hengstenberg (*die Cherubim* in the *Ev. Kir. Zeit.* 1866, and reproduced in his *Comm. on Ezek.* i. pp. 252–296), and Lämmert (*die Cherubim der h. Schrift* in *Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* xii. pp. 587–616), all of whom agree in holding that the cherubim, as a whole, are meant to represent the visible creation, to constitute an epitome of the manifold forms of life, and that each individual cherub is in its simplest form of a composite character, being composed of certain parts taken from various kinds of ζῶα. These writers differ, however, in this respect, that Bähr adduces all the passages in which the cherubim are mentioned, and then endeavours to prove that their form was not a stereotyped but a changeable one, varying sometimes more and sometimes less, according to time, place, and circumstances; while it is the opinion of Hengstenberg, on the other hand, that in the cherubic group it is the human type that preponderates, and that in the case of the cherubim in the tabernacle and Solomon's temple, everything had reference to the human form, with the exception of the wings, which, though taken only from the bird, were understood to be representative of the whole of the animal kingdom. With regard to the lion and the ox, he holds that these were added, for the first time, by Ezekiel, for the purpose of expressing the thought that in the cherubim the entire animal kingdom is represented by the presence of one of the noblest specimens taken from each species. With respect to the origin of the cherubim, Hengstenberg infers, from their being mentioned so early as the narrative of our first parents in Gen. iii., that they must have been in existence when God first communicated His revelation to Abraham, that they do not belong originally to the sphere of revelation, but to that of natural religion, and that they form a symbolical representation in which the piety of a primitive age sought to give outward embodiment to the invisible essence underlying the surrounding material world. Bähr, on the other hand (p. 398), rejects the view that the cherubim were borrowed from some other nation, and accounts

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for this religious conception being common to the entire ancient world, partly by the fact that the life of nature was thought of as identical with the life of the Creator Himself. "To the religious consciousness," he says, "as we may still see from the polytheism of the present day, it was an indispensable necessity to represent under some visible form or other the unity and mutual relation of the various manifestations of the life of nature and of the Divine Being." He maintains that the notion of the cherubim is based rather upon the idea of an absolute and essential difference between God and nature, which would seem to prove that those forms are of a purely Israelitish origin.

2. A much larger measure of support has been given to the theory that the cherubim are simply *mythical conceptions*—an imitation of the Ægyptian sphinx, or of those composite animal forms belonging to Central Asia, and met with, above all, upon Assyrian and Babylonian monuments. Accordingly, in his note on 1 Kings vi. 21, Thenius takes the word כָּרַב in the sense of "to seize." Now, as the power of seizing or snatching might be said to find its representative embodiment in the larger birds of prey (eagles and vultures), and as, owing to the peculiarly firm way in which they clutched their prey, those birds came to be associated, in the popular imagination, with the idea of guardians and watchers over something precious, mysterious, and sacred, the cherubim were, in the first instance, a purely poetical conception, according to which they were to be taken as personifying whirlwinds and thunderstorms, while the representations of them placed upon the ark were conceived to be angelic guardians of the treasure of the law deposited within it, in the act of adoring the majesty of God, and always reminding man of the divine power as displayed in the thunderstorm. Ultimately, however, they came to be regarded not merely in this capacity, but as simply supporting Jehovah's throne altogether. Riehm, on the other hand (*De natura et notione symbol. Cheruborum Commentat.*, Basel 1864, and *Die Cherubim in der Stiftshütte u. im Tempel, Theol. Studien u. Krit.* 1871, pp. 399–457), finds the earliest instance of the cherubic idea among the Hebrews in Ex. xxv. 18 ff., and he infers, from the way in which the cherubim extend their wings over the ark, that they were to be regarded as enclosing and enveloping the space within which God's glory was visibly present, and as representing the idea that He was unapproachable and not to be looked upon, this being an immediate consequence of the fact of His holiness. He thinks that the analogue of this is to be found in the tempestuous thunder-cloud in which God had previously appeared on Sinai, and that the idea of the cherubim

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may have been originally based upon this theophany and its attendant circumstances. He holds that the storm-cloud on which Deity sits, and with which He is enveloped when He makes Himself visible to man, has, even in prehistoric times, been likewise regarded by the lively imagination of the people in the light of a living being (ζῶον), as a cherub, that originally this creature of the fancy assumed something of a bird-like form, and that it was not till a subsequent period, when the idea of angels had been introduced, that it assumed the shape of a man with wings. He further suggests that Ezekiel represents his cherubim as having four faces, just because their special function in his vision was to look straight forward, no matter how they might stand or move, and that he selected the head of the lion, the ox, and the eagle to conjoin with that of the man, because the cherubim were intended to perform the function of supporting the divine throne, and of moving it from place to place. Lastly, Dillmann (in Schenkel's *Bibellex.* i. p. 509 ff.) is disposed to maintain that, according to Israelitish ideas of the matter, the cherubim were looked upon as celestial beings of a peculiar nature, different from angels, and more akin to the seraphim. Although the notion of the cherubim cannot be said to be derived from the Mosaic and prophetic revelation, still he thinks it extremely probable, from the circumstance of conceptions of quite a similar nature occurring among other ancient peoples, that such an idea took root among the Israelites at a very early period, and that they shared it in common with other nations, and that it is therefore "a relic of an ancient Asiatic mythology." "Those cherubim of the popular faith," says Dillmann, "were strange, animal-like creatures, with wings which bore God through the air on those occasions on which He appeared to men; for, wherever they were found, there also were found the signs of a present God, while, with their outstretched, wide sheltering wings, they enveloped and guarded the divine presence, lest it should be approached and looked upon by frail mortals." This conception, he continues, handed down as it has been from a remote antiquity, may have been superseded and pushed into the background by the peculiarly Israelitish idea of angels, which was growing more and more popular. The Mosaic religion, teaching as it did the existence of the one invisible, spiritual, holy God, had necessarily to set itself to oppose as vigorously as possible all conceptions of God and divine things that were of too material a character. At the same time, it took care not to make any sudden change; but neither did it shrink from taking advantage of anything in those conceptions that might be of service to Mosaism, or that were calculated to

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promote its aims. As the authors of the poetical books of Scripture have made use of many of the mythical elements of the popular faith (comp. Ps. xviii. 10), so also with regard to the cherubim. "Finding it to be already an established article of the popular faith that there existed those strange beings between whose wings God descends to manifest Himself to men, and who not only indicate the place in which He vouchsafes to be present, but also render it unapproachable, it was highly appropriate that Moses should give a place in the divine sanctuary which he had built, and which was designed to be and to represent the dwelling-place of God in the midst of His people, to images of the cherubim, that, for the people of his time who could not as yet dispense with such signs and symbols, formed the most telling representations of the divine presence itself. In following this course there was no reason to apprehend that it might lead to idolatrous practices, for people themselves did not look upon the cherubim as divine beings" (p. 511). So far Dillmann.

3. We cannot regard any one of the foregoing views as in harmony with Scripture, but feel constrained to decide in favour of the third theory (the *real*), which takes the cherubim to be *supramundane spiritual essences*, a theory which, with various modifications, is adopted by v. Hofmann (*Schriftbew.* i. p. 364 ff. of the 2nd ed.), Kurtz ("Cherubim" in Herzog, *Encycl.*), Kliefoth (*Theol. Ztschr.* iii. p. 381 ff.), Nägelsbach, Haneberg, and others. For, seeing that in Ex. xxv. the cherubim are not described in detail, but are presumed to be well known to the Israelites, that passage undoubtedly refers back to the narrative of the fall in Gen. iii. Now, even supposing that, in accordance with the conjectures of modern criticism, the Jehovistic narrative in Gen. iii. must be regarded as of more recent date than the original Pentateuch, it would not follow from this that the legend embodied in it is of later origin, for the author of that (Jehovistic) account did not invent or imagine the things recorded in the historical narrative in Genesis, but only gleaned them from an early tradition, which we may well believe him to have done, from the fact that similar legends are to be met with among other nations. As little is there any detailed description of the cherubim to be found in Gen. iii. 24; but from that passage this much would seem to be clear, that they are to be regarded as spiritual beings of a higher order, and not as mere symbolical figures, "for God would not have placed symbols, the pure creation of the Hebrew fancy, at the gate of Paradise" (Kliefoth), nor as birds of prey or any kind of animal whatever, for neither would these have been suitable for the purpose in question. However true it may be that the

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flaming sword mentioned in conjunction with the cherubim is not to be associated with them in such a way as to favour the notion that the latter were angels with swords in their hands, and however much we may be prepared to admit that the flashing sword, representing as it does the wrath of God, comes in as another and distinct power along with the cherubim (Hengstenberg, *Ezek.* p. 281), still when this scholar goes so far as to assume that it is God, as He sits enthroned upon the cherubim, who holds the sword, we feel that, instead of *bringing out* the meaning of the narrative, all so poetical in its colouring, in a way commensurate with its ideal contents—contents, that is, transcending the prosaic reality of human history as we find it subsequent to the days of Paradise, he rather *reads into* it a meaning of his own. According to the teaching of Scripture, the earthly Paradise was neither the throne nor dwelling-place of God, but the abode of man in a state of innocence, where God only revealed Himself to him in His own person. And for the same reason the cherubim in the east of the garden of Eden are not to be taken as a symbolical representation of the divine throne, but as living beings. Nothing is stated with regard to their shape, but that it is to be regarded as having resembled that of man may be inferred from the fact that all the supramundane beings which in the course of the sacred history visit the earth, appear in a form resembling that of man. For it is only the form of man, made as he is after the image of God, and not that of any animal whatsoever, that can furnish a suitable substratum for the outward manifestations of celestial and spiritual beings. This view of the matter is corroborated by the images of the cherubim that occur in the tabernacle and Solomon's temple. For that those cherubim had a human form, the only difference being the wings, is not only acknowledged by Hengstenberg, but is also unanimously admitted by Thenius, Riehm, Dillmann, and others. They have each but one face, and even the gigantic cherubim, 10 cubits high, of Solomon's temple stand upright upon their feet (2 Chron. iii. 13), and, were it for nothing else but their huge size, they cannot be supposed to have been animal forms in a standing or lying posture, because two animal figures (oxen or lions), 10 cubits high, and confronting each other, would have occupied the whole width (20 cubits) of the holy of holies, leaving no room for the ark to stand. Then the supposition that the forms in question were those of animals is incompatible with the comparison made between the king of Tyre and a cherub in Ezek. xxviii. 14 ff., a comparison suggested by the story of Paradise in Gen. iii. 24, and in the predicate הַסֹּכֵךְ pointing at the same

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time to the cherubic figures that sheltered the Capporet with their wings, Ex. xxv. 20; comp. the author's note in *Comm. on Ezek.* as above. The words, "An Elohim wast thou" (ver. 14), are intelligible only on the assumption that the prophet conceived of the cherub as a supramundane and spiritual being. — In all the other passages in which the cherubim are mentioned there is an obvious allusion to the representation of them that appeared on the Capporet. This is the case not only in the oft-repeated designation of God as יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרוּבִים (1 Sam. iv. 4; 2 Sam. vi. 2; Ps. lxxx. 2, etc.), but also in Ps. xviii. 10 (2 Sam. xxii. 11), where Jehovah's descent from heaven, in His character of Judge of the world, and that for the purpose of delivering His servant David, is poetically portrayed in the words: "He rode upon a cherub, and did fly; yea, He did fly upon the wings of the wind," the cherub being here conceived of as the throne on which Jehovah comes down in the clouds of heaven. The idea of a chariot-throne, or an animal for riding on, is here as much out of the question as in the case of the other poetical conceptions of a kindred nature, רֹכֵב שָׁמַיִם, Deut. xxxiii. 26, and רֹכֵב בִּשְׁמֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם, Ps. lxviii. 34; see the author's comm. on 2 Sam. xxii. 11. But the wings, which are always mentioned in connection with the images of the cherubim, and which are also presupposed in the poetical delineations in Ps. xviii. 18, Ezek. xxviii. 14, are not to be understood as pointing to birds as being the representatives of the animal kingdom, but as an outward figurative representation of those human-like beings of a supramundane nature that soar beyond the limits of earthly space. This representation is based upon the Israelitish idea of birds which meets us in the stereotyped designation of them as עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם, as creatures that rise to heaven on swift wings, and move through the air with the utmost rapidity. Comp. the kindred metaphor of "the wings of the wind," Ps. civ. 3; Hos. iv. 19; Zech. v. 9. The same holds true with regard to the faces of the lion, the ox, and the eagle which Ezekiel conjoins with the human face in his account of the cherubim. As little are these faces, again, to be regarded as representing the three leading divisions of the animal kingdom, but as emblems of distinct attributes and powers belonging to those spiritual beings (the cherubim). "In these were united, along with intellect and spirituality, the strength and firmness of the ox, the formidable majesty and sovereign air of the lion, the quick-sightedness and swiftness of the soaring eagle" (Dillmann, p. 514; comp. Kliefoth, p. 408). Again, in the vision in Rev. iv., the four ζῶα are not animal existences representing the material creation or the animal kingdom, but spiritual beings that surround the throne of God.

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This, to go no farther, is evident from the fact that they join in the "holy, holy" of the seraphim (Isa. vi. 3) to render praise, and honour, and thanksgiving to Him that sat upon the throne. It cannot be urged as a reasonable ground of objection to this, that in Ps. cxlviii. all creatures, sun, moon, stars, mountains, hills, trees, etc., are called upon to join in praising God, because there is a vast difference between the anthem "holy, holy" and that act of praising God in which, by its simple existence, the inanimate and irrational creation can and does take part.—But how Rev. vii. 11, v. 11, xv. 7 can be supposed to be fatal at the very outset to the angelic interpretation as given by Hengstenberg (Ezek. i. p. 280), Bähr, i. p. 404, Riehm, and others, one is at a loss to see, because in this instance the difference in the character of the animals (ζῶα) is clear as noonday. It is only when we maintain that the ἀγγέλοι are the only spiritual existences in heaven that we are precluded from regarding the cherubim as celestial spirits. But ἀγγέλος is not a generic name for the spiritual inhabitants of heaven, but a term intended to designate the function of that class of heavenly spirits whose duty it is to carry out the behests of God, and who are, in fact, His messengers. By distinguishing them from the ἀγγέλος we no more deny the cherubim a place among the spirits of heaven than we do the seraphim (Isa. vi.), which, moreover, are likewise possessed of wings, thereby refuting the assertion that the angels nowhere appear with these in Scripture. Once more, the cherubim in the Book of Revelation are not called "beasts," θηρία, Rev. vi. 11, vii. 2, xiii. 1, etc., as Hengstenberg gives it, but ζῶα, *animantia*, living things, living beings.

As against the idea that the cherubim are to be regarded as heavenly spirits, and also as disproving the view that the figures of them upon the Capporet serve to form the throne of God, Riehm (*Theol. Stud.* as above) points partly to the direction in which the wings of those cherubs are bent, and partly to the designation of God as יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרוּבִים, and tries to argue from this that the cherubs are rather to be looked upon in the light of watchers over the holy place where God was present, and as marking off and enveloping the space within which God's glory was visibly present (pp. 429, 431). For, as פֹּרְשֵׂי כְנָפַיִם לְמַעְלָה (Ex. xxv. 20, xxxvii. 39) cannot be otherwise rendered than thus: "spreading their wings upwards," he accordingly thinks that the words סֹכְכִים בִּכְנָפֵיהֶם עַל־הַכַּפֹּרֶת can only be understood to mean, that their wings formed a kind of roof or enclosure, in short, a kind of guard over the Capporet, and that the cherubim, with their bodies and with their wings stretching upwards and overshadowing the Capporet, marked off the space within which the symbol of God's presence (the cloud) rested upon the

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Capporet and between those cherubim, in which case the cloud is naturally to be conceived of not merely as being *under* the wings of the cherubim, but also as towering above them (p. 417). But if it be true that the cloud also rose above the wings of the cherubim, it is simply impossible that those wings should ever have formed a kind of covering or guard over this symbol of the divine presence. It is not permissible, therefore, to deduce the idea of a covering or envelope from the words פרשׂי כנ׳ למעלה. As little can we do so from Jehovah's being designated as יֹשֵׁב הַכְּרוּבִים. This expression, according to Riehm, cannot have been intended to be taken in the sense of "sitting enthroned over the cherubim," but, in accordance with grammatical usage, should be rendered: "He who inhabits the cherubim," *i.e.* "who dwells in the midst of them" (p. 418 f.). Here, however, Riehm has failed to observe that the phrase, "to inhabit the cherubim," involves a logical absurdity, is simply nonsense, and that, for this reason alone, his rendering may be looked upon as inaccurate; nor has he noted the fact that the *quid pro quo*, "He who dwells in the midst of the cherubim," involves a different idea, which, besides being foreign to the Old Testament—for nowhere do we find the words יֹשֵׁב בְּתוֹךְ הַכְּרוּבִים—is totally incompatible with the posture of the cherubim upon the Capporet, the expression, "in the midst of," implying the idea of a circle or of a space with a centre. And hence it is, too, that in Ex. xxv. 22 God does not say: "I will commune with thee from above the Capporet," מִתּוֹךְ, but שְׁנֵי הַכְּרוּבִים מִבֵּין, "from between" the two cherubim. It therefore comes to this, that if we are to go beyond the statement of Scripture and logically determine the position of the cloud as a symbol of the presence of God, we must conceive of the golden plate on the ark (הַכַּפֹּרֶת) as a footstool (Ps. xcix. 5, cxxxii. 7; 1 Chron. xxviii. 2; Lam. ii. 1), and the outspread wings, notwithstanding the upward direction in which they are bent, as being God's throne, in which case the face of God is to be understood as rising above the heads of the cherubim in a way analogous to what we find in the descriptions of Him as He appears in the visions of Ezekiel and the Book of Revelation.

If we would try to discover the *meaning* of the cherubim in the religious symbolism of Scripture, we must keep well in view the force of the term חַיּוֹת, ζῶα, by which they are designated in Ezekiel and in the Revelation, as well as the circumstance that, except in Gen. iii. 24, they never occur but in connection with the throne of God, when revealing Himself to man. It is true, no doubt, that this association may be

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most naturally accounted for by the circumstance that the cherubim upon the Capporet represented the throne of God, from which He intimated His gracious presence in the midst of Israel. But this arrangement must be founded upon some deeper reason, for Moses did not make it on his own authority, but in compliance with a divine command. From this it may be inferred, in the first place, that the cherubim have a most intimate connection with the founding of God's kingdom upon earth, that they represent, not the presence of the world, but the gracious presence of God here below. This idea is already hinted at in Gen. iii. 24, in so far as God is there represented as placing the cherubim at the east of the garden of Eden to prevent sinful man from approaching the tree whose fruit possessed the power of imparting to mortals eternal life. It is as representatives of God's gracious presence that they appear on the Capporet; and wherever He manifests Himself for the purpose of advancing and perfecting His kingdom through judgment and mercy, there are they always found surrounding the throne of God as witnesses of His sovereign glory, and, on the highest stage of the plenitude of creature life, they represent, as their name חַיּוֹת implies, that life for which man was created by God, and to which, after losing it by his fall, he was destined to be again restored by means of redemption. In this capacity they are, on the one hand, living witnesses of the life to which God desires to elevate man in His kingdom of grace, and on the other they reflect in their own persons the glory of that God who sits upon the throne and lives for ever and ever (Rev. iv. 9 f.), all which would seem to be pointed at in the designation applied to the cherubim on the ark in Heb. ix. 5, where they are described as χερουβὶμ δόξης. The way in which the cherubim are inseparably associated with the presence and the throne of God, would seem to have been intended to teach us that in the plastic and visionary symbolism of the Israelites, true, eternal life is only to be found in abiding fellowship with the living God.

From what has just been said, we will also be in a position not only to form correct views as to the *etymology* of the word כְּרוּב, but likewise as to the relation of the cherubim to similar creations in the mythology and imagery of the heathen nations of antiquity. That every attempt to find an appropriate etymology for the word כְּרוּב in the Hebrew or any other Semitic language has entirely failed, is a matter in regard to which there is now scarcely any further doubt. That there is some connection between כְּרוּב and γρυψ, γρύπος, is coming more and more to be regarded as probable; only it is quite a mistake to

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suppose that כרב means to seize, to stow away, to snatch, and that the original conception of the cherubim is to be found in the myth of the griffins. The term, as well as the idea which it denotes, dates from a period anterior to the confusion of tongues and the dispersion of the various tribes of the human family, and points back to a primitive tradition regarding Paradise itself. To this primitive source may be traced, not the cherubim alone, but likewise the griffins, sphinxes, and such-like strange creations among heathen nations, Hebrews and heathen alike having simply developed in after times their reminiscences of the supramundane beings that, on his expulsion from Paradise, were set to keep man from approaching the tree of life, with the view of bringing them into harmony with their religious development at its various stages. Accordingly we find that the Hebrews—possessing as they did a knowledge of God that was purified and enlightened, because derived from divine revelation — preserved in their conception of the cherubim the idea of celestial and spiritual beings, and in the sacred images representing those cherubim, gave special prominence to the human form. The heathen, on the contrary, sinking as they did into a pantheistic deification of nature, gave more and more of a mythological shape to their conceptions of those beings, and represented them under the phantastic forms of composite animals. As showing that those heathen representations were based upon the idea of supernatural beings, we might point to the inscription on an Assyrian amulet, published by Lenormant (*Choix de textes cunéiformes inédis*, etc., Paris 1873), in which, assuming, of course, that it has been correctly deciphered, the hieroglyph for *Sidu*, the ox-god, is interpreted by *Kirubu, i.e.* cherub, while this latter is characterized as a divine being by having the mark or sign of divinity affixed to it. Comp. Schrader, in the *Jenaer Litzeit.* 1874, Nr. 15, p. 218 f., who, referring to Ezek. i. 10, compared with x. 14, draws from the above the erroneous inference that, as Lenormant has conjectured, the Hebrew cherubim were identical with the winged ox-colossi of the Ninevites, and that the Hebrews imported the Assyrian *Kirubus* into their theocratic symbolism, not, however, without having, first of all, modified both the idea and its embodiment to suit the genius of a revealed religion. Dillmann, on the other hand, as above, p. 512, very properly observes that the idea of a literal borrowing of the cherubic representations from the Egyptians or Assyrians is out of the question, for the simple reason that the conception on which the images or representations, as found among these people, are based, is that of a watcher, or that of protection, whereas, in the case of the cherubim, such an idea is decidedly in the back-

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ground, while the idea of God's presence over the cherubim, on the other hand, is the one to which the greater prominence is assigned.

II. In the holy place stood — 1. the *altar of incense* (מִזְבַּח מִקְטַר קְטֹרֶת or מִ' קְטֹרֶת), occupying the middle space near to and in front of the inner vail, Ex. xxx. 1–6, xxxvii. 25–28. This altar consisted of a square frame of acacia wood 2 cubits high, 1 cubit wide, and the same broad, with a top (גַּג, *i.e.* a flat smooth top with a border round the edges),[5] and provided with horns at the four corners,[6] the whole being overlaid with gold. It was ornamented round the top with a golden border, under which, at each of the four corners, golden rings were fastened to receive the gold-covered poles for carrying it with. Upon this altar neither burnt-offerings nor meat-offerings were allowed to be offered, nor drink-offerings allowed to be poured, but it was used exclusively for burning on it (Ex. xxx. 7–9) sweet-smelling incense (קְטֹרֶת סַמִּים), a skilfully prepared[7] compound, containing four highly odoriferous ingredients.

[5] The word גַּג does not denote a grill (Carpzov, *Appar.* p. 272), but the flat roof of Oriental houses, which was surrounded with a low balustrade, and so here the *flat top* of the altar with a rim running round it to prevent coals and incense from falling off. Comp. Bähr, p. 499 f.

[6] The קְרָנוֹת, *horns*, are not, with the Rabbinical writers, to be conceived of as small square pillars, but as prominences made to resemble the horns of an animal, probably those of the ox,—pointed, horn-shaped pieces of wood overlaid with gold, which projected from the corners of the altar (מִמֶּנּוּ קַרְנֹתָיו, Ex. xxx. 2). Comp. Bähr as above.

[7] *The incense* was a compound unguent (רֹקַח מַעֲשֵׂה רוֹקֵחַ), and, according to Ex. xxx. 34–38, consisted (*a*) of נָטָף, στακτή, *i.e.* not the juice squeezed from the highly fragrant myrrh tree (Celsii *Hierobot.* i. 529), but probably a species of *gum-storax* resembling myrrh, which, when roasted, was burnt as incense (Hartmann, *die Hebræerin*, i. 307, iii. 110 ff.; Gesenius, *Thes.* ii. 879; and Winer, *Realwört.* ii. 512 and 535); (*b*) of שְׁחֵלֶת, *i.e.* not a vegetable resin, the βδέλλιον (Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. p. 798, ed. Ros.), but ὄνυξ (LXX.), *unguis odoratus*, the so-called *sea snail*, the shell of a snail resembling the purple-fish, and possessing an agreeable odour, and which is found in the Red Sea and likewise in India (according to Dioscorides, ii. c. 10;

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comp. Bochart, *Hieroz.* iii. p. 794 ff.; Winer, *Realwört.* ii. 594; Gesenius, *Thes.* iii. 1388); (*c*) of חֶלְבְּנָה, χαλβάνη, *galbanum*, a gum that is obtained by making incisions in the bark of a shrub (*ferula*) growing in Syria, Arabia, and Abyssinia. It is a greasy, sticky, granulated resin presenting a whitish appearance at first, but afterwards changing to yellow, and having a pungent odour and taste, and which when mixed with fragrant substances has the effect of increasing the odour and of fixing it longer (according to Dioscorides, iii. 97, as quoted by Celsius, *Hierob.* i. 267 ff., and Winer, *Realwört.* i. p. 386); of (*d*) לְבֹנָה זַכָּה, *pure frankincense*, λίβανος or λιβανωτός, a pale yellow, semi-transparent, pungent, and, when burnt, delightfully fragrant resin taken from a tree belonging to Arabia Felix, and the nature of which, owing to the divergent character of the statements of ancient writers regarding it, cannot be precisely made out (comp. Celsii *Hierobot.* i. 231 ff.; Winer, *Realwört.* ii. p. 681 f.; and Leyrer in Herzog's *Encycl.* xvii. p. 602 ff.). With regard to the preparing of the incense, it is directed in Ex. xxx. 34 that בַּד בְּבַד יִהְיֶה, *i.e.* not ἴσον ἴσῳ ἔσται, in equal parts of the various ingredients, but, according to Abarbanel, Aben Esra, and others, each ingredient was in the first place to be pounded by itself, and, after being thus duly prepared, was to be mixed with the rest, for it is possible that the ingredients did not all admit of being pounded to the same extent (Rosenmüller, *Scholl.* to the above passage). Besides it was to be *salted*, was to be *pure* and *holy*, *i.e.* seasoned with salt, unadulterated with any foreign substance, and reserved exclusively for sacred use, incense prepared in the way here specified being forbidden to be applied to ordinary use (לְהָרִיחַ בָּהּ) on pain of being cut off from the congregation.

2. The table (שֻׁלְחָן) for the *shewbread* (לֶחֶם פָּנִים) was made of acacia wood overlaid with gold, and was 1½ cubits high. The surface or top of the table, which was 2 cubits long and 1 broad, rested on a fillet frame (מִסְגֶּרֶת), a hand-breadth deep, surrounded with a golden cornice, which frame in its turn was supported by four feet, to which, just under the frame, golden rings were fastened to hold the poles for carrying the table with (Ex. xxv. 23–30, xxxvii. 10–16). The utensils belonging to the table were the *dishes* (קְעָרֹת) and *bowls* (כַּפֹּת) for the shewbread and the incense, *goblets* (מְנַקִּיֹּת) and *cups* (קְשָׂוֹת) for the wine used in drink-offerings, all being made of pure gold. The shewbread, which was put upon the table every Sabbath day and not removed till the following Sabbath, when it was replaced by a fresh supply, consisted of twelve cakes (חַלּוֹת),

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each containing two-tenths of an ephah of the finest flour, and being also unleavened. They were placed before Jehovah, probably upon plates, in two piles (מַעֲרֶכֶת), with six cakes in each pile; and hence it was subsequently designated לֶחֶם הַמַּעֲרֶכֶת (1 Chron. xxiii. 29, ix. 32, etc.). To each pile incense was added, though scarcely sprinkled upon the bread itself, but placed in bowls beside the bread, "for a memorial, even an offering made by fire unto the Lord" (Lev. xxiv. 5–9).

3. The *candlestick* (מְנוֹרָה), Ex. xxv. 31–39, xxxvii. 17–24, which was of pure gold and embossed work (מִקְשָׁה), consisted of a pedestal (יָרֵךְ)[8] and a stalk or upright pipe (קָנֶה) from which—probably at equal distances from one another—there projected three branches on each side, rising in the form of a bow to the same height as the top of the middle stalk, so that along with the latter they formed seven ends upon which seven lamps (נֵרוֹת) were placed. The centre stalk had four cups, shaped like almond-tree blossom with knobs and flowers;[9] each of the branches had three cups of the same description. Those ornaments were so arranged that a cup was placed at intervals along the centre stalk at each of the three points where the branches diverged, and just under the point of divergence, the fourth cup being probably at the upper end just under the lamp that was placed upon it. It may be assumed that a similar arrangement obtained in the case of the arms or branches, the one cup being under the lamp and the two others being placed equi-distant from each other along each of the branches respectively. The knobs and flowers were close to the cups, and in some way or other associated with them. See Table iii. fig. 3. The dimensions of the candlestick are not given, but Bähr conjectures, with some measure of probability, that its height was the same as that of the table, *i.e.* 1½ cubits, and that the distance between the two lamps that were farthest apart was 1½ cubits also.[10]—The utensils belonging to the candlestick were the snuffers (מַלְקָחַיִם) and the *extinguishers* (מַחְתּוֹת).[11] One talent of gold was made use of in making the candlestick and its accompanying utensils.

[8] יָרֵךְ can have no other sense than that of the base or pedestal on which the candlestick rested. For elsewhere it means the leg, or rather the part of the body from which the legs and

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feet spring, the part to which they are fastened, the ground in which they are rooted. The text leaves us in uncertainty as to the shape of the pedestal; Jarchi imagines it to have been concave; Maimonides, on the other hand, thinks it must have been flat, with three small feet. Comp. Bähr, p. 493.

[9] The word כַּפְתּוֹר means in Amos ix. 1 and Zeph. ii. 14 the head on the capital of the pillars. Maimonides, quoted by Bähr (p. 495), says: Caphtor habebat figuram globuli, non tamen exacte rotundam, sed aliquo modo oblongam, instar ovi. There is no reason to think of apples here, as the Rabbinical writers have done.

[10] "If we assume that the distance of the two extreme lamps from one another was equal to the height of the candlestick, viz. 1½ cubits, the proportions would be quite symmetrical, and in that case the various measurements would be on the same scale as in the other parts of the candlestick. The centre stalk was divided into three parts of half a cubit each; the first half cubit being the space between the pedestal and the point where the first pair of branches diverged, the second being the distance between this latter point and that where the uppermost pair branched off, and the third again being the distance between the last-mentioned point and the lamp at the top of the stalk. That being the case, the lamps would be a quarter of a cubit distant from each other, which is likewise the distance from one another of those points where the three pairs of branches diverge from the stalk; then again the three ornaments on the branches divided them each into three parts, and, like the four corresponding ornaments on the stalk, they were equally distant from one another" (Bähr, p. 498).—The lamps had in front a small mouth for the wick, so that when burning the light was thrown to one side, עַל עֵבֶר פָּנֶיהָ, on the part beyond its front (ver. 37), or אֶל מוּל פְּנֵיו (Num. viii. 2), upon the opposite side. Now as פָּנִים means the front of the candlestick, *i.e.* the seven lamps all in a row, and as the candlestick stood on the south side of the holy place, it is clear that the plane of the lamps ran from east to west, and so the holy place was better lighted than if it had run from south to north, than if all the lamps had been facing the door of the holy place. Comp. the author's comm. on Ex. xxv. 37.

[11] מַחְתּוֹת denotes in Ex. xxvii. 3, Lev. xvi. 12, Num. xvi. 2, vessels for taking coals from the fire—coal-pans; here, occurring as it does in connection with the candlestick, it can be understood in no other sense than that of bowls or vessels into which the snuffings of the lamps were put. Luther correctly renders: "Extinguisher bowls;" de Wette, on the other hand, gives the somewhat inappropriate rendering of "tongs."

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III. In the court stood the *altar for burnt-offerings* (מִזְבַּח הָעוֹלָה, Ex. xxvii. 1–8, xxxviii. 1–7). It consisted of a square frame of acacia wood 5 cubits long, the same broad, and 3 high, which was hollow and filled with earth or stones, so that it was the latter materials that, properly speaking, constituted the altar. The four wooden sides were overlaid with brass (copper), while the corners were provided with horns, *i.e.* with horn-shaped prominences. Half-way up, *i.e.* 1½ cubits from the ground, there was a projecting border or ledge (כַּרְכֹּב), some half or even a whole cubit wide, running round and attached to the four sides of the frame, and from the outer edges of this projection trellis or network of copper reached right down to the ground. On the corners of this trellised portion, and immediately under the projection, were fastened four brass rings to hold the poles for carrying the frame. This projection was evidently intended for the priest to step upon when in the act of officiating, so that he might be in a better position for getting at the surface of the altar.[12] The utensils belonging to the altar of burnt-offering were *pots* (סִירוֹת) in which to remove the ashes, *shovels* (יָעִים), *plates* to catch the blood (מִזְרָקוֹת), *forks* (מִזְלָגוֹת), and *coal-pans* (מַחְתּוֹת), all made of brass or copper.

[12] Such is Meyer's interpretation (*Bibeldeutungen*, p. 201) of the statements regarding כַּרְכֹּב and מִכְבָּר מַעֲשֵׂה רֶשֶׁת, an interpretation that is both correct and in accordance with actual fact. Comp. further, Bähr, p. 597 ff., where other untenable hypotheses are refuted.

2. Then came the laver (כִּיּוֹר, Luther, hand-basin), for the use of the priests in washing their hands and feet (Ex. xxx. 18, xxxviii. 8), the nature and shape of which, however, are not further described; but, judging from the analogy of the brazen sea in Solomon's temple, we may infer that it was round, or cauldron-shaped, and of considerable size, and that it was probably provided with openings or cranes in the sides to let in water whenever required for use. This laver or basin rested on a stand (כֵּן), probably an under support, into which the water ran away after it had been used.[13] Both those objects were of brass or copper, and were made from the looking-glasses belonging to the women that ministered at the door of the tabernacle.[14]

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[13] Comp. Bähr, *Symb.* i. p. 583 f.

[14] Such is the meaning of Ex. xxxviii. 8, and not as, following the ancient Sacchus, Ewald (*Alterthümer*, p. 378) still supposes, that the laver made of brass was provided with looking-glasses for the women. See, on the other hand, a correct account of the matter in Hengstenberg's *Beitr.* iii. p. 132 f., as well as a refutation of the erroneous views that have been held in the author's comm. on Ex. xxx. 18, in which Bähr also concurs in the 2nd ed. of his *Symb.* i. p. 585 f.

§ 20. *The Design and Symbolical Meaning of the Tabernacle.*

The design of the tabernacle is stated in the words of Jehovah in Ex. xxv. 8: "Let them make me a sanctuary that I may dwell among them." This sanctuary is accordingly styled the אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, the *tent of meeting* between God and His people,[1] for God says to Moses: "*thither I will come to speak with thee there*" (לְכָה שָׁמָּה ונו אִוָּעֵד), and "*I will present myself* (נֵעָדְתִּי) *there to the children of Israel*, and Israel shall be sanctified by my glory," and "*I will dwell in the midst of the children of Israel*, and will be their God, and they shall know that I, Jehovah, am their God, who brought them forth out of the land of Egypt *that I might dwell among them*, even I, Jehovah their God" (Ex. xxix. 42 f., 45 f.). In accordance with what is here promised, not only did the glory of Jehovah (כְּבוֹד יְהוָה) fill the dwelling place after the tabernacle was reared, not only in the course of Israel's journeyings, did that, in which the Lord manifested His presence to the people, rest over the tabernacle as a cloud by day and as fire by night (Ex. xl. 34–38; Num. ix. 15–23); but from that time forward Jehovah continued to commune regularly with Moses from above the Capporet within the tabernacle, and through Moses made known His will to His people (Lev. i. 1; Num. i. 1, vii. 89, comp. with Ex. xxv. 22).— This dwelling on the part of God in the midst of the people of Israel formed the realization of the covenant which He had made with His people, was the fulfilment of His own promise when He said, "I will take you to me for a people, and I will be to you a God" (Ex. vi. 7, xix. 5 f.). Accordingly the dwelling place reared within the tabernacle was

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a sign and pledge, not merely of the special, active presence of God in and among Israel, but, *eo ipso*, of God's rule over them as well, as is clearly intimated in the following words, "I will establish my covenant with you . . . and set up my tabernacle (dwelling place) among you; and my soul shall not abhor you. And I will walk among you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my people" (Lev. xxvi. 9, 11 f.). In this twofold respect was the tabernacle a figurative representation, a symbol, in fact, of the kingdom and polity of God, the theocratic centre, where the idea of Israel's vocation to be the people of God was fully realized.[2] As God's people, Israel was not merely to have their God in their midst dwelling amongst them, but they were also to have the privilege of approaching Him, of enjoying the protecting and blissful, the pardoning, sanctifying, and glorifying presence and fellowship of their God.

We accordingly find that the structure and arrangements of the sanctuary are in harmony with this symbolical meaning.

I. *The structure of the tabernacle.* Built, as it was, at Sinai at the time of Israel's wanderings through the wilderness on their way to Canaan, the dwelling place assumed the form of a tent. So long as Israel was dwelling in tents, no other kind of dwelling place could be thought of for the God who was in their midst. The tent for God was made of planks of acacia wood, the only kind of wood that could be got in the Arabian desert for such a purpose as this,[3] and the curtains that hung over the walls of the dwelling-place, within and without, imparted to it the tent-like aspect which it possessed. This tent was further surrounded by a court, so that the tabernacle was made up of two leading divisions—the court and the dwelling place. This latter was the house of God, Jehovah's dwelling place in the midst of His people (Ex. xxiii. 19; Josh. vi. 24; 1 Sam. i. 7, 24, etc.), the palace of the divine King (הֵיכַל יי, 1 Sam. i. 9, iii. 3; Ps. v. 8, xxvii. 4, 6), the seat of royalty in His kingdom where He vouchsafed to His people evidences of His presence amongst them. The court which surrounded and enclosed the dwelling place (חָצֵר, from חָצַר, to enclose) was the place where the children of Israel, isolated from all the nations of the earth, assembled before Jehovah, where they

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presented to Him gifts and sacrifices with the view of obtaining from Him mercy, well-being, and life.[4] This division is in keeping with the nature of the kingdom of God under the Old Testament economy, according to which the sinful people was, in terms of the law, to be kept apart from the holy God, though, at the same time, this barrier was a means of preparing the way for putting an end to all separation, and of restoring that fellowship with God that had been broken off by sin. The dwelling place, again, was likewise divided into two parts,—the holy place on the one hand, where the priests, as the consecrated representatives of the people, were allowed to approach God with sacrifice, and the holy of holies on the other, in which God was present sitting on His throne. The entire structure was so planned and built that, in the form of everything about it, regulated as it was according to a precise system of numbers and measurement, and in the very materials and artistic figures employed in decorating it, it bore the impress and stamp of the kingdom of God.

Not only did a certain significance seem to attach to the fundamental shape of the structure of the dwelling place and court alike, but likewise to the numerical principle on which every detail was carried out, as was the case with regard to almost all the temples of the ancient world.[5] The four-corner shape, in its three modifications, the oblong, the square, and the cube, was the one that predominated. With regard to numbers and measurements, we find that besides the predominating four, the numbers ten (with twice ten: twenty, and the half of ten: five), three, seven, and twelve were unmistakeably prominent.—The *four* (number four and four-square), which in consequence of the notion of four sides, quarters, ends of the earth and sky that involuntarily suggests itself to the mind of man as he contemplates space above and around him, is, according to an idea common to all antiquity, the symbol of the κόσμος, while, according to biblical ideas, it represents the stamp impressed on that kingdom of God for which the world was designed at its creation, and which, notwithstanding the disorder introduced by the fall of man, it is destined yet to become, after it has been transformed and renewed through God's economy of redemption. The *ten*,

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owing to the circumstance of its standing last among the cardinal numbers, is regarded by all nations as the type of a perfect number, the symbol of systematic completeness, of due completeness and perfection; and the circumstance of the fundamental law of the theocracy having been embodied in ten utterances (the decalogue), promulgated on Sinai by God Himself that they might be communicated to Israel, has helped to give high sanction to the significance attached to this number. Then the *three* is the mark of the Divine Being and His various manifestations, because the work of creation was executed in two consecutive and corresponding periods, with three days in each, and still more, because the works of creation are arranged in threes, Gen. i.; the universe, for example, being divided into heaven, earth, and sea (Gen. i. 8 and 10), the heavenly bodies into sun, moon, and stars (ver. 16), plants into grass, vegetables, and fruit trees (ver. 11), animals into fish, birds, and land-animals (vv. 20 and 24), and these latter again being subdivided into cattle, reptiles, and beasts of the field, or wild beasts (ver. 23 f.), over all which man, as being created in the image of God, obtains the sway as king of the earth (vv. 26 and 28). Then, because the work of creation was finished in seven days, the *seven* is regarded, in the Old and New Testament, as the mark or symbol of God's agency and works upon earth; and, lastly, the *twelve* is the symbolic mark of Israel, the people of the covenant, that has sprung from the twelve sons of Jacob. To all this is to be traced the symbolical significance attaching to the measurements in the tabernacle. The *court* was an oblong 50 (5 × 10) cubits wide and 100 (10 × 10) cubits long, and it was surrounded on its outer edge by 60 (5 × 12) pillars with curtains hung upon them. Those numbers served to indicate the people of the covenant, and at the same time a state of semi-completion. The breadth was only half the length, thereby indicating that the court was to be regarded as only the vestibule of the holy place, and that in it the object for which the sanctuary existed in Israel was only half realized.—The *dwelling place*, as a whole, was an oblong of 30 (3 × 10) cubits in length, 10 in width, and 10 in height; the front division of it (the holy place) was 20 (2 × 10) cubits long, the hindermost division (the holy of

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holies) was 10 each way (in length, breadth, and height), and therefore formed a cube or perfect square. The walls of the dwelling place consisted of 20 + 20 + 8, therefore of 48 or 4 × 12 planks, and were covered with four roof-coverings laid one over the other, the lowermost of which—being the one that with the framework formed the dwelling place—was made from yarn of four different colours. Here the predominating numbers are the 10 and the 4, which represented the idea of completeness and the kingdom of God, while the number three, which is the basis of the measurements, represented the structure as having proceeded from God, while, as regards the number of the planks employed in the building, it was to be understood as impressing upon the tabernacle the sign of the covenant people, and as indicating that it was designed for the use of Israel. But the entire dwelling place, as well as its front division, assumed, both of them, the form of an oblong square, the former being three times, the latter twice as long as it was wide,—dimensions that indicated an imperfection that was changed into perfection as soon as the holy of holies with its cubical shape was reached. For the kingdom of God that is founded in and for Israel is only meant to prepare the way for that perfect kingdom of God the certain advent of which is foreshadowed by the inner division of the dwelling place, the holy of holies.[1]—The whole structure rested upon a basis of metals; the pillars of the court and of the entrance to the dwelling place being set upon brazen (copper) plates, the boards of the dwelling place and the pillars that supported the veil between the holy and the holy of holies upon plates of silver. The capitals of the pillars of the court were of silver, and hooks of the same metal were attached to them to hold the silver rods on which the side curtains were hung; the boards and pillars of the dwelling place were overlaid with gold, the capitals of the pillars being also covered with gold, and provided with hooks of the same metal on which to fasten the curtains. While the metallic basis, on which the entire structure was resting, served to indicate the stability of its foundation, the brass, which resembled the colour of the earth, or the copper, was confined to the court, as representing the earthly side of the kingdom of God, though the silver capitals on its pillars pointed to the ethical

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purity and sanctity of this portion of the tabernacle. Then, again, the silver pedestals of the boards and pillars belonging to the dwelling place served to show that that part of the structure was founded upon purity and holiness. Further, the overlaying of those boards and pillars with gold was meant to reflect the glory of the house; and, lastly, the combination of copper and gold, in the case of the pillars at the entrance, served not merely to indicate the connection that subsisted between the court and the dwelling place, but may, at the same time, have been intended to shadow forth that union between the earth and the kingdom of heaven of which the sanctuary, as typifying the kingdom of God, was to form the realization.[7] Similar ideas were likewise associated with the nature and character of the cloths with which the sanctuary was covered, and which imparted to it its tent-like aspect. The white colour of the byssus, of which the curtains round the court were made, served to indicate that the tent was intended to be used as a sanctuary, while the four colours that are blended together, both in the curtain over the entrance to the court and in the veils and lowermost roof-covering of the dwelling place, denoted that the sanctuary was to be regarded as a representation of the kingdom of God. The four colours were *hyacinth, i.e.* neither violet nor our sky-blue, but a dark blue verging on black, the colour of the sky in southern lands; *scarlet*, a deep, brillant red, the colour indicating kingly splendour and majesty; *coccus*, or crimson, a light, brilliant red, the colour of blood; and the clear, *white byssus* colour. As decorations of the sanctuary, those colours represented certain characteristics of the kingdom of God; the hyacinth, for example, its heavenly origin and character; the purple, its royal glory; while crimson, as being the colour of blood and fresh life, and white, as being that of holiness, served to indicate that the dwelling place of the divine King was a place of life and holiness. Then, again, the figures of the cherubim that were woven upon the undermost roof-covering and upon the innermost veil, representing, as they did, those supramundane and spiritual beings that surround the throne of God, were meant to show that the dwelling place of the divine King is a place from which emanate the salvation and life of men.[8] Lastly, this symbolical significance

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of the tabernacle is still further corroborated by the fact that whenever it was put up, it had, in accordance with an express order to that effect, to be placed with its four corners turned to the four cardinal points, with the entrance facing the east.[9]

[1] מוֹעֵד, from נוֹעַד, *loco condicto stetit sibi alicui*, is literally the *appointed meeting*. Luther's rendering of אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד is *Hütte des Stifts*, with regard to which he observes in a marginal note: "We could not see how we could otherwise translate the Hebrew word 'moëd,' nor had we any desire to do so. It is, however, to be understood as meaning a certain place or building, such as a parish church or other building, to which the people of Israel were to repair and hear the word of God."

[2] This view, which had been previously broached by Witsius, has been so conclusively demonstrated by Hengstenberg (*Beitr.* iii. p. 628 ff.) that it has been accepted as in the main correct by all who are disposed to attribute a symbolical significance to the tabernacle. Bähr, on the other hand, has endeavoured, not only in his treatise entitled *Der Tempel Salomo's*, pp. 88 ff. and 128 ff., but also, in a somewhat modified form, in the 2nd ed. of his *Symbolik*, i. p. 133 ff., to maintain and, with additional arguments, to enforce the view, savouring somewhat of the cosmical interpretation of Philo of Alexandria, to the effect that the tabernacle was a representation of the whole fabric of the world and all creation, though not consisting of the physical, visible world or creation of heaven and earth merely as such, but of the world as witnessing for and revealing God. He has not succeeded, however, in adducing any valid argument from Scripture in favour of his view. For neither the idea, running through the Old Testament, that God literally dwells in heaven seated on a throne, nor the passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews (viii. 2, 5, ix. 11, 24, x. 1, etc.) where the Old Testament σκηνή is contrasted with the σκηνὴ ἀληθινή, ἣν ἔπηξεν ὁ κύριος καὶ οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, and is explained to be a ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιὰ τῶν ἐπουρανίων or τῶν ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, and where it is said with regard to Christ that, as the true High Priest, He has entered εἰς αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν (Bähr, *Symb.* p. 134 ff.), neither of these, we say, can be regarded as proving that the material tabernacle with all its arrangements was a figurative representation of heaven as the literal dwelling of God. From the words of Solomon, when he says that the God who sits enthroned in heaven, and whom even the heaven of heavens cannot contain, has condescended to make the tabernacle (the temple) the dwelling place of His name, as well as from all those passages in which heaven is either affirmed or assumed to be the habitation of God, nothing further can be inferred than that the Israelites found no

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difficulty in combining the fact of the real presence of Jehovah in the tabernacle with their conviction of the infinitude and transcendent majesty of God, the Creator and Lord of heaven and earth; while the passages in the Epistle to the Hebrews merely teach that in the structure and worship of the tabernacle we have a shadowing forth of things in the heavens. But when Bähr concedes, as he does in the 2nd ed. of his *Symb.*, that the tabernacle was "the heart and centre of the theocracy," and that the dwelling place was "a sign and pledge of the covenant relation in which Jehovah stood to Israel" (pp. 134, 136 f.), then we must suppose that this covenant relation can only have been reflected in the construction of that dwelling place, and that the whole building could have been neither more nor less than a figurative representation of the kingdom of God based upon His covenant with Israel. It is impossible to evade this inference unless we would show how much we misapprehend the character of the Scripture revelation as an economy of salvation rendered necessary by the fall of man.—As for the rest, Kurtz ("Beitrr. zur Symbolik des alttestl. Cultus," in the *Luther. Ztschr.*) has refuted Bähr's view with arguments of such a cogent nature that, in the 2nd ed. of his work, the author of the *Symbolik* has failed to weaken the force of the more important points.

[3] We are therefore precluded from seeing, as Bähr has done (*Symb.* i. 288 f., 312 ff.), any symbolical significance in the supposed choice of this species of wood in preference to any other in the property it possesses "of not decaying or rotting even in water," therefore in its "comparative freedom from liability to decay." It is no argument in favour of this view of the matter to appeal to the statement in Winer's *Realwört.* ii. 471, to the effect that olive and fruit trees grew in the valleys of Sinai,—from which Bähr infers, p. 312, that the wood of the olive tree might also have been available,—for according to v. Schubert's *Reise ins Morgenl.* ii. p. 352, from which Winer's statement is taken, "the olive as well as the fig tree, even when met with, as here and there they may be, in the open air, are found to grow only in cultivated soil."

[4] As regards the notion that the court formed a symbolical habitation for the people, so that they and God were supposed to dwell beside each other in the tabernacle, Bähr (*Symb.* i. pp. 138 and 169 f. of the 2nd ed.), agreeably to the view of the relation of the two parts of the tabernacle to one another, which, following Hengstenberg and others, I have previously expressed, has objected to it, not without reason, that the court was not a dwelling place at all, but simply an enclosed space; and in doing so has at the same time revoked his former theory

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that the court represented the "covenant land," that it was a kind of "concentrated Canaan." We say "not without reason," for his objection is so far well founded, that in the law the court is never spoken of as a dwelling place of the people, but merely as the place to which the people were to repair in order to appear before the Lord; but, as we see from Ps. xv. 1, xxvii. 4, lxv. 5, lxxxiv. 5, it was not an occasional appearing in the court, but a perpetual stay and dwelling in the house of the Lord (שֶׁבֶת בְּבֵית יי׳, גּוּר בְּאָהֳלֶךָ), that formed an object of longing for the pious Israelite. The other passages adduced by Hengstenberg (*Beitr.* p. 631) to prove that the tabernacle and temple appear to be regarded as the place where believers dwell with the Lord, are not to the point.

[b] Comp. the copious collection of passages in support of this in Bähr, *Symb.* i. p. 279 ff. of 2nd ed.; and for the symbolical use of the numbers three, four, ten, five, seven, and twelve among the various nations of the world, see pp. 212, 220 f., 225 f., 231 f., 245 f., and 251 f.—The symbolical significance attaching to the numbers and measurements entering into the construction of the tabernacle may be attributed, speaking generally, to the fact that "it was the universal practice of antiquity to conceive of dimensions and calculations according to certain numbers and measurements, not merely in their outward and material sense, but to regard them as the immediate result and expression of the mental powers, of an intellectual process, and therefore to make a symbolical use of them. Accordingly, because the divine Being was regarded as the absolute and supreme Intelligence itself, certain numbers and measurements were employed as symbols of all that was intended to be characterized as originally and essentially divine (Bähr, p. 191). Hence it is, too, that in Scripture when the universe happens to be described as the work of God, it is not merely His infinite creative power and omnipotence that we are invited to contemplate, but we are always at the same time called upon to think of the divine wisdom with which all created things are arranged and organized (Ps. civ. 24 f.; Jer. x. 12, li. 15; Sir. xxiv. 3–8, xlii. 15–21). Everything in the shape of ordering and arranging, however, is understood to be determined by numbers, measure, and weight (Wisd. xi. 17–21; Isa. xl. 12 ff.; Job xxxviii. 4 ff., xxviii. 20 ff.; Prov. viii. 22, and other passages quoted by Bähr, p. 179 f.). But we may discover more specific traces of this same kind of significance partly in the care and precision with which the numbers and measurements are given, and partly in the circumstance that the definite numbers and measurements occurring in the tabernacle are reproduced in Solomon's temple, in the temple in Ezekiel's

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vision, and even in the σκηνὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων of Rev. xxi. 2 ff.—On this point all are now agreed; the only matter on which opinion is still divided being the question as to the origin and development of the symbolism of numbers, the question, that is, as to whether the symbolical use of certain numbers has its origin in the nature of these numbers themselves as seen in the character of the decimal system, whether in the internal structure of this system, in the order in which each individual number stands in relation to others in the series, and whether that use has been developed by the various speculative theories to which the numerical system has given rise, or whether it is to be traced, in an empirico-historical way, to the significance which God has impressed upon particular numbers through certain of His works. The former of these views is the one adopted by Bähr, who has endeavoured to get at the meaning of the numbers by having recourse to the speculative notions of the heathen nations of antiquity regarding this matter, though, at the same time, always endeavouring to demonstrate where the distinctive difference lies between the Mosaic and the heathen symbolism of numbers. Then, following up this view, Kurtz, "Ueber die symbol. Dignität der Zahlen an der Stiftshütte," *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1844, pp. 315–370; Zoeckler, *Theologia naturalis*, 1860, p. 660 ff., and others, have tried still further to elaborate the scriptural symbolism of numbers. The other view is that which Kliefoth has adopted in his dissertation entitled "Die Zahlensymbolik der heil. Schrift," in the *Theol. Zeitschrift*, edited by himself and Dieckhoff, and there in iii. (1862) pp. 1–89, 341–453, and 509–623, a view which Lämmert has pushed somewhat farther in his article, "Zur Revision der bibl. Zahlensymbolik," in *d. Jahrb. f. deutsche Theol.* 1864, pp. 1–49. We agree with Leyrer, "Zahlensymbolik in d. heil. Schrift," in Herzog's *Encycl.* xviii. p. 360 ff., in holding this latter to be the only correct view, although we cannot regard the working out of this realistic conception as in every point so happy as could be desired, nor would we pretend, in the case of all the numbers, to find the basis of their symbolical use in certain revealed facts contained in Scripture, but, following the analogy of the undoubted points of contact between the Mosaic worship and the one universal mode of worshipping God that obtained in a primitive age, we see no reason why, in the case of many of the numbers, the four and the ten for example, we should not recognise the existence of a physical basis. Bähr's objections, in the 2nd ed. of the *Symb.* i. p. 201 ff., do not touch the principle itself, but only bear upon certain details in the application of it. And inasmuch as Bähr admits, p. 199, that

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"any such speculative numerical theories (similar to those we meet with in nature-religions), ending as they ultimately do in pantheism, could not possibly have arisen within the Mosaic system, which was not a religion of nature, but one that recognised the exclusive existence of the One personal God, the Creator of heaven and earth, whom it worshipped as the absolutely Holy One, and to which speculative theories of every kind were in fact quite foreign,"—he thereby indirectly condemns even his own view as simply irrelevant.

[6] It is impossible, except in some arbitrary way, to extract a symbolical meaning from the number of pillars at the various entrances (four at the entrance to the court, five at the holy place, and four at the holy of holies). Kurtz (*Stud. u. Krit.* 1844, p. 367) has rejected Bähr's interpretation as untenable, and instead of finding the significance to lie in the number of the entrance *pillars*, he finds it in the number of *openings* for the entrances (four in the court, four in the holy place, and three in the holy of holies), the four entrances to the court and the holy place being supposed to correspond to the four quarters of the world from which the people come that entered by them, and the three leading into the holy of holies being understood to indicate that into this special dwelling-place of God none but God in the meantime could enter. Kliefoth again, as above, p. 373 f., explains the four entrances to the court and the holy place in this way. The entrance to the court, he says, was intended for the admission of sinful men coming to seek the forgiveness of sin and to obtain sanctification; that to the holy place, again, he conceives to have been meant for admitting those who had been purged and sanctified by means of the victims sacrificed in the court, that there in that holy place they, as God's pure and priestly people, might—in the first instance, of course, only through the medium of the priests—offer a pure and stainless worship. With regard to the entrance to the holy of holies, on the other hand, he considers that it is not to be regarded as having been an entrance leading from the holy place into the holy of holies, but, conversely, as a door of egress from the holy of holies into the holy place, for the purpose of allowing God to pass out from the former into the latter, that there He might meet with His purged and sanctified people on their entrance from the court, and receive a stainless worship at their hands. Kurtz's interpretation is at once seen to be quite erroneous, for the simple reason that it is not a symbolical, but a purely typical one, and because it leaves the fact of the entrances being designed for the use of the people entirely out of account. That of Kliefoth, again, breaks down in so far as he holds that the only entrances

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for the people were those into the court and the holy place, and that the entrance to the holy of holies was rather a door of *egress* for God,—a position which he attempts to justify by asserting, in opposition to Scripture, that the high priest in entering the holy of holies did not represent the approach of men to God. Moreover, the text of Scripture (Ex. xxvii. 16) expressly mentions only four pillars and eight sockets as belonging to the curtain over the entrance to the court, which would leave only three doorways, a fourth being obtainable only if we suppose the two extreme side pillars in the front row to have been included. If, in the text of Scripture, four doorways were meant to be indicated so as to express a certain significance, then undoubtedly the number of pillars would have been given as five, as in the case of the holy place. As little can we hope to find a symbolical significance in the number and dimensions of the various curtains of which the two lower roofs of the tent were composed, however much one might feel tempted to do so from the circumstance of the width of each of the curtains happening to be alike, viz. four cubits, from the length of the curtains intended for the undermost roof amounting to 28 ($= 4 \times 7$) cubits, from the length of the goats' hair covering amounting to 30 ($= 3 \times 10$) cubits, and, lastly, from the two halves composing the undermost roof and sewed together broadwise, amounting to 20×20 cubits. For, in the first place, it is impossible to discover any adequate reason of a symbolical nature why the length of the undermost roof should be 4×7 cubits, and that of the one immediately over it 3×10; then, in the next place, it is so far a fatal objection to the idea of a symbolical interpretation, that the roof immediately above the lowermost had to be composed of two halves of unequal size, and consisting of five and six curtains respectively. The measurements of the two roofs were simply such as were required by the purpose they were designed to serve, viz. to cover the whole framework of the tent outside and inside, in such a way that the covering would not reach the ground, but leave the bottom of the boards bare to the extent of a cubit, and allow the gold with which the boards were overlaid to be seen, and also that the curtains of the covering might not be exposed to the risk of suffering from the damp, as they would be if they reached to the ground.

[7] On the way in which the metals of gold, silver, and brass (especially polished brass) are made use of in the Bible to represent ethical ideas among the Hebrews, comp. the Scripture passages in Bähr, i. pp. 304–309, from which it would appear that gold, on account of its extreme brilliancy, was regarded

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as the natural symbol of the divine and heavenly light of the glory and majesty of God (comp., above all, Job xxxvii. 22), and that silver, because of its brilliant white colour, was accepted as the emblem of moral purity and holiness. Brass, again, frequently occurs as the sign of hardness, stability, and strength (Lev. xxvi. 19; Jer. xv. 12; Job xl. 13), while shining polished brass is taken as imperfectly representing the brightness of gold. For the way in which metals are employed in the religions of nature as symbols of the cosmic light, and the stars regarded as embodiments of the gods, see the discussion of this point in Bähr, p. 309 ff.

[8] The symbolical significance associated with colours is undoubtedly to be inferred from the circumstance that these same four colours were prescribed not only for the sanctuary, but likewise for the garments of the priests.—In deference to the objections urged against it by Hengstenberg (*Beitr.* iii. p. 630), Kurtz, and others, Bähr has so far modified his previous view, to the effect that these colours denoted the various names of God, as to understand them in their combined form (*Symb.* i. p. 340 of the 2nd ed.), as having been "colours emblematic of the dwelling place of God, the place in which He revealed His presence," colours, *i.e.*, which represented the dwelling place as the scene of God's manifesting Himself to Israel, "that is to say, as a sign and pledge of the covenant relation in which He stood to His chosen people." This view, for which he has failed to produce any scriptural warrant, is merely an inference from his conception of the tabernacle as a representation of heaven.

[9] The placing of the building so as to have its four corners looking to the four cardinal points was not intended, as Bähr thinks (i. p. 273), to convey the idea that God's true dwelling place is that of heaven, which has "four corners;" but rather served to indicate that the kingdom of God founded in Israel was intended for the whole world.

II. The symbolical meaning of the *furniture of the tabernacle.* In the furnishing of the tabernacle, the circumstance of its threefold division into court, holy place, and holy of holies had a most undoubted prominence given to it by the fact that each of those divisions was provided with the furniture necessary for the propitiatory service, that not only the altar of burnt-offering in the court, but also the altar of incense in the holy place, and even the Capporet of the ark in the holy of holies, were stamped with an expiatory character, by the blood of the atoning sacrifices being sprinkled not merely upon

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the horns of those two altars, but upon the Capporet as well. Consequently, the three divisions of the sanctuary represented three stages in the fellowship existing between the Lord and His people. In the court, the people appeared before the Lord, presenting sacrifices and burnt-offerings upon the altar, in order to obtain from Him the forgiveness of their sins and strength to enable them to sanctify their lives; in the holy place, again, they entered, through the medium of the consecrated priests, into the dwelling place, with the fruits of their sanctified life, in order that they might enjoy the blessedness of fellowship with God; and, lastly, they approached the throne of God, once in the year, in the person of the high priest, as being the consecrated representative of the whole body of the people, for the purpose of obtaining complete forgiveness of all their sins, and of receiving at God's hands, in all its fulness, the blessedness of reconciliation with Him.[10] Those three stages of fellowship required to be represented by some outward embodiment, and for this purpose use was made of the furniture of the three divisions of that place of worship in which the kingdom of God was symbolized. The furniture was the divinely-appointed media for the realization of the covenant fellowship, through which the people could not only render their stipulated services to God in terms of the covenant, but also in turn receive at His hands those blessings of salvation which, in that same covenant, He had pledged Himself to bestow upon His own people. It was here that the symbolical significance of the furniture lay, and not, as has been frequently assumed, in the fact that it represented the people in its relation to God, that the altar, the table, and the candlestick were symbols of the people as requiring to be reconciled to God, sanctified by Him, and made one with Him.[11]

[10] The three compartments of the sacred tent have, from this point of view, been already rightly characterized by Neumann (*in d. Luth. Ztschr.* 1851, p. 86) as "three stages in the mutual approach, in the union between God and His people that is in process of being consummated. At the stage in the court we have the people as yet alienated from God and still requiring to be brought near to Him, at that of the holy place we have them in the act of approaching Him, while at that of the holy of holies we have the union fully completed."

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[11] This theory, which was propounded by Hengstenberg (*Beitr.* iii. p. 644 ff.), endorsed in my treatise entitled *The Temple of Solomon*, and then defended by Kurtz (*Luth. Ztschr.* 1851, pp. 40, 52 ff.) against Bähr, is based, strictly speaking, upon the old system of typology, and is utterly erroneous. For the organs and media through whom the covenant services are rendered and the covenant stipulations fulfilled—such services and stipulations being symbolized by bread, incense, and prayer —are the people themselves, and the priests that represent them before God; certainly it is not the furniture through which, as media, the covenant service is performed. The altar, as the place appointed by God at which to meet with His people, as the place where the Lord revealed Himself, with His grace and blessing, to the people that come to seek His fellowship, can neither be supposed to represent an individual nor a Church, as a body of individuals cannot be supposed to be the representation of an individual or a community. Still less can the table, with the bread set out upon it before the Lord, be regarded as a representation of the people presenting this bread to the Lord as the fruit of their labour; for between the table and the people there exists no *tertium comparationis* in virtue of which the former could be looked upon as a symbol of the latter. And as little could the candlestick, again, notwithstanding the fact that it bore the lamps with their lights, be taken as forming a symbol of the people. This is not rendered necessary even by the passage in Rev. i. 20. For when it is there stated, with regard to the seven golden candlesticks, that αἱ λυχνίαι αἱ ἑπτὰ ἐκκλησίαι εἰσίν, it must be remembered, in the first place, that here it is not the candlesticks as such that are in view, but rather the lamps that are on them, and which represent the seven ἐκκλησίαι; while, in the next place, it has to be borne in mind that here αἱ ἐκκλησίαι again do not denote so much the individuals or the men who constitute the Church, but rather the congregations themselves, as constituting the forms ordained by God and quickened by His Spirit, under which, with their sevenfold character and impress, the Christian Church appears in the light of a Christocracy or New Testament kingdom of God, under which the life of believers assumes the shape which is fully described in Rev. ii. and iii. Still less can the altar of burnt-offering, on which the victims were offered for the sins of the people, be understood, with Kurtz (*d. mos. Opfer*, p. 128), as having been intended to form the "symbol and representation of the sinful people."

1. The principal piece of furniture in the *court* was the *altar of burnt-offering*, in which the design and meaning of

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the court were understood to culminate. The fellowship into which the people, restricted as they were to this part of the tabernacle, could and was meant to enter, was supposed to centre in the altar of burnt-offering. All the gifts with which Israel here approached Jehovah were intended for the altar, and were completely or partially consumed upon this altar; while, in these gifts and sacrifices, the people were regarded as consecrating themselves to God as His peculiar possession. The heart of the altar, in accordance with the general regulation, Ex. xx. 24, was of earth, or unhewn stones which had something of the character of the earth about them; but as soon as this nucleus of earth had been enclosed within its framework of wood overlaid with plates of brass, it assumed the important character of an article of furniture for use in the sanctuary, a divinely-appointed centre where Jehovah was pleased to establish a memorial of His name, where He was pleased to come near to His people Israel and bless them (Ex. xx. 24, 29, xlii. 44). Though in reality a mere elevation or mound of earth (בָּמָה, *altare*), it was, in virtue of a divine appointment, transformed into a place of sacrifice (מִזְבֵּחַ), where Israel, in presenting its oblations, lifted itself up toward the Lord that it might participate in His mercy and grace. It was built of earth or unhewn stones, not in consequence of its being designed to serve as the place where the sacrificial victims were to be offered (seeing that for such a purpose hewn stones might have done as well), nor because the victim was possibly related in some way or other to the sin and death of man, who as a creature of the earth is doomed, through sin and death, to return to the earth again.[12] We should rather say that it was so constructed with a view to indicate that the earth forms the real (material) ground on which the kingdom of God had to develope itself here below, and that, in this altar, the earth was to be regarded as being raised from the ruin into which it had fallen in consequence of man's sin, and once more restored to God through the power of His grace. This lifting up of the earth into the kingdom of God was further indicated by the fact that the stamp of the kingdom of God was impressed upon the altar in the quadrangular shape of its enclosure, which, besides, was made of wood and brass (copper), the latter being of the

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colour of the earth, and having something of the nature of the earth about it. Consequently from the shape it possessed, and as being designed to serve as a place where victims were to be sacrificed, this altar was intended to represent the kingdom of God in its Old Testament form as an expiatory and sanctifying order of things by means of which reconciliation is brought about between sinful men and a holy God.—There was also a certain significance attaching to the horns of the altar in which, as forming its head, its object was supposed to culminate. Just as, in the case of the animal, its strength and gracefulness are concentrated in its horns, so that in this way the horns become the symbol of power, strength, and vitality, in like manner the significance of the altar, as the place where the divine power and strength, the divine grace and blessing were manifested, culminated in the horns.[13] For this reason the blood of the atoning sacrifices was sprinkled upon the horns as well, while it was the horns that were laid hold of by such as happened to have committed an unintentional murder, with the view of securing themselves against the avenger of blood (1 Kings i. 50, ii. 28).[14]

[13] So Bähr, *Symb.* i. p. 488, and Kurtz, *d. mos. Opfer*, p. 126; Bähr, on the other hand, in the 2nd ed. of his *Symb.* p. 591, endorses the view expressed by Knobel in his note on Ex. xx. 24, to the effect that the use of earth as material for the altar was intended to intimate and represent the fact that Jehovah had come down and was evermore coming down from heaven to earth, and was intended to show that His relation to the people of Israel, as revealing Himself to them, was of a constant and permanent character. But had this been the true reason, then, on the same principle, would Jehovah not have selected the ark as the foundation of His throne in the sanctuary, but a rough mound of earth or a heap of stones. Kurtz, again (*d. alttestamentl. Opfercultus*, p. 26), assigns the following reason for the preference being given to earth or unhewn stones as material for the altar: "The truth is it is just earth and stone, in this state, that best represent the curse which, in this their natural condition, is supposed to rest upon them. Now man, with all his skill and with all his industry, has been unable to free them from this curse. He is therefore commanded to abstain from his chiselling and dressing of them altogether. With all his efforts, he need never hope to be able to sanctify the altar that has been made from the accursed earth." But the curse, that in consequence of man's fall has come upon the

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world, is not confined to the mere matter of the earth and the stones, but extends to everything that the earth produces, to plants, trees, etc. If, therefore, the above interpretation were to be regarded as correct, then, on the same principle, it would hardly have done for the wood and the brass that were required in the construction of the tabernacle to have been wrought by the hand of man, seeing that man, by his chiselling and dressing, could as little hope to succeed in sanctifying wood and brass. And where, we would ask, does it stand written that the people of Israel was to *sanctify* the altar as well as build it? Kurtz has confounded two things, the building and the sanctifying.

[13] So Bähr correctly (*Symb.* i. p. 472 f. and p. 567 of the 2nd ed.), whereas Hofmann, on the other hand (*Schriftbew.* ii. 1, p. 257), Kliefoth (*Liturg. Abhandl.* iv. 23), and, as concurring with them, Kurtz (*d. alttest. Opferc.* p. 27), founding upon Isa. v. 1, where horn denotes a mountain peak, understand the horns of the altar to be its spiked corners, which served to produce the effect of greater elevation. But the idea of identifying the horn with the "height" of an animal is entirely foreign to the Old and New Testament as well as to the whole of antiquity. Among the Israelites the horn is, as Bähr has demonstrated it (see as above) to be among all ancient nations, a very common symbol representing strength and power, therefore a sign, in particular, of royal power and dominion (Dan. vii. 24, viii. 3–9; 1 Sam. ii. 10; Rev. xvii. 12). The false prophet Zedekiah, in view of what is said in Deut xxxiii. 17, put horns of iron upon his head and said to Ahab the king: "With these shalt thou push the Syrians, until thou have consumed them" (1 Kings xxii. 11; comp. Mic. iv. 13; Amos vi. 13; Ps. cxlviii. 14). The horn being at the same time an ornament to the animal, it is likewise used to indicate honour and distinction (Ps. cxii. 9, lxxxix. 18, 25; Job xvi. 15; Lam. ii. 1–3).—With this again is connected the further idea of a prosperous and happy condition (Ps. xcii. 11, cxxxii. 17), and hence the well-known expression: "horn of salvation" (Ps. xviii. 3; 1 Sam. ii. 1; Luke i. 69).—And that the sprinkling of the sacrificial blood upon the horns of the altar was not based upon the notion that, from being sprinkled upon the most elevated parts, it would thereby be brought nearer to God enthroned in heaven, is evident from the simple fact that the highest stage in the expiatory process was reached, not when the blood was sprinkled toward the throne of God in heaven, but when it was put upon the Capporet, upon His throne on the earth.

[14] The frame or bench, supported on trellis work going round

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the lower part of the altar, possessed no symbolical significance, but was merely intended for the priest to step upon in order that he might more conveniently discharge his functions at the altar.

In the court there also stood the *laver*, occupying a place between the altar and the entrance to the dwelling place, for the priests to wash the hands and feet in on entering the holy place, or in approaching the altar to minister, so that they might not die (Ex. xxx. 19–21). The washing of the hands with which the sacred objects were to be handled, and the sacred functions were to be discharged, and the cleansing of the feet with which the sanctuary was to be trodden, were, as bodily ablutions, understood to be typical of inward purification, symbols of sanctification; hence their omission involved the penalty of death. For it is only He who is inwardly pure that is fitted to serve God in His kingdom, fitted to act as a mediator between the sinful people and a holy God. He who ventures to approach the holy God in his unsanctified state, is consumed by the fire of the divine holiness.—As the shape of the laver is not further described, it is impossible to suppose that any symbolical significance can have attached to it. However, it seems worth noting that the laver was made from the brass looking-glasses of the women who ministered at the door of the tabernacle, indicating thereby that it (the laver) was to serve as a means for putting the person in a befitting state for approaching God and engaging in His service, inasmuch as "that which had hitherto been used as a means of gaining favour with the world was thenceforth to be employed for the purpose of winning the approval of God."[15]

[15] So Hengstenberg, *Beitr.* iii. p. 134. That other interpretation which, on the strength of Jas. i. 23, regards the looking-glasses as a symbol of self-examination, and their use in the construction of the laver as conveying the idea of an exhortation to cultivate the purity necessary for the worship of Jehovah (Bähr, i. p. 600; Leyrer in Herzog, *Encyc.* v. p. 510), stands or falls with the view—which Bähr also has abandoned as untenable—to the effect that the laver was furnished or ornamented with looking-glasses for the women.

2. In the *holy place* stood three pieces of furniture, the significance of which may be gathered from the purposes

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which they were designed to serve. The holy place was that division of Jehovah's sacred dwelling, in the midst of Israel, into which, as the consecrated representatives of the people whose life and character were not as yet in keeping with their priestly mission, the priests alone were permitted to enter for the purpose of conducting the worship of the congregation in the immediate presence of God. Accordingly, the functions which they discharged at and upon those various pieces of furniture could only be meant to symbolize within the house of the Lord the fulfilment of its covenant stipulations on the part of the congregation, and that a congregation that had just before been purged from its sin, and sanctified through the atoning sacrifices and burnt-offerings offered upon the altar in the court. The services, therefore, which the priests rendered in the holy place, could only have been intended to be regarded as symbolizing the gifts and services with which the now reconciled and sanctified congregation entered into the house of the Lord and dwelt there, in order that they might continue in fellowship with God, and enjoy the blessedness of such fellowship.[16]—Of the three pieces of furniture—

(*a*) The *altar of incense* was at once indicated to be the most important of them all by the fact that it was situated in the middle, immediately in front of the holy of holies. It was used for the purpose of burning holy incense upon, every morning and evening, when the prayers of the congregation ascended to God in the smoke of the burning incense. The burning of incense, with its pleasing fragrance, was regarded as a symbol of the fact that the prayers of believers were acceptable and pleasing to the Lord. In Ps. cxli. 2 prayer is directly spoken of as incense (קְטֹרֶת); in Rev. v. 8 the vials full of burning incense, which the four living beings and the four and twenty elders hold in their hands, are explained to be the prayers of believers, and in Rev. viii. 3 there was given to the angel with the golden censer much incense, that he might offer it with the prayers of the saints, that upon its smoke those prayers might ascend up before God. That this is the meaning of burning incense as an act of worship, was likewise plainly evidenced by the fact that the body of the people prayed in the court while

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the priest was praying in the holy place (Luke i. 10).[17] Burning of incense, however, came to be regarded as a symbol of prayer, not because the latter mounts to heaven just as the smoke of the incense rises upward toward the skies, but for this reason, that as the burning of the incense caused a fragrant essence—the soul, so to speak, of the incense—to issue forth and ascend into the air, so in like manner did the soul and spirit rise up to God in prayer, did the breath of the worshippers' spiritual life ascend to heaven. But to rise to God in prayer, to penetrate with the soul into the very heart of God, and to become spiritually one with Him, is possible only for the congregation to which He has extended the privilege of being admitted into His own kingdom. It was for this reason that the incense, so pleasing to God, was understood to bear upon itself the mark of His kingdom, in so far as it was compounded of four different ingredients; while the salt that was added to season it, pointed to the circumstance that germs of corruption still adhered even to the members of this kingdom, germs which it was necessary to destroy by means of the salt, before their prayers could be acceptable to the Lord.—The offering of incense consisted in the burning of a portion of the fragrant compound upon the altar set apart for this purpose, which, with its rectangular shape and four horns, was stamped with a propitiatory character, while in the gold with which it was overlaid, it reflected the glory of the house of God. In this way it acquired the force and significance of a sacrifice, in keeping with the idea of prayer being a sacrifice of the lips (Hos. xiv. 3; comp. Ps. cxix. 108), a spiritual sacrifice of the worshipper himself, a sacrifice in which, as being a priestly intercession, inasmuch as it was offered by the priests in behalf of the congregation, there resided, according to the divine economy of grace, a propitiatory virtue.[18]

(*b*) The *seven-branched candlestick* was designed to serve the purpose of supporting the seven lamps, which were trimmed every morning and filled with pure olive oil, *i.e.* with finest oil of a clear colour, and lighted every evening, and allowed to burn the whole night (Ex. xxvii. 20 f., xxx. 7 f.; Lev. xxiv. 3 f.). It was this candlestick which the prophet Zechariah saw (iv.) with an olive tree standing on

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either side of it, which trees, as the angel explained, pointed to those two anointed ones (lit. sons of the oil), Zerubbabel and Joshua, the representatives of civil and spiritual authority through whom the divine spirit passed into the theocracy. For oil, possessing as it does the property of invigorating the body and stimulating the vital powers, is made use of in the Old and New Testaments as a symbol of the spirit of God.[19] Again, in Rev. i. 20 it is expressly stated that the seven candlesticks (which John saw before the throne of God) mean the seven churches, as representing the new kingdom of God, the Christian Church. Accordingly the candlestick, which from its having seven lamps was stamped as having a place in God's saving and redemptive economy, was intended to represent that gracious arrangement under His Old Testament kingdom whereby the Church of the Lord was put in a position for walking before Him in the light, and for illuminating the world by means of the light enkindled within itself by God's spirit. For as the disciples of Christ were the light of the world (Matt. v. 14), so in like manner was the Church of the Old Testament to trim its lamps with the oil of God's spirit, and allow them to burn as lights in the world (Luke xii. 35; Phil. ii. 15), and let their light shine before men (Matt. v. 16). The candlestick was ornamented with emblems resembling almond blossom, thereby symbolizing the speedy and powerful result of the light,[20] while it was made of pure gold for the purpose of shadowing forth the glorious brightness of the light that is enkindled by the Spirit of God.

(*c*) The *table for the shewbread* derived its significance from the bread that was set out upon it. This was designated "bread of the presence" (לֶחֶם פָּנִים), *i.e.* not bread through which God is seen, with the eating of which the vision of God is bound up, but so called because, according to Ex. xxv. 30, Lev. xxiv. 6, it always stood before the Lord (לִפְנֵי יְהוָה). It would appear from the fact of its having been presented on the part of the children of Israel, and that in the form of twelve cakes, to correspond with the number of the tribes, the cakes being arranged in two rows with six in each, and still more plainly from the circumstance that pure incense had to be put upon each row "as an *ascara* (*i.e.* as an outward

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memento) on the bread,—an offering made by fire unto the Lord" (Lev. xxiv. 7),—that this bread was of the nature of a sacrifice, which the people of Israel offered to the Lord their God. Consequently it was baked without leaven, and on its removal on the Sabbath was required to be eaten exclusively by the priests, as being something made peculiarly sacred by the sacrificial fires of Jehovah. Accordingly it belonged to the category of meat-offerings (מִנְחָה) which Israel presented to the Lord, not as food for Himself, nor "as a symbol of the (material) food consecrated to Him by the people,"[21] but as a symbol of the spiritual food which the people of Israel was called upon to labour for (John vi. 27, comp. iv. 32, 34), as a figure of the faithful accomplishment of the spiritual life-tasks assigned them by God, so that the bread, as the fruit of their labours in the fields of their earthly inheritance, was understood to represent the fruit of their spiritual labours in the kingdom of God, *i.e.* of their sanctification by means of their good works. But the Church can cultivate such spiritual fruit and offer it as an acceptable sacrifice to the Lord only when its labour and sacrifice are accompanied with prayer. This is what was meant by putting the incense upon the bread, which, on the latter being removed from the table, was burnt upon the altar "as an offering made by fire unto the Lord;" whereupon the Lord assigned the bread, as being peculiarly sacred, to the priests to be used by them as food, that thus they might enjoy the fruits of their spiritual services in His kingdom, *i.e.* that the blessings resulting from the sanctifying of their lives might thus flow in upon them. Here, too, are we to look for an explanation of the fact that the kind of dish prescribed for holding the bread when set out before the Lord was one that, in its square shape and in the gold that was about it, bore the mark of the kingdom of God stamped upon it.

The three pieces of furniture in the holy place were therefore intimately connected with one another. Through their due arrangement and due attention to the purposes for which these were designed, Israel appeared before the Lord as a people of prayer, of light, and of earnest endeavour in the way of sanctifying themselves through good works. But inasmuch as the people themselves could not so serve the Lord, but

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were enabled to do so only through the priests as their consecrated representatives, the service thus rendered was calculated to keep constantly before their minds the object God had in view in choosing them, and seemed to be always saying to them: "Pray without ceasing; let your light shine; and abound in good works; then, as a priestly nation, shall ye dwell in the house of God, and obtain salvation and life through fellowship with Him."

[16] Such, following Witsius (*Miscell. sacr.* i. p. 341, ed. nov. 1736), is the view already put forward by Hengstenberg, *Beitr.* iii. pp. 635 and 644 ff., and subsequently maintained, with polemic zeal, by Kurtz (*Luth. Ztschr.* 1851, p. 37 ff.) in opposition to the divergent interpretation of Bähr. Notwithstanding this, Bähr, in the 2nd ed. of his *Symb.* i. pp. 505–578, has undertaken to support, positively and negatively, with fresh arguments, his view that the furniture of the holy place did not represent the relation of the people to God, but the covenant and self-revealing relation in which He who dwelt there stood to His people; while, in accordance with his fundamental idea that the dwelling place, taken as a whole, is a μίμημα of the actual and true abode of Jehovah, viz. heaven, he understands the furniture to be "the results and consequences of God's gracious revelation of Himself to Israel, and, so far, signs, symbols of Jehovah's gifts for the people whom He has chosen" (p. 514). Accordingly he refuses to attribute to the altar of incense anything of a propitiatory character and significance (p. 568), regards the incense as a symbol of the fragrance diffused by the name of Him who is present in the sanctuary, who lives and breathes in it, in other words, as a symbol of the holiness that emanates from Him (pp. 560 f., 569), and explains the candlestick to be a symbol of the light that radiates from God, and the bread as embodying the idea of the life that proceeds from God, of the true bread that comes down from heaven (pp. 506, 512 ff., 515 ff.).

[17] Comp. Outram, *De sacrificiis*, p. 89: "Cum enim suffimenta sacra ita populi preces adumbrarent, ut sacerdos altera Deo adolens alteras etiam ritu symbolico illi commendare censeretur, par erat, ut eodem tempore utraque illa sacra fierent."

[18] This may be gathered not only from the regulation in Lev. xvi. 12 f., which requires the high priest to take burning incense with him when approaching the Capporet on the day of atonement, but likewise from the statement in Num. xvi. 46 f., to the effect that Aaron, in compliance with an order from Moses, made atonement for the people, who had been overtaken by the plague, by burning incense, and that he thereby stayed

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the plague. See the author's comm. on both of the above passages.

[19] See the full enumeration of the grounds on which this universally acknowledged symbolism is based, in Hengstenberg's *Christol.* iii. p. 55 ff. of the 2nd ed.

[20] In Hebrew the almond tree is called שָׁקֵד, because, of all the trees, it is the first to show signs of new life, beginning to blossom and put forth leaves as early as January; hence the twig of the almond tree is made use of in Jer. i. 11 as a symbol of the speedy and powerful fulfilment of God's word. See the author's comm. on this passage.

[21] According to Winer's opinion, *Realwörtb.* ii. p. 401.

3. Within the *holy of holies* was the *ark*, in which was deposited the *testimony* that had been written by the finger of God upon two tables of stone, and on the top of which stood the *Capporet*. The significance of this sacred object can only be brought out by our correctly appreciating the purpose which, as regards the Old Testament kingdom of God, the testimony deposited within it, as well as the Capporet placed over that testimony, were designed to serve. The ten words (decalogue) written upon the tables were called "testimony" (עֵדוּת), not merely because they bore testimony to the divine will, but also and at the same time to the divine nature, because they manifested those divine attributes under which Jehovah reveals Himself, His essence and being, in and to Israel. It is not merely what Jehovah requires of His people Israel as their covenant God, but it is, at the same time, what He is and desires to be for Israel, that was embodied in the ten words written upon the tables of stone; and this testimony it was that constituted the pith and essence of the old covenant. Hence it is that, as early as Deut. ix. 9, 11, 15, the word "covenant" (בְּרִית) is substituted for the term "testimony," as being synonymous with it;[22] and the tabernacle, too, is frequently designated the *tent of the testimony* (אֹהֶל הָעֵדוּת), Num. ix. 15, xvii. 22, xviii. 2, etc., or מִשְׁכַּן הָעֵדוּת, Ex. xxxviii. 21; Num. i. 50, etc. Upon the ark of the testimony or covenant lay the *Capporet* (כַּפֹּרֶת, τὸ ἱλαστήριον or ἱλαστήριον ἐπιθέμα, Sept. Ex. xxv. 17, xxxvii. 6), the mercy-seat, which with the two cherubim that rested upon it, and were inseparably associated with it, formed the throne of God.[23] This composite arrangement, with the ark

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containing the testimony or the tables of the covenant serving as the substratum, as the foundation of the throne, was intended to indicate that God's dwelling among the people of Israel was based and was resting upon the covenant which He had made with them. But while this foundation, with its commandments and promises, bore testimony to the truth that the God of the covenant was אֵל קַנָּא, "a jealous God," the fire of whose holy jealousy visited the sins of His people down to the fourth generation, and the ardour of whose love showed mercy unto thousands of them that loved Him and kept His commandments (Ex. xx. 5 f.), we find that in the Capporet again, regarded as Jehovah's throne, grace and mercy were conspicuous as forming those attributes under which God's nature revealed itself when in covenant with His people. Still it was not, as forming a lid to the ark, covering over the law that condemned the sinner,[24] that the Capporet came to be regarded as God's seat or throne of grace (*θρόνος τῆς χάριτος*); but it owed its character in this respect to the fact that, between the two cherubim inseparably connected with it, and whose outstretched wings overshadowed and protected it, God revealed His real presence (שְׁכִינָה) in a cloud that served as the visible representation of his glory.[25] The golden plate that lay upon the ark, and on which, through the blood of the atoning sacrifice being sprinkled upon it, the reconciliation of the entire congregation with God was consummated, served the purpose of a footstool for the divine throne (comp. Ps. xcix. 5, cxxxii. 7; 1 Chron. xxviii. 2), and thereby indicated that atonement for sin and sanctification of life constituted the ultimate object of God's dwelling among the people of Israel, and of His having entered into a covenant with them. But here again God was enthroned between two cherubim, images of heavenly spirits, representatives of the fulness of life that emanated from God (see section 19, p. 97 f.), to show that this throne of grace was the place where the congregation of the Lord recovered the eternal life that it had lost in consequence of sin. Again, the gracious presence of God was manifested in a cloud, because His glory is so great that no mortal could look upon it in its naked splendour, and His holiness so overwhelming that no sinful man could stand before it. And, lastly, the holy of holies

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was kept dark, to show that God, the original source of all the light and life of the world, dwells in a light unapproachable by man (1 Tim. vi. 16).—Thus in the ark with its Capporet we have reflected the essence and ultimate object of that institution which forms the Old Testament kingdom of God.

[22] In answer to the view that has proved so unfavourable to a true appreciation of the significance of the ark, the view, that is, which represents the stone tables simply as tables on which the *law* was written, and their contents as merely embodying an expression of the divine will, it is important to recall the observation of Deyling (*Observatt. sacr.* ii. p. 442): Nusquam vel in tota Scriptura legi *Tabulas legis*, sed vel *Testimonii*, vel *Fœderis*, vel lapideæ, aut simpliciter *tabulæ*, vel Testimonium, ut adeo nomenclatura *Tabulæ Leigs* sit ἄγραφος et inventionis humanæ, unde opinio nata vel confirmata, Decalogum meram esse legem, non fœdus.—What is more, the words written upon those tables are simply called דִּבְרֵי הַבְּרִית עֲשֶׂרֶת הַדְּבָרִים; *words, of the covenant*, the *ten words* (Ex. xxxiv. 28); and as showing that these were not intended to be regarded as mere commandments and prohibitions, we need go no farther than the preface, "I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of bondage" (Ex. xx. 2; Deut. v. 6); then the designation of Jehovah as אֵל קַנָּא וגו (Ex. xx. 5 f.; Deut. v. 9 f.), and the words appended to the fourth (our fifth) commandment, "in order that thy days may be long," etc., Ex. xx. 12, Deut. v. 16, are to the same effect. Therefore we must likewise beware of understanding עֵדוּת merely "as meaning a witnessing to the divine will" (with Kurtz, *Luth. Zeitschr.* 1851, p. 33); still less, with Hengstenberg (*Beitr.* iii. p. 640 f.), merely in the sense of "testimony against sin."

[23] כַּפֹּרֶת—from the Piel כִּפֶּר, *expiare*—denotes, not *operculum* (Gesen. *Thes.* ii. 708), but *propitiatorium*. Comp. Fr. v. Meyer, *Bibeldeutungen*, p. 173 ff.; Winer, *Realwörtb.* i. 202; and Bähr, *Symb.* i. p. 453 of the 2nd ed.

[24] This view of Hengstenberg's, which still finds a place in my treatise on *Der Tempel Salomo's*, p. 145 f., of course falls to the ground with the erroneous assumption that עֵדוּת was only to be taken in the sense of God's testimony against sin.

[25] That God's presence was manifested over the Capporet in the form of a cloud (Gloriam Domini non fuisse nubem, sed rem igni similem rationi luminis ac splendoris sui; nubes autem circa eam fuit, velut fumus semper est circa ignem—as Abarb. observes on Ex. xl. 34) is a matter which Jewish and

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Christian antiquity never thought of questioning. But after certain doubts upon the point had been raised by Vitringa, it came to be openly denied and treated as a Jewish fable by Thalemann, *Diss. de nube super arca fœderis judaico commento.*, Lips. 1752. Thalemann was answered by Rau in his *De nube super arca fœderis*, 1757, and Utr. 1760, in reply to whom, again, the former writer published his *Vindiciæ tract. de nube sup. arc. fœd.*, etc., Lips. 1771, which secured for his view such a measure of acceptance, that the existence and presence of a cloud in the holy of holies was denied not only by Winer (*Realwörtb.* i. 204), with all the theologians of the rationalist school, but also by Bähr (*Symb.* i. p. 474 ff.) and Baumgarten (*Theol. Comm.* ii. p. 183 f.). The grounds, however, on which they argued were utterly futile, for the presence of this cloud is so plainly and unquestionably authenticated by Lev. xvi. 2, that it can be got rid of only by an arbitrary perverting of the text of Scripture. Comp. Neumann, "Die Wolke im Allerheiligsten," in the *Luth. Zeitschr.* 1851, p. 70 ff., and the author's comm. on Lev. xvi. 2 and 13.—Besides, in Lev. xvi. 2, 13, there is positive evidence of the existence of the cloud only so far as the day of atonement is concerned, on the occasion, that is, of the high priest's entering the holy of holies, so that we are not required to suppose that it was permanently present, but, as such analogous cases as the consecration of the tabernacle and the temple (Ex. xl. 35; 1 Kings viii. 10 f.) would seem to indicate, that it was so only on certain occasions—as, following the earlier theologians (see Lundius, *jüd. Heiligth.* viii. 68 ff.), Hengstenberg (*Christol.* iii. p. 522), Hävernick (on Ezek. ix. 3, p. 125 f.), Ebrard (*Hebrbrg.* p. 295), and even Haneberg (*Alterth.* p. 207) have assumed. In this way the leading objections to the fact of its existence are disposed of.

§ 21. *The Typical Meaning of the Tabernacle.*

If the tabernacle was a symbolical embodiment of the Old Testament kingdom of God, and if this latter, again, was destined to be fulfilled and perfected in the kingdom of heaven to be founded by Christ, it was to be expected that the nature and essence of this New Testament kingdom should be typically foreshadowed in the structure and arrangements of the sacred tent. For Moses certainly did not build the tabernacle according to any ideas of his own, but in conformity with the pattern of the dwelling place and all its furniture which God had shown him upon Mount Sinai, *i.e.* according to a representation, a model (תַּבְנִית), which had been shown

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him (Ex. xxv. 9, 40; comp. xxvi. 30, xxvii. 8; Num. viii. 4) in a vision (מַרְאֶה). Although the way in which this point is reiterated might be regarded, in the first instance, as serving merely to emphasize the importance and great significance of this building, still it would seem to warrant the inference that, considering the typical character of the whole of the Old Testament economy, the symbolical ideas embodied in the construction of the centre of the worship itself might likewise be expected to have a typical significance. This inference is borne out by the testimony of the New Testament. We there find two sets of passages which furnish certain hints and explanations regarding the typical character of the Old Testament sanctuary. To the first set belong John i. 14 and ii. 19. In describing the manifestation of the incarnate Logos, John says: "The Logos tabernacled amongst us, and we beheld His glory" (*ἐσκήνωσεν ἐν ἡμῖν καὶ ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ*, i. 14). In selecting for this purpose the verb *ἐσκήνωσεν* as well as the phrase *τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ*, both of which are borrowed from the dwelling of God's glory (כְּבוֹד יְהוָה) in the tabernacle, John would seem to teach that the circumstance of Jehovah's dwelling there found its essential fulfilment in the incarnation and earthly manifestation of the Son of God. This is confirmed by Christ Himself when He says to the Jews (John ii. 19): "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again," meaning by this (ver. 21) the temple of His body.[1] But to understand this type aright we require to think of the human nature of Christ, not as the body of an individual, of a single person, but we must conceive of it, in accordance with the teaching of Scripture, as representing the nature of humanity, so that in the incarnation of the Son of God we have God entering into the nature of humanity for the purpose of uniting mankind with Himself, and of penetrating them with the power of the divine Spirit and the divine life. Christ as the God-man is the originator and founder of the new humanity; in His person the whole world of man, emanating from Him, created by His word, reconciled to God by His life, sufferings, and death, and by His resurrection and ascension invested with a divine nature, virtually emerges into being. As in Christ "dwells the whole fulness of the Godhead bodily" (*ἐν αὐτῷ*

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κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς, Col. ii. 9), so in Him dwells no less *πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ* (Col. i. 19 and Eph. iii. 19), the whole fulness of the divine grace, "the whole wealth of the divine *charismata*" (Meyer's note on Col. i. 19), and He is the head of the body, *i.e.* the Church, which He has reconciled to God (Col. i. 18, 20, 22) in the body of His flesh through death (through the blood of His cross). Through Him, by believing on Him, we become members of the household of God, and are built up into a habitation of God in the spirit upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Christ being the chief corner-stone by which the whole structure is bound together, and on which it grows to an holy temple in the Lord (Eph. ii. 19–22). Those passages reveal to us, not only the deep significance of the mystery of the incarnation of God in Christ as seen in the history of the economy of grace, but likewise show that the typology of the tabernacle need not be restricted to the nature and manifestation of Christ as the God-man, but that it is meant to be extended at the same time to the Christian Church, the *ἐκκλησία τοῦ Χριστοῦ* or *τοῦ Θεοῦ*. As united with Christ the head of the Church, and built upon Him as the foundation and corner-stone of it, those who possess His spirit constitute the house of God (1 Tim. iii. 15; Heb. iii. 6), and are called upon, as living stones, to build themselves into a spiritual house (*οἶκος πνευματικός*, 1 Pet. ii. 5). As members of the body of Christ they are the temple of the living God, agreeably to what God Himself has said (Lev. xxvi. 11 f.): "I will set my tabernacle among you, and I will walk among you, and will be your God, and ye shall be my people" (2 Cor. vi. 16).

The other set of passages brings before us the typical reference of the Old Testament sanctuary to the ultimate perfection of the kingdom of God. The passages in question are the statements in the Epistle to the Hebrews with regard to the relation of this sanctuary to the *σκηνὴ ἀληθινὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, and the prophetic delineation of this *σκηνή* as given in the Book of Revelation. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews supports his view of the whole of the Old Testament worship as a typical shadowing forth of heavenly things (*ὑπόδειγμα καὶ σκιὰ τῶν ἐπουρανίων*, Heb. viii. 5), by appealing, in its

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favour, to the words which God addressed to Moses (Ex. xxv. 8, 40): "Make all (the dwelling place and its furniture) after the pattern which I showed thee upon the mount." Now although, as has been observed above, these words as they stand in Exodus simply inform us that God exhibited the pattern of the tabernacle to Moses in a vision upon the mount, yet Jewish theology, influenced no doubt by the theophany described in Isa. vi. 1, has inferred from them that the original, after which the earthly sanctuary was modelled, that the *σκηνὴ ἀληθινή* of which the Mosaic tabernacle was a copy, is still existing in heaven. This notion not only underlies the statement in the Epistle to the Hebrews to the effect that, after offering upon earth an eternal sacrifice for sin through the suffering of death, Christ entered into heaven with His own blood, and sat down on the right hand of the throne of God to minister (as *λειτουργός*) in sacred things and in the *σκηνὴ ἀληθινή* (comp. Heb. ix. 11 f., 24, with viii. 2); but it is also distinctly present in those visions in the Book of Revelation where the holy seer beholds in heaven the temple of God with the altar and the ark (Rev. xi. 1, ii. 19; comp. xiv. 15, 17, 18, xvi. 1, and ix. 13), and which in xv. 5 is expressly called *ὁ ναὸς τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ*. The notion in question involves a deep truth, though it is to be regretted that, with the Rabbinical writers, it has been taken in a grossly material sense, a proceeding for which no pretext can be found in the language of the New Testament itself.[2] For the sole object which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews had in view, in conceiving of Christ's ascension and sitting at the right of God as an entering into the holy of holies in the true tabernacle, was to represent Him as the true High Priest who had effected, once for all, an eternal reconciliation between God and man. In the Book of Revelation, again, the whole delineation of the development of the kingdom of God towards its ultimate perfection is clothed in figures and symbols borrowed from the Old Testament economy, because the true nature of the kingdom of glory belongs to a class of objects which, with our limited range of thought and conception, we are incapable of apprehending in any other way than through figurative representations, than "through a glass darkly." And for the same reason, therefore, we can only say

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thus much regarding the truth itself that underlies those figures, that it consists in the full realization of God's merciful arrangement for reconciling sinful humanity with Himself, and for transforming it into His own likeness in the life of eternal felicity, and which arrangement is exhibited in the kingdom of God as manifested on earth and developed in time. For we cannot hope to be in a position clearly to apprehend the real nature and character of the thought underlying the kingdom of God and the divine plan of redemption, till, released from our present mortal bodies, we come to see God face to face in the glorified spiritual body.

We are advanced a step further in our knowledge of the typology of the tabernacle through the hints furnished by the representation of the New Jerusalem, which in vision the seer of Patmos saw descending from God out of heaven upon the new earth (Rev. xxi. and xxii. 1–5), and which a heavenly voice described to him as being *ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ Θεοῦ μετὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*, inasmuch as God was to dwell with them, and they were to be His people, and He was to be with them and be their God (xxi. 2, 3). This holy city, in which the glory of God is present, which has the names of the twelve apostles inscribed upon its twelve foundations, which is built in the form of a perfect cube, in which there is no temple, because the Almighty God and the Lamb are its temple, and which is lighted up with the glory of the Lord, is designed to exhibit the perfected condition of the kingdom of God, the *regnum gloriæ*, which was typically represented in the Old Testament sanctuaries (the tabernacle and the temple), although, of course, it does not exhibit it as it actually exists and as it really is, but only in such a figurative embodiment of overwhelming glory as is calculated to bring it in some measure within the range of human thought and apprehension. In this figurative conception, Jerusalem, the capital of the Israelitish theocracy, the residence of the kings of the line of David, and the central sanctuary of this kingdom, the dwelling place of the divine King, are blended together. The temple is conceived of as embracing the city, the city as transformed into the holy temple in which God dwells among men. In this representation of the New Jerusalem culminates the typology of the Old Testament sanctuary.

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Finally, if we look again at the arrangements and the furniture of the Mosaic tabernacle, we will find that even their various measurements point in a typical way to the ultimate perfection of the kingdom of God of which that tabernacle formed the embodiment. In its division into three compartments it represented "the three stages through which the kingdom of God upon earth has to pass in the course of its development, and in its progress toward complete realization. In the *court* was represented the stage which it had then reached, the stage where Israel, as carrying within itself the embryo kingdom of God, could not dispense, as yet, with the intervention of the priests; in the *holy place*, again, was represented the one immediately following, where the reconciliation that was typically shadowed forth in that which preceded was seen to be realized in its antitype, so that, in accordance with their priestly calling, the people themselves were now in a position to draw near to God; while in the *holy of holies* we have the last stage represented, the stage of complete perfection, where the people of God have attained to the immediate contemplation of His glory."[3] A typical significance likewise attached to the furniture employed in the various religious services peculiar to those three stages of approach to God. The observances at the altar of burnt-offering in the court were a shadow and type of the actual reconciliation of a sinful humanity with a holy God, through the sacrificial death of Christ, in virtue of which the Church of the Lord acquired the right of access to the holy place and of personal approach to God, in token of which the vail of the temple was rent from top to bottom on the occasion of Christ's crucifixion (Matt. xxvii. 51). Now that the Church had been reconciled to God, had been justified, had been pardoned, through the blood and righteousness of Christ, it was in a position to present sacrifices of prayer to God, to let its light shine before the Lord, and to give evidence of its walking before Him by bringing forth the fruits of holiness. Lastly, the high priest's approach to the mercy-seat, in the holy of holies, on the day of atonement, was a type of the entrance of the Church, after being purged from all its sin and sanctified and transformed by the Holy Spirit, into the kingdom of glory, where it was to see God face to face.

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[1] The force of these words must not be weakened by reducing them, as Bähr has done (*Symb.* i. p. 162), to the following general thought: "As, under the old covenant, the whole revelation of God's grace centred for Israel in the dwelling place of Jehovah, so, under the new covenant, all true grace and life, for the whole of humanity, emanate from Christ."

[2] Comp. the discussion of this point in the author's comm. on Ex. xxv. 9.

[3] As Kurtz puts it so well in his *alttestl. Opfercultus*, p. 25.

§ 22. *History of the Tabernacle.*

All the materials and furniture for the dwelling place and the court having been duly prepared, the tabernacle, with everything that belonged to it, was erected on the first day of the second year after the exodus from Egypt. This being done, the dwelling place with all its furniture, as also the altar of burnt-offering and the laver, were consecrated by being anointed with oil, and everything was put in readiness for commencing the celebration of worship. At this point the cloud descended upon the tabernacle, and the glory of Jehovah filled the dwelling place, while Jehovah Himself, enveloped in the cloud, took up His abode in the holy of holies (Ex. xl.). Then, some time after, just when the priests had been consecrated, and when Aaron was in the act of presenting the first victim upon the altar of burnt-offering, the glory of God again appeared before the whole congregation, and fire from Jehovah came down and consumed the sacrifice as it lay upon the altar (Lev. ix. 23 f.).—When the time came for their leaving Sinai, the tabernacle was dismantled and taken down; the furniture belonging to the dwelling place, along with the inner curtain (which was spread over the ark) and the altar of burnt-offering, was wrapped up in costly cloths and wrappings of badgers' skins, and carried by the sons of Kohath upon their shoulders. The framework of the dwelling place and the court, the boards, crossbars, pillars, sockets, and pins, as also the roof-coverings, the veils, and the hangings, were partly carried and partly conveyed in waggons by the sons of Gershon and the sons of Merari, for which purpose the heads of the tribes had presented as a holy offering six waggons, with a pair of oxen

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for each (Num. iv. 4–33, vii. 3–9, x. 17, 21).[1] To those same Levites was entrusted the task of re-erecting the tent, from time to time, in the course of the march through the wilderness.—After the people had settled in Canaan, the tabernacle was set up at Shiloh, where it continued to remain as the authorized centre of worship for the people, down to the time of Eli (Judg. xviii. 31; 1 Sam. i. 3, ii. 12 ff.). Subsequently we find it in Nob (1 Sam. xxi.); while, at the beginning of Solomon's reign, it was at Gibeon (1 Kings iii. 4; 2 Chron. i. 3),[2] whence it was taken after the temple was finished and deposited in some of the side and upper rooms of that building as a sacred relic (1 Kings viii. 4; 2 Chron. v. 5).

The ark, on the other hand, was often carried by the army into battle. Accordingly, during the war with the children of Benjamin, it stood for a considerable period at Bethel (Judg. xx. 27), where an altar was likewise built, on which burnt-offerings and sacrifices were offered (Judg. xxi. 4). Thus it was that, in the time of Eli, it fell into the hands of the Philistines (1 Sam. iv. 3 ff.), and never more found its way back to the tabernacle again. For when, some seven months after, the Philistines sent it back to Bethshemesh, because the possession of it only brought disaster upon them, it lay for something like twenty years in the house of Abinadab the priest at Kirjath-jearim (1 Sam. v. 1, vii. 2), until David had it conveyed from this place in solemn procession, when, and in consequence of some mishap, it was taken to the house of Obed-Edom. Three months after, however, it was removed from thence to the city of David, and there deposited in a tent erected for the purpose of receiving it. Thus a place of worship was instituted beside it (2 Sam. vi.; 1 Chron. xiii., and xv. 1, xvi. 42) in which regular worship was conducted, probably under the superintendence of Abiathar the high priest (2 Sam. viii. 17, xx. 25; 1 Kings ii. 26 f.); while Zadok the priest and his brothers got charge of the worship in the tabernacle at Gibeon, from which it would appear that from that time down till the building of the temple there were two sanctuaries and centres of worship in Israel.—On the occasion of the inauguration and consecration of the temple, the ark was brought and placed within the holy of holies (1 Kings viii. 3 f.; 2 Chron. v. 4 f.).[3]

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[1] Of those six waggons, Moses assigned two to the sons of Gershon and four to the sons of Merari, according to the services expected of them (Num. vii. 6 f.). Now, as the sons of Gershon had only to provide for the transport of the coverings for the roof, the veils, and the hangings for the walls of the tent, with the pillars and their appurtenances (Num. iv. 25 f.), two waggons were amply sufficient for this purpose. The weight of the coverings, veils, and curtains amounted, according to Riggenbach (*d. Stiftsh.* p. 44 f.), to 10 hundredweight. This load, even if it had been considerably heavier, could have been conveyed in a single waggon, for a single waggon with two horses is capable in the event of a longer journey of carrying a load of some 30 hundredweight. The two waggons, then, were required more probably on account of the great bulk of the articles to be conveyed. For the transport of the boards, pillars, and metal pedestals, on the other hand, four waggons were not sufficient. Kamphausen (*Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1859, p. 117) estimates that the weight of a board 10 cubits long, 1½ broad, and 1 thick would amount to over 12 customs-hundredweight, so that the boards alone would make up a load of 576 hundredweight. The silver pedestals for the boards and pillars of the tent weighed 100 talents, while the brass of the pedestals, and the altar of burnt-offering with its utensils, weighed from 70 to 71 talents (Ex. xxxviii. 27–31), so that the total weight of both metals would amount to something like 160 hundredweight. Riggenbach accordingly assumes that the transport which the sons of Merari would have to provide for would require twenty-eight waggons in all, that is to say, twenty-four for the forty-eight boards, as not more than two of these boards could be put upon a single waggon, and four more waggons for the nine pillars of the dwelling place and the sixty pillars of the court; the 100 pedestals of silver and the sixty-five of brass, and the carrying poles, being distributed among the whole of the carts, a certain portion in each cart. But, assuming the boards to have been a cubit in thickness, this estimate is decidedly too low. For, supposing that each board weighed over 10 hundredweight, then the total weight of the boards and the metal pedestals would amount to 576+170=746 hundredweight, a load which could not possibly be conveyed in twenty-four waggons, especially as a pair of oxen would not be capable of drawing a load of 30 hundredweight over a rough, unmade road. If our hypothesis be adopted, to the effect that the boards were only half a cubit in thickness, then the weight of the whole of the boards together would amount to only 288 hundredweight, which, with the metal pedestals included, would make something between 450 and 460 hundredweight. For the carriage of this twenty

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waggons would suffice, provided somewhere about 24 hundredweight were put upon each. For the pillars of the dwelling place and the court, however, five waggons would suffice, for 9 hundredweight of the former and 15 hundredweight of the latter could easily be put into each waggon.—On the other hand, I endorse to the full Riggenbach's view, that there exists no reason whatever for supposing that the six waggons presented by the chiefs of the tribes were the only ones available for purposes of transport. "Those are specially mentioned because they happened to be free-will offerings, and not as implying that these few were the only ones they had at their disposal. It would seem as though the only object in mentioning these at all, was to show that it was not required of the sons of Gershon, and still less of the sons of Merari, that they should fulfil the task assigned to them by carrying everything upon their shoulders. But if the sons of Merari did require more, ay, even a good many more waggons than the four that are said to have been assigned them, then we must just presume, and there is no reason why we may not do so, that as many as were necessary would be otherwise provided."

[2] We are left without any historical record as to why and when it was removed from Shiloh to Nob. Ewald's theory (*Gesch. d. V. Isr.* ii. p. 584), to the effect that the Philistines took advantage of their signal victory over the Israelites, in the time of Eli, to take Shiloh at the same time, and to destroy its famous sanctuary, is at variance with 1 Chron. xxi. 29, 2 Chron. i. 3, 5, where we learn that the tabernacle, with the brazen altar made by Bezaleel, was still in existence in David's time, and was actually standing at Gibeon.—Probably it was removed from Shiloh to Nob when the former was destroyed by a Syrian invasion in the time of Saul (comp. the author's comm. on Jer. vii. 12 ff.), and subsequently taken from Nob to Gibeon after the massacre of the inhabitants of the former place by Saul.—Other, though not more probable conjectures, have been advanced by Staehelin in *ZDMG.* (1857) xi. 141 ff.

[3] The doubts (previously broached by Voltaire) that have been entertained by Vater, de Wette, and others as to the existence of the tabernacle, and to which Winer himself (*Realwörtb.* ii. 534) attached so much importance that he was disposed to hold that the Mosaic account of it is merely the elaborate working up of a legend regarding some simple, portable sanctuary or other, have been so successfully met by Hengstenberg (*Beitr.* ii. p. 431 ff., and *die Büch. Mosis u. Aeg.* p. 136 ff.) and Bähr (*Symb.* i. pp. 285 ff. and 298 ff.), that C. H. Graf, *de templo Silonensi*, 1855, and *die Geschichtl. Bücher des A. T.* 1866, Ed. Reuss, *l'histoire sainte et la lois*, 1879;

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Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels*, 1 vol. 41 ff.; Kuenen, *Godsdienst*, ii. 75, etc., lay the principal weight upon the non-authentication of the tabernacle described in Ex. xxv. ff., and on the basis of the presupposition that the whole legislation regarding worship is a product of the later, chiefly exilian and post-exilian, period, *deny* the existence of the tabernacle, and declare it to be an unhistorical, fancy picture, sketched after the pattern of the Solomonic, and in part of the post-exilian temple. But, irrespective of the Pentateuch, the existence of the sanctuary, in which the ark was set up and where God dwelt, is attested in 2 Sam. vii. 6 ff. as that of a tent frequently changing its position during the time extending from the exodus from Egypt down to the time of David. And when David erected a tent for the ark of the covenant which was transported to Zion, he did not devise such a tent-like sanctuary for the first time, but was determined thereto by tradition. In like manner Solomon, in the plan and structure of the temple, notwithstanding all the peculiarities which he introduced, certainly did not create an entirely new building, but adhered to the previous Israelitish type of the sanctuary. And the assumption that the more simple outline of the tabernacle was extracted from the more artificial and complicated temple-structure is rightly declared by Dillmann on Ex. xxv. to be nonsense. For the view also that the Mosaic tabernacle was much simpler than the splendid tabernacle described in Ex. xxv., sufficient grounds are wanting, as all that has been contributed to prove this has been deduced from an erroneous interpretation of the Biblical text.

SECOND CHAPTER.

THE TEMPLE OF SOLOMON.

§ 23. *The Structure and Arrangements of the Temple.*

David having resolved to build a house for the Lord, but having abstained from carrying out his resolution in deference to a divine command conveyed to him through the prophet Nathan (2 Sam. vii.), he contented himself with merely collecting the materials, especially gold, silver, copper, and iron, and with charging Solomon his son to proceed with the work on his accession to the throne (1 Chron. xxii., xxviii., and xxix.). Solomon accordingly made arrangements for commencing the building of the temple as soon as he found himself securely seated upon the throne. With a view to this he entered into a treaty with Hiram, king of Tyre, in

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which it was stipulated that this monarch should permit him to get cedar and cypress wood and blocks of stone from Lebanon, and that he would allow the workmen, sent by Solomon from his own kingdom, to fell the wood and quarry and hew the stones under the direction and oversight of some of Hiram's own subjects who were well skilled in this sort of work, and in return for which concessions he would receive supplies of wheat, oil, and wine. Not only so, but it was further arranged that Hiram should allow Solomon to have the benefit of the services of an accomplished artist of the name of Huram to take charge of the castings and of the manufacture of the more valuable furnishings of the temple (1 Kings v. 15 ff.; 2 Chron. ii.). So, in the fourth year of his reign and in the 480th after the exodus from Egypt, Solomon found himself in a position to proceed with the building of the temple, which he erected on Mount Moriah to the east of Zion, an eminence which David himself had selected for the purpose when he built an altar upon it after the plague had ceased (1 Chron. xxi. 18 ff., xxii. 1).[1] In order to secure an adequate site for the temple and its courts, an area of at least 400 cubits by 200 (about 80,000 square cubits) being required, the summit of the hill had to be levelled and the superficies enlarged by means of substructions built on the sides.[2] And so the edifice was completed in the eleventh year of Solomon's reign, *i.e.* in seven and a half years.

[1] Comp. the author's work, *Der Tempel Salomo's. Eine archäol. Untersuchung*, Dorpat 1839; Bähr's *Der Salomon Tempel*, Karlsr. 1848, where, at p. 11 ff., the earlier treatises and investigations are noticed; Thenius, *das vorexil. Jerusalem u. dessen Tempel*, given as an appendix to his *Comment. über die Büch. der Könige*, Lpz. 1849; Merx, "Tempel," in Herzog's *Encycl.* xv. p. 500 ff.; and Diestel, "Tempel," in Schenkel's *Bibellex.* v. p. 468 ff.—De Vogüé, *Le temple de Jérusalem, Monographie du Haram ech-chérif*, etc., Paris 1864, fol.; and Riehm, "Tempel Salomo's," in *HWB.*

[2] These substructions, of which no mention whatever is made in the text of Scripture, are noticed by Josephus in three different places, at greatest length in *de bell. jud.* v. 5, and more briefly in *Antt.* viii. 3. 9 and xv. 11. 3; but so obscurely, that one is at a loss to gather how many of them had been built by Solomon and how many were added in subsequent centuries down as far as the time of Herod. For further

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information regarding those structures, see Rosen, *Das Haram von Jerusalem u. der Tempelplatz des Moria*, Goth. 1866, p. 30 ff. —Robinson (*Palästina*, i. pp. 386, 393, 395, ii. p. 58 ff., etc.), who was the first carefully to examine the strong and massive substructions of the Haram-Sherif on the east, south-east, west, and south-west corners, and to draw attention to the huge blocks of stone with jointed edges, was disposed to regard them as belonging to an early Jewish period, some of them being supposed to date as far back as the time of Solomon. Rosen, on the other hand, in the work referred to above, p. 63 f., comp. p. 45 f., sums up the result of his investigations as follows: "We are of opinion that the only portions that can be traced to Solomon are the terraces in their original form that jut out from the Haram-area, that is to say, the esplanade over the arched rocks along with the one that is no longer extant, but the site of which is indicated by the Sachra; and if any remnants of what was built by that monarch or his immediate successors be still existing, they must be concealed under the material with which the walls supporting the platform have been overlaid in more recent times. The extension of the temple area on the north side, the erection of bridges on the west, and the powerful fortifications that have been added all belong to the Maccabæan age; but, from an architectural point of view, we may say that it was not till the time of Herod that this outer space was duly added to the area surrounding the sanctuary, seeing that it was that monarch who erected the handsome porticos that are built all round upon the highly-finished margin of the grounds. It was the same prince that added the portion on the south side with its massive substructions; while to him, too, we would ascribe the large square at the north-east and the south-east corners, at the south side, and at the south-west corner, including the turrets on the south wall, the door leading to the stairs on the Tyropœum, Robinson's arched annexe, as well as the archway under the Suk Bab Sinsleh as it at present stands." The view may be taken as, in the main, correct.—This much at least may be regarded as ascertained beyond question, that, in the time of Herod, the temple area embraced the whole of the space included within the present Haram, and that the temple of Solomon and Zerubbabel was not situated in the south-west corner of the Haram, as Fergusson and others have supposed, but that it occupied the northern part of this space. Only it is a mistake to assume that the temple, as built by Solomon, was restricted to the space enclosed by the esplanade over the arched rocks and the terrace that once existed where Sachra now is. For as Solomon did not only build the temple proper

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with the court of the priests, but also planned the court for the use of people when they came to worship, it follows that the boundaries of the space occupied by the sanctuary must have been larger than the hypothesis in question would lead us to infer, that from west to east they must have extended much farther than the Sachra or Omarmoschee of the present day.

Rosen professes to have discovered the site of the *threshing-floor of Arauna* (see his dissertations on this threshing-floor in the weekly organ of The Johannite Order of Balley Brandenburg, the vol. for 1860, p. 53 ff., and *ZDMG.* xiv. p. 617 ff.) in the so-called rock of God (Sachret Allah), in the Omarmoschee (Kubbet es-Sachra) of the present day, which led him to suppose that over the top of this rock stood the holy of holies in the temple (of Solomon). Subsequently, however, he so far modified this view (see *das Haram*, p. 44 f.) as to take a more moderate estimate of this threshing-floor, which he spoke of as "having formed the nucleus of the upper terrace over which the temple of the Lord reared its head."—For the most recent investigations and discussions regarding the topography of the temple in Jerusalem, comp. the outlines by Phil. Wolff, *Sieben Artikel über Jerusalem*, Stuttg. 1869, art. v., and Vogel in *d. Luth. Ztschr.* 1875, p. 6 ff.

As regards the plan and arrangements of the temple, David, for his son's guidance, had previously furnished him with a model for which he himself had been indebted to divine inspiration (1 Chron. xxviii. 11–19), but it was the tabernacle that, in a general way, served as pattern and model; for the temple was designed to be simply a fixed dwelling-place for Jehovah on a larger scale, to be a stationary and substantial house, to take the place of the mere tent that was moved about from place to place.—An account of its construction is given in 1 Kings vi. and vii. 13–15; 2 Chron. iii. and iv. (See Table ii. of the illustrations.)

I. The *house* (הַבַּיִת)—the temple proper—was a building formed of thick walls (see Fig. 1, *d*) of hewn stones, was 60 cubits long, 20 wide, and 30 in height (measuring from the inside), and was covered over with a flat roof composed of rafters and boards of cedar, and overlaid with an incrustation of marble.[3] In the inside the building was divided by means of a partition of cedar wood into the holy place and the holy of holies (Fig. 1, Band C), so that the former was 40 cubits long, 20 wide, and 30 high,[4] while the latter was 20 cubits

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in length, breadth, and height, the other 10 cubits of the height going to form upper chambers (2 Chron. iii. 9).—On the inside the walls were lined with wood (panelled), so that not a single stone was visible; the walls and roofs were covered with cedar, the floor with Cyprus wood. The wood that lined the walls, however, was not plain, but covered over with carved work, representing cherubs, palms, coloquintidas, and opening flowers, and completely overlaid with thin gold plating, so that the figures carved upon the wood were seen upon the plated surface.[5] Floor and roof were likewise overlaid with gold.—The entrance to the holy of holies (Fig. 1, *g*) consisted of a folding door in the partition wall (*f*), 4 cubits wide, with two wings made of wild olive wood, and, like the walls, ornamented with overlaid carvings of cherubs, palms, and opening flowers, and turning on golden hinges. This door stood open, but a veil was hung over it similar, in point of material and ornamentation, to that which shut off from view the holy of holies in the tabernacle.[6] The entrance to the holy place (*e*) again consisted of a folding door of Cyprus wood with door-posts of olive, while the two wings had each two revolving leaves,[7] and were ornamented in the same manner as the door of the holy of holies. In the front of the temple there was a porch (see Fig. 1, *A*, *a*, and Fig. 2, *a*) of the same width as the rest of the building (*i.e.* 20 cubits), and 10 cubits long or deep (1 Kings vi. 3; 2 Chron. iii. 4), with two huge detached pillars of brass standing before it, called respectively Jachin and Boaz (Fig. 1, *b*). Those pillars were hollow castings of brass, four inches in thickness, and were each 18 cubits high and 12 cubits in circumference.[8] On the top they had capitals 5 cubits high, the lower half of which was of a convex bulging form, somewhat like that of a pot or cauldron, and ornamented with two rows of pomegranates, with plaitings arranged in the form of network introduced between the rows. The upper part again was first belly-shaped and then bent out towards the top, and, being ornamented with representations of the stalks, leaves, and flowers of the lily, it presented the appearance of a bunch of lilies (1 Kings vii. 15–22; 2 Chron. iv. 12 f.).[9] Including the capitals, the height of the pillars would therefore be 23 cubits in all; this may also be assumed to have been the

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height of the porch, the construction and height of which are not mentioned, though, in any case, it must have consisted of stone walls, must have been covered over with a roof, and must have had an open gateway (Fig. 1, *c*) in front.[10]

To the sides and back of the building wings (צֵלָע) were added, three storeys high, containing rooms for holding furniture and stores required for use in the temple (Fig. 2, *b*, Fig. 3, *B*). These wings were so constructed that the rafters of the different storeys rested upon small projections on the outside of the walls of the main building, so as to avoid fastening them in the walls themselves (1 Kings vi. 5 f.). Owing to those projections or rests, reducing the thickness of the temple wall at each storey by about a cubit, the side rooms (Fig. 3, *c*) in the middle and uppermost storey were correspondingly enlarged; for while those in the undermost storey were only 5 cubits wide, those in the middle and uppermost ones were 6 and 7 cubits respectively.[11] The height of each storey was 5 cubits (1 Kings vi. 10), so that the height of the whole, including the roof, would be 18 cubits. The main building would therefore considerably overtop the wings (Fig. 3), and so leave space on both sides (1 Kings vi. 4) for the windows (Fig. 2, *d*) that serve to admit light to the holy place,[12] for, as was the case in the tabernacle, the holy of holies was quite dark. The access to the side rooms was by a door on the right or south side (Fig. 2, *e*, and Fig. 1, *h*), which opened upon a staircase (Fig. 1, *i*) leading to the middle and uppermost storeys (1 Kings vi. 8).

[9] Not a roof with gable ends, as Hirt and Schnaase, with Lundius and other early writers, have supposed. Comp. on the other hand, Fr. v. Meyer, *Bibeldeutungen*, p. 319; Bähr, *Tempel*, p. 25, and others.

[10] Because, by making the height 30 cubits, the proportion is disturbed in which the length and breadth measurements of the temple stand to the tabernacle, an attempt has been made to set aside this estimate of the height by various, though all of them equally untenable, conjectures. So v. Meyer, Kurtz (*Theol. Stud.* 1844, p. 362 ff., and *Luther. Ztschr.* 1851, p. 27), and Merz (*Theol. Stud.* 1850, p. 427), who take the 30 cubits as applying to the height *on the outside*, while, in the inside, they allowed a height of 20 cubits for the holy place and the holy of holies alike, leaving the remaining 10 cubits, say, for the socle

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and the roofing (v. Meyer), or for the upper rooms mentioned in 2 Chron. iii. 9 (Kurtz). But how, we would ask, is it possible to take the length and breadth measurements, given in the exactly parallel statements of 1 Kings vi. 2, as applying to the *inside*, and the estimate of the height, on the other hand, as applying to the outside, without indulging in a style of interpretation of the most arbitrary character possible?—Not less irreconcilable with the text of Scripture is the hypothesis of Stieglitz (*Beiträge*, i. p. 68) and Grüneisen (*Kunstblatt*, 1831, p. 297), to the effect that the holy of holies was 10 cubits lower than the holy place on the outside as well, which is at variance with 1 Kings vi. 2, where it is stated that the *house, i.e.* the holy place and the holy of holies together, was 30 cubits high.—Ewald's notion (*Gesch. d. V. Isr.* iii. p. 325) is decidedly peculiar, according to which the space over the holy of holies was supposed to be empty, and open toward the holy place, so that from the latter the holy of holies looked like a house by itself.—Nor is there anything to warrant the solution suggested by Bähr (*Sal. Tempel*, p. 33 f.), to the effect that the number 30 is an *erratum*, and that we ought to read 20 instead, for we are not told in 1 Kings vi. 16 and 20 that the height of the wall in front of the holy of holies was limited to 20 cubits.

[5] The text of Scripture furnishes no information as to how the carvings were arranged. But in all likelihood the figures would be spread over panels in sets of two or three, with a palm tree having a cherub on each side of it carved on each of the sets, while the flowered work would go round the panels in the form of wreaths. Comp. Bähr, *d. Tempel*, p. 112. The gold plating is most explicitly stated in 1 Kings vi. 22, comp. with ver. 32, to have been *all over, i.e.* covering the entire surface, so that the hypothesis of Ewald (as above, p. 325) on the one hand, to the effect that the carving was merely overlaid with stripes of finest gold, and that of Thenius on the other, that the carved work *alone* was gilt, must be rejected as at variance with the text of Scripture.

[6] The actual existence of the veil, which is clearly proved by 2 Chron. iii. 14, and to which allusion is made in 1 Kings viii. 8, has been questioned by Ewald (p. 327), though without any valid reason. It is impossible to show from the words וַיַּעֲבֵר בְּרַתֵּיקוֹת זָהָב לִפְנֵי הַדְּבִיר (1 Kings vi. 21) that "the door of the holy of holies was fastened with chains of gold, which, extending across the entire width of the door, reached to the wall." But even assuming this to have been the case, surely we are not on that account bound to suppose that there could have been no veil inside the door. We should rather say that such a veil would be necessary in order to prevent any one

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seeing right into the holy of holies when the door was opened. For it would hardly have done for the high priest on entering the latter, and that with the censer in his hand, to have been under the necessity, in the first place, of opening the barred door himself.—The conjecture of Thenius, that the object אֵת־הַפָּרוֹכֶת has dropped out after וַיַּעֲבֵר, and that it ought to be reinserted so as to run thus: "He drew the veil with golden chains in front of the Debir," has been justly rejected by Bähr and Merz (Herzog's *Encycl.* xv. 508); while Diestel has also declined to entertain it, on the ground of its not being satisfactory.

[7] Comp. 1 Kings vi. 34. Probably a lower and upper division (Merz, Ewald, Bähr, comp. the author's comm. on 1 Kings vi. 34), not—as Thenius, Diestel, and others have supposed—as though in each wing there had been three upright revolving leaves which could be opened one at a time so that it might not be necessary always to open the whole wings.

[8] Ewald's hypothesis (p. 322) as to the hollow strips four inches deep, rests upon baseless conjectures.

[9] For a fuller notice of the ornamentation of the capitals described in 1 Kings vii. 17–20, see the author's comm. on 1 Kings vii. 17 ff.

[10] There is great diversity of opinion regarding the height of the porch as well as the position, in relation to it, of the two pillars. The *height* of the porch is not mentioned at all in 1 Kings vi., whereas in 2 Chron. iii. 4 it is given as amounting to 120 cubits. From this Ewald (iii. p. 321) thinks it necessary to assume the existence of a tower rising high above the tops of the pillars, without reflecting (*a*) that such a tower is nowhere referred to in the text of Scripture, (*b*) that a building, the proportions of which are 20 cubits long, 10 wide, and 120 high, is, according to the laws of statics, simply an impossibility; and there is not a lofty church-tower in existence that bears such a proportion to the height of the main building. Still more arbitrary and equally at variance with Scripture is the assumption on the part of Stieglitz (*d. Baukunst*, p. 126, and *Beiträge*, i. p. 70) and Streber (*Münchner gel. Anzeigen*, 1850, *Verhdl. der Academie vom* 1 *Juli*), that there were towers, each 60 cubits high. The only course open for us, then, is to regard the number 120, as given in Chronicles, as an error on the part of some early transcriber, such as occurs in connection with various other numerical data, and to estimate the height of the porch as having been, as nearly as possible, the same as that of the pillars.—With regard to the position of those pillars, the expression לְאוּלָם, 1 Kings vii. 21, and, still more plainly, the words עַל־פְּנֵי הַבַּיִת, 2 Chron. iii. 15, as well as the monumental character of pillars made of brass as these were, conjoined with

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the circumstance that they are not mentioned in connection with the account of the porch itself, but on a subsequent occasion in connection with the furniture of the temple, all seem to tell in favour of the view that they were detached from the temple and stood out by themselves, as Kugler, Schnaase, also Romberg and Steger (*Geschichte der Baukunst*, Lpz. 1844, p. 25), Bähr, and others have assumed. On the other hand, Ewald, Thenius, Merz, and others conceive of them as having been intended to serve as supports for the roof of the porch, without having attempted to rebut the arguments in favour of their detached character. Comp. Winer, *Realwörth.* ii. p. 573.— But without any warrant whatever, Thenius treats the names Jachin and Boaz (1 Kings vii. 21) as inscriptions.

[11] Josephus, probably basing his statement on Ezek. xli. 6, gives us to understand (*Antiq.* viii. 3. 2) that there were thirty side rooms (see Fig. 1, *k*) in each storey, of which there were twelve in each of the sides and six in the back, while those in the lowermost storey were of a cubical shape and measured 5 cubits each way, so that they must have been exceedingly small.

[12] חַלּוֹנֵי שְׂקֻפִים אֲטֻמִים, *windows of fixed timber-work, i.e.* windows with frames of heavy timber, that could not be opened and closed at pleasure like the windows of ordinary dwelling-houses. Comp. the note of Keil and Thenius on 1 Kings vi. 4.

II. The *courts* are only briefly noticed in 1 Kings vi. 36 and 2 Chron. iv. 9. In the first place there was the *inner court* (חָצֵר פְּנִימִית, 1 Kings vi. 36), which went round the temple, and was reserved exclusively for the priests. It was formed by an outer or boundary wall, composed of three rows of hewn stone laid one upon the other, and of a row of cedar beams that were not arranged in the form of a railing, but placed horizontally upon the top of the stone, and are to be conceived of as slanting downward on both sides so as to carry off the damp. Immediately adjoining this inner court was the outer or *great court* (הָעֲזָרָה הַגְּדוֹלָה, 2 Chron. iv. 9) intended for the use of the people, and which, judging from the designation applied to it, must have entirely surrounded the former. It was approached by a gateway with folding doors of brass, so that in any case it must have been enclosed by solid masonry. From Jer. xxxvi. 10, where the inner court is spoken of as the *higher*, we may infer that this latter stood on a somewhat higher level than the outer court; and it is not unlikely that the temple itself again was higher than

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the level of the priests' court, so that the whole would have a terrace-like aspect.—So far as can be gathered from subsequent statements of an incidental nature (2 Kings xxiii. 11; Jer. xxxv. 4, xxxvi. 10; Ezek. viii. etc.), it would appear that there were vestibules and porticos at the gates of the outer court, and that, if we may judge from the pattern of the temple, 1 Chron. xxviii. 12, at all the four sides, probably in the corners and on both sides of the gate, as the temple of Ezekiel's vision would seem to show. And although several of those buildings connected with the court may have been added at a subsequent period, still the majority of them must have been built by Solomon for the accommodation of the officiating priests and Levites.[18] The circumference of these courts is nowhere stated; but following the analogy of the tabernacle, as well as judging from what is said in Ezek. xl. 27, we may venture to assume that the court of the priests, measuring it on the east or front side before the temple, was 100 cubits in length and the same in breadth, and to regard the whole space occupied by this court as having amounted to 100 cubits for the breadth and 200 for the length. According to this, the outer or great court must have embraced, at the very least, an area of 80,000 square cubits, *i.e.* must have been at least 400 cubits long and 200 wide, or on the east side, in front of the priests' court, must have been 150 cubits long measuring from east to west, and 200 cubits wide measuring from north to south.

[18] The various notices bearing upon the courts are collected in the author's work on the temple, pp. 111 ff. and 124 ff. Comp., besides Thenius, *der Tempel*, § xi., an appendix to his *Comment. über die Bück. der Könige.*

§ 24. *The Furniture of the Temple.*

I. In the *holy of holies* stood the Mosaic ark with the Capporet (Fig. 1, *l*), as taken from the tabernacle, and placed between two colossal images of cherubim, 10 cubits high, made of wild olive wood and overlaid with gold. The wings of the cherubim were fully stretched, and each of them was almost 5 cubits long, so that the tips of the inner wings met over the Capporet, while those of the outer ones reached as far as the side walls of the holy of holies (1 Kings vi. 23–28;

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2 Chron. iii. 10–13). They stood upon their feet, *i.e.* they were in an upright posture, and had their faces turned inward toward the house (2 Chron. iii. 13), *i.e.* in the direction of the holy place, their heads being at the time inclined slightly forward, as if also fixing their gaze upon the ark that stood between them.[1]

[1] Ewald's statement (*Gesch.* iii. p. 331), to the effect that a new lid was made for the ark, and that the colossal cherubim were nailed to it, is a fiction as baseless as it is monstrous.

II. In the *holy place* stood (1) the *altar of incense* (Fig. 1, *m*) or golden altar (1 Kings vii. 48), made of cedar wood and overlaid with gold (1 Kings vi. 20, 22; 2 Chron. iv. 19); (2) ten golden *candlesticks* with seven lamps on each (Fig. 1, *n*), and placed in front of the holy of holies, five of them being on the right and the other five on the left side (1 Kings vii. 49; 2 Chron. iv. 7); and (3) ten *tables for the shewbread*, with five on each side (Fig. 1, *o*), as in the case of the candlesticks (2 Chron. iv. 8).[2] The form and construction of those objects have not been further described, because they were clearly modelled after those in the Mosaic tabernacle, only made on a larger scale to be in keeping with the greater dimensions of the holy place in the temple.—Besides these there were their accompanying utensils, all of them made of gold, viz. *snuffers and extinguishers* for the candlesticks; then for the tables a *knife* (מַזְמְרוֹת), and *basins* (סַפּוֹת, probably plates for the bread), then *bowls* (מְזָרְקוֹת) for the wine, and, lastly, small *flat dishes* (כַּפּוֹת) in which to carry the incense to the altar and pour it upon the fire (1 Kings vii. 49, 50; 2 Chron. iv. 21 f.).

[2] The assertion, still reiterated by Ewald (iii. p. 332), that in Solomon's temple there was only *one* table for shewbread, is not in the least degree borne out by 1 Kings vii. 48; comp. the author's work on the temple, p. 109 f., and Bähr, *Salom. Tempel*, p. 178 f.

III. In the inner *court* were—

1. The *brazen altar of burnt-offering* (1 Kings viii. 64), which, according to 2 Chron. iv. 1, was 20 cubits long, the same broad, and 10 cubits high, was constructed after the pattern of the one in the tabernacle, of brass plates, and filled up inside with earth and unhewn stones (see Table iii. fig. 2). The enormous dimensions ascribed to it, as well as

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the analogy of the altar of burnt-offering belonging to the tabernacle, and of that described in Ezek. xliii. 13–17, compel us to assume that the corresponding altar in the temple, besides having a deep moulding at the foot, (*a*) had probably three steps or landings, at each of which the length and breadth were reduced by a cubit. That being the case, the surface of the altar on which the fire was lighted (*c*) would only measure 12 cubits by 12, while the 20 cubits given as the length and breadth are to be understood as applying to the measurements as taken at the bottom moulding, which would project somewhere about 2 cubits.[3] The uppermost landing (*b*) would probably serve, at the same time, as a place for the priests to stand upon when officiating at the altar.[4] Besides, the altar being so high, it would not be convenient to reach the top of it by climbing among the earth and stones, but it would be necessary to have steps for the purpose, such as are mentioned in connection with the altar of Ezekiel's vision (Ezek. xliii. 17).—As utensils belonging to the altar, mention is made of pots, shovels, basins, and forks (1 Kings viii. 40, 45; 2 Chron. iv. 11, 16).

2. Between the altar and the porch, but rather more to the south than otherwise, stood the *brazen* or *molten sea* (יָם מוּצָק, see Table iii. fig. 1), a huge round water-basin, 5 cubits high and 10 in diameter at the brim, and having a circumference of about 30 cubits. It was made of strong bronze a hand-breadth in thickness. Its brim was bent outwards in a cup-like form, and made to resemble the flower of the lily, while underneath two rows of coloquintidas, ten to every cubit, and cast from the same mould as the basin, ran round the whole by way of ornamentation (*a*). This immense basin, which was capable of holding 2000 baths of water,[5] was supported by twelve brazen oxen with their heads turned towards the four cardinal points, three looking in each direction, while it is probable that they all stood upon one and the same basement of metal (1 Kings vii. 23–26; 2 Chron. iv. 2–5). The water for washing the priests' hands and feet was doubtless drawn from this basin, at pleasure or as occasion required, by means of cocks.

3. On each side of the altar, at the right and left wing of the temple, stood ten brazen *stands on wheels* (מְכֹנוֹת), with

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brass basins (כִּיֹּרוֹת) placed upon them for washing the flesh of the sacrifices (1 Kings vii. 27–37; 2 Chron. iv. 6). Those stands (see Table iii. fig. 4), which were all one size, form, and casting, were square boxes 4 cubits long, the same wide, and 3 cubits high (*a*), their sides (*a*) having ledged borders (*b*) with figures of lions, oxen, cherubim, and palms introduced between the ledges and wreaths suspended below the lions and the oxen. The lid of each of those boxes (*d*) was convex, and on the centre of the convex part rested a crown (*e*) one cubit high, with an opening at the top 1½ cubits in diameter, for the purpose of holding the basin (*b*). This basin widened towards the top like a common wash-hand basin, was 4 cubits in diameter at the brim, and was capable of holding 40 baths of water. On account of the basin widening so much toward the mouth, shoulder pieces (כְּתֵפוֹת) were fastened to the upper corners of the box (*f*) for the purpose of keeping it (the basin) more securely in its place, *i.e.* supports which, projecting from the box, and having a slight bend inwards, reached as far as the lower edge of the brim of the basin, and served as holders for it (יָדוֹת). The upper vaulting of the box cover and the holders or hand-supports were, like the sides, ornamented with figures. At the bottom the stands had four feet (פַּעֲמוֹת), to which wheels of molten brass (*h*), 1½ cubits in diameter, with naves, felloes, and spokes, were so attached that the feet (*g*) served as shoulders or supports for the axles.[6]—In the court of the priests, besides the things already enumerated, there must have been various arrangements for the slaughtering of the sacrifices, although they do not happen to be mentioned in the text of Scripture.[7]

[5] According to Misch. *Midd.* iii. 1, the altar in the later temple had a similar shape. Comp. Winer, *Realwörtb.* i. p. 195.

[6] For, supposing it had not been possible to reach the altar-hearth from all the four sides, and so move all round it on the uppermost landing,—for it would be out of the question to think of making use of fire-forks at a distance of from ten to eleven cubits,—it would have been necessary to get up on to the altar-hearth itself for the purpose of putting the wood and the flesh of the sacrifices in order, of attending to the fire, and of removing the ashes. Yet, at the same time, it does not follow from this that the altar of Ezekiel's vision, the upper-

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most landing of which is stated to have been 4 cubits high, is, with Thenius, to be regarded as copied from the historical one in Solomon's temple, but that, like the rest of Ezekiel's representation of the temple, it is to be taken in an ideal sense.

[5] The number 3000, as the number of baths (2 Chron. iv. 5), is to be traced to an error on the part of the transcriber; comp. Thenius's note on 1 Kings vii. 26.

[6] For more precise information regarding the construction of these, see the description of them, which for us is obscure in many respects, as elucidated in the author's *bibl. Comm.* on 1 Kings vii. 27–39. Ewald (*Gesch.* iii. p. 333) is entirely mistaken in thinking of "little brass vehicles beautifully ornamented" in this connection.

[7] The statements of the Rabbinical writers on this point—which at best, however, apply to the later temple—are given by Lundius, *Jüd. Heiligthumer*, B. ii. c. xvii.

§ 25. *Object and Meaning of the Temple and its Furniture.*

As the temple of Solomon was not merely substituted for the Mosaic tabernacle, but in its fundamental forms, measurements, divisions, and furniture adhered to the model of the ancient Mosaic sanctuary, the symbolical and typical meaning of that structure must have been similar, on the whole, to that of the tabernacle. The points of difference between the two sanctuaries are only such as were to be expected in the case of structures differing so much from each other as a tent and a house.—The temple was designed to be "a house for Jehovah to dwell in, a place for His seat for ever" (1 Kings viii. 13; 2 Chron. vi. 2), or a house where the name of Jehovah should dwell (2 Sam. vii. 5, 13; 1 Kings viii. 16, 18, 29; 2 Chron. vi. 6, etc.). But the name of God is just God as He reveals Himself, and is therefore synonymous with the glory of the Lord which entered the temple on the occasion of its consecration (1 Kings viii. 10; 2 Chron. v. 14, vii. 1), precisely as it did into the tabernacle on a corresponding occasion.—The temple, like the tabernacle, was intended to be a representation of the kingdom of God in Israel. But if the tabernacle, as a moveable tent, was suited to the circumstances of Israel before settling in the promised land; the temple, on the other hand, as a fixed habitation, suggested the idea that the people of God had

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now obtained a permanent inheritance in Canaan, and that the kingdom of God in Israel had now been placed upon a settled basis. Hence it was that in the first instance Jehovah established the house of David by promising to secure the kingdom to his posterity for ever (2 Sam. vii. 11 ff.), before allowing a house of stone and cedar to be built for Himself by the seed of David. In virtue of this promise the building of the temple and the circumstance of its being filled with the divine glory in the symbol of the cloud (1 Kings viii. 10 f.) assume the character of a pledge of the eternal duration of God's covenant of mercy.—Because as the very house and palace of Jehovah, the temple was not only built of solid and costly materials (hewn stones, cedar, Cyprus and olive wood), but like ordinary palaces it was also provided with a porch or entrance hall, and with accessory buildings three storeys high for the purpose of holding the stores and all the requisites for carrying on an elaborate worship. These, however, were so arranged and constructed that they were not immediately built into the main edifice, but merely contributed to give it a larger and more magnificent appearance. In the temple, again, the significant measurements of the tabernacle were reproduced on a larger scale. The length and breadth were doubled, and the height of the holy place was tripled, so that the holy of holies formed a cube of 20 cubits each way, and the holy place an oblong of 40 cubits in length, 20 in breadth, and 30 in height, the number ten, as representing perfection, being adopted in this instance also as the basis of measurement.—To the images of the cherubim and the flower, representations of palm trees were added to the internal decorations of the temple,[1] "those kings of the vegetable kingdom" which, with their beautiful, delicate, fresh, and ever verdant foliage, combine in themselves all the wealth and glory of vegetable life;[2] thus serving to characterize the sanctuary "as a place where was to be found the fulness of life in a state of perpetual bloom and unfading freshness and vigour," and so to constitute it "a place of blessedness and life, of peace and joy," a place in which the righteous who were planted in it were always green and flourishing, bearing fruit even in old age, and proclaiming the righteousness of God (Ps. xcii. 13 ff.).[3]

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It is those same ideas that likewise underlie the two monumental pillars of brass that stood in front of the porch. Their names, Jachin (יָכִין, "He establishes, He lays a firm foundation") and Boaz (בּוֹעַז, "in Him is strength"), indicated the stability, strength, and permanent character of the dwelling place of God, and, at the same time, of the covenant of mercy and the kingdom of God that were embodied in that dwelling place; while their capitals, with their emblems of pomegranate and lily flowers, the fairest of Palestine's fruits and flowers, symbolized the fulness of that glorious and charming life which blooms and flourishes within the temple.[4]

With regard to the design and meaning of the furniture of the temple, all that was necessary to be said we have said already in connection with the tabernacle, for the furniture in the one was, on the whole, precisely the same as in the other. The only new feature in the holy of holies was the colossal cherub-like statues, under the outstretched wings of which stood the ark with its cherubim resting upon the Capporet. This addition was simply by way of emphasizing the idea already embodied in the cherub forms on the Capporet and the walls.[5] The same holds true with regard to the tenfold multiplying of the candlesticks and the tables of shewbread in the holy place, though this may also have been thought necessary in consequence of this part of the sanctuary having been much larger than in the case of the tabernacle. Then in the court there stood, besides the altar of burnt-offering, the brazen sea and the ten stands with their basins in which to wash the flesh of the sacrifices. The brazen sea came in place of the laver in the tabernacle, and the use of which we have explained above, § 20, p. 117. It was simply a water-basin magnified to colossal dimensions. The ten stands, again, with their basins for washing the sacrificial flesh, as enjoined in Lev. i. 9, were merely such adjuncts to the altar as were necessary in the case of a sacrificial worship. The artistic style in which those objects were fashioned was designed, generally speaking, merely to display the glory of God. But it may be said with regard to the brazen sea in particular, that with its representations of opening lilies on its brim, and the coloquintidas all round it, as in the case of the brazen pillars, it was meant to point

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to the life that emanated from the sanctuary; while the twelve oxen on which it was supported had reference to the twelve tribes of Israel as a priestly nation that, in the persons of their priests, here cleansed themselves in order that they might come before the Lord in a pure and holy state.[6]—The emblems on the ten stands, again, were partly the same as those that appeared on the walls of the temple,—viz. cherubim, palms, and flowers,—which, of course, had the same significance in the one case as in the other, and served to indicate that the stands belonged to the sanctuary as forming part of its furniture. To the figures just mentioned there were further added those of lions and oxen, which possibly were designed to indicate the kingly and priestly character which, according to Ex. xix. 6, were found combined in the people of the covenant, although it is not easy to see what could have been the reason for such an allusion in the case of the furniture now in question.

Then, in the last place, the introduction of a second or outer court was involved, as a matter of course, in the difference between the idea of a tent and that of a house, *i.e.* in the special design of the temple as compared with that of the tabernacle, and is therefore not to be regarded as having formed an essentially new feature in the plan of the sanctuary. In the case of the sanctuary, and according to its original intention, it was not necessary to have a space specially marked off for the assembling of the people, because the camp that surrounded the tabernacle formed an enclosure which—from the circumstance that everything in the shape of impurity had to be removed from it—was regarded at the same time as a sacred one (Num. v. 1–4). The people's relation to the sanctuary in this respect ceased with their settlement in Canaan, when they were no longer concentrated in one place, but were scattered over the land, while some of them were living among such of the original inhabitants as had not yet been extirpated. Accordingly, when the temple came to be built in a populous city, it was necessary to provide a special court round the sanctuary as a suitable place for the people to assemble in when they came to appear before the Lord,—a duly consecrated place in which the covenant-people might meet and there realize, in outward forms as well, that fellow-

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ship with its God which had been restored in terms of the covenant, for the court of the priests was exclusively reserved for priestly service or worship.

[1] I cannot agree with Bähr when he professes to find a symbolical significance in the circumstance of the stone walls being covered with wood panelling (*Sal. Tempel*, p. 108), because this was a peculiarity in building common to all Semitic nations, and was to be met with not only in Phœnicia, but in Assyria as well.

[2] The authorities for this interpretation of the palms are given by Celsius, *Hierobot.* ii. p. 445 ff., and especially by Bähr, as above, p. 120 ff.

[3] Perhaps we should also take into account the fact that, according to the testimony of ancient writers, the date-palm was specially indigenous to Palestine, and that in this way it came to form the arms and emblem of Israel and its country, that as such it appears upon Maccabean coins, so that it might well serve to indicate that the "house" and the "land" of Jehovah were bound up with each other, that "the land of palms was, at the same time, the land where Jehovah dwelt and revealed Himself." Comp. Bähr, p. 123 f.

[4] Comp., further, the remarks of Bähr, as above, p. 193 ff., where also from p. 203 onward he disposes of a multitude of utterly arbitrary and many of them absurd ideas with regard to the object and meaning of those pillars.

[5] In the circumstance of the colossal cherubim, standing upon their feet (2 Chron. iii. 13) and overshadowing with their wings, not merely the ark, but likewise the poles for carrying it with (1 Kings viii. 7), Bähr (as above, p. 168) professes to see an allusion to the fact that "the throne (of the ark), that hitherto was moved and shifted from place to place, had now become fixed and stationary, that it had now lost its original movable character, and that from that time forward it was to continue permanently to occupy that same spot." But the words: "they stood upon their feet with their faces toward the house (the holy place)," are by no means to be understood as implying that they stood fixed and immovable like pillars: then, again, it was not the cherubim, but the *Capporet*, that formed the throne, which latter the cherubim merely enveloped.

[6] For, that this is the meaning underlying the selection of the oxen for this purpose, is rendered evident by Bähr's (p. 232 ff.) comparison with the twelve lions on Solomon's throne (1 Kings x. 20). As the lion, the king of beasts, represented royal dignity, so the ox, being as it was the chief and most important kind of sacrificial victim, that which the priests

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had specially to offer when they sacrificed for themselves, was well calculated to represent the priestly service or worship.

§ 26. *History of Solomon's Temple.*

After the building was finished, Solomon had the ark brought into the holy of holies, whereupon he consecrated the temple with solemn thanksgiving and prayer, accompanied with a very liberal thank-offering. This solemnity, in order to be present at which the heads of the tribes as well as men from all parts of Israel had come up to Jerusalem, lasted seven days, while so large was the number of victims offered that it was necessary for the time being to convert the inner court in front of the porch into a place for sacrificing in, as the altar of burnt-offering was incapable of holding such a multitude of sacrifices (1 Kings viii.; 2 Chron. v., vi., and vii. 7). Immediately after the close of the consecration prayer, in offering up which Solomon knelt upon a brazen platform that was erected in the inner court and in front of the altar (2 Chron. vi. 13),[1] fire fell from heaven and consumed the burnt-offering (2 Chron. vii. 1).

But after Solomon's death, and on the occasion of the disruption of the kingdom, this temple, that had been chosen by God Himself as the place in which His name should dwell, ceased to be the sanctuary of the *whole* nation, Jeroboam having erected special places of worship at Bethel and Dan for the use of the ten tribes that had revolted from the house of David. For the kingdom of Judah the temple continued to be the authorized centre for the worship of Jehovah, although as early as the days of Rehoboam its treasures were plundered by Shishak, king of Egypt (1 Kings xiv. 26), and what gold and silver had been spared was subsequently sent to Benhadad, king of Syria, with a view to purchase an alliance against Baasha, king of Israel (1 Kings xv. 18 ff.). Under Jehoshaphat the outer court was renewed (2 Chron. xx. 5), probably enlarged; while under Jehoash considerable repairs were executed upon the temple itself (2 Kings xii. 5 ff.), which repairs had been rendered necessary chiefly, we might say, in consequence of the havoc wrought by the impious Athaliah (2 Chron. xxiv. 7). Not long after that, and during the reign

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of Amaziah, all the gold and silver, as well as the utensils (such as had gold or silver about them) that were in the temple, were plundered by Jehoash, king of Israel (2 Kings xiv. 14). Subsequently to this, again, Jotham built the upper gate of the temple (2 Kings xv. 35; 2 Chron. xxvii. 3), *i.e.* he caused a more handsome gate to be erected at the entrance to the inner court.[2] Ahaz, on the other hand, had the brazen altar of burnt-offering taken away and another put in its place, built after the model of one he had seen in Damascus, and on which all victims were thenceforth to be sacrificed. He further ordered the decorations to be taken from the sides of the stands for the basins, and the basins themselves to be taken out, and also the oxen to be removed from under the brazen sea, and this latter itself to be placed upon a pedestal of stone all "for the king of Assyria" (2 Kings xvi. 17 f.), *i.e.* with the view of securing those artistic objects for this monarch, seeing that on a previous occasion he had purchased his help against the kings of Syria and Israel, when they invaded the territory of Judah, by forwarding to him the gold and silver treasures of the temple and the palace (2 Kings xvi. 8).[3] Even the pious King Hezekiah was under the necessity of taking all the gold from the Lord's house to pay the tribute imposed by Sennacherib, and had even to tear off again from the posts and doors of the temple the very gold plating with which he himself had caused them to be overlaid (2 Kings xviii. 15 f.). But, last and worst of all, the temple was desecrated by Manasseh, who caused altars for the whole host of heaven to be erected in both the courts, an image of Astarte to be set up in the sanctuary (2 Kings xxi. 4, 5, 7), and abodes for hierodules, in which women wove tents for Astarte, to be erected in the house of Jehovah (2 Kings xxiii. 7), besides keeping horses consecrated to the sun in a place set apart for them in the inner court toward the back of the temple (2 Kings xxiii. 11). It is true that Josiah purged the sanctuary of all those abominations (2 Kings xxiii. 4 ff.); but not long after Nebuchadnezzar came, and on capturing Jerusalem in the time of Jehoiachin he gathered together all the treasures of the temple, including all the golden utensils, and carried them off (2 Kings xxiv. 13); and when, eleven years after this, Jerusalem was destroyed by the Chaldeans,

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the temple was burnt to the ground along with the city, while the valuable utensils of gold and silver, which they had taken the precaution to remove before setting the building on fire, and the brass of the pillars broken down into fragments, as well as that which belonged to the basin-stands and the brazen sea, were all taken to Babylon (2 Kings xxv. 9, 13–17; Jer. lii. 13, 17–23). Thus was the temple destroyed 416 years after the building of it had been completed.

[1] This stage, from the fact of its being called a כִּיּוֹר, a pot, should perhaps be conceived of as a pulpit-like erection; and it is probably identical with the king's stand (הָעַמּוּד, 2 Kings xi. 14, xxiii. 3) subsequently referred to; although Thenius explicitly affirms that they were not the same.

[2] Possibly, although we have no means of proving it, it was the northern gate where, according to Ezek. xl. 38 ff., the victims were slaughtered, on account of its being the principal entrance,—a view which Thenius confidently maintains; comp. on the other hand, Bertheau's note on 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.

[3] The statement in 2 Kings xvi. 18 as to what Ahaz caused to be done with the מוּסַךְ הַשַּׁבָּת and the מָבוֹא הַמֶּלֶךְ הַחִיצוֹנָה is somewhat obscure; while, again, Thenius's latest utterance on the point is not satisfactory.

THIRD CHAPTER.

THE POST-EXILIAN PLACES OF WORSHIP.

§ 27. *The Temple of Zerubbabel.*

Cyrus, in the edict in which he sanctioned the return of the Jews to their native country, gave orders at the same time to have the temple at Jerusalem rebuilt; and not only did he give back the furniture that had been taken to Babylon by Nebuchadnezzar, but promised a grant from the royal purse towards the building itself, and instructed his viceroy on the hither side of the Euphrates to help on the execution of this work (Ezra i. 2 ff., vi. 3 ff.). Accordingly, no sooner did the elders of the Jews and Zerubbabel and Joshua the high priest arrive in Jerusalem than they began to erect the altar of burnt-offering on the spot where it had

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previously stood, and to resume the daily sacrificial services (Ezra iii. 1 ff.). Nor did they lose any time in making their arrangements for the building of the temple itself, masons and carpenters having been duly engaged, and the Phœnicians bargained with to supply cedar wood from Lebanon, so that in the second month of the second year of the return from the captivity they were in a position solemnly to lay the foundation of the new structure (Ezra iii. 7–14). But, by and by, when Zerubbabel and the elders of the people declined, on religious grounds, to accede to the request of the Samaritans to be allowed to have a share in the building of the temple, these latter set themselves so much to oppose the work that it was suspended for about fifteen years, till the second year of the reign of Darius Hystaspis (520 B.C.). Stimulated by the earnest exhortations of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, Zerubbabel and Joshua resumed their task and laboured with great zeal, all the more that the king, on being informed by his viceroy on this side the Euphrates of the existence of the edict of Cyrus, caused this document to be searched for among the royal archives, and on finding and perusing it, ordered it to be given effect to. Thus in the twelfth month of the sixth year of the reign of Darius (516 B.C.) was the temple successfully completed, whereupon it was consecrated amid much pomp and ceremony, while not long after the feast of the Passover and the feast of Unleavened Bread were likewise celebrated amid great rejoicings and much thanksgiving to the Lord (Ezra v. and vi.).

No details have been left us regarding the structure and arrangements of this building. According to the edict of Cyrus, its height was to be 60 cubits and its breadth 60 cubits also, measurements considerably in excess of the corresponding ones in Solomon's temple. Yet, notwithstanding the fact of its dimensions being so much greater, it was much inferior to that of Solomon in point of magnificence and splendour;[1] for it wanted those things that constituted the most essential and valuable features of that which preceded it —it wanted the ark that had perished in the flames when this latter was destroyed, and, wanting the ark, it was necessarily without the Schekinah as well, that visible sign of God's merciful presence.[2] The holy of holies remained

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empty; on the spot where the ark should have stood, a stone was set which the high priest placed the censer on, on the great day of atonement.[3] All that was in the holy place, again, was a single golden candlestick, a single table for the shewbread and the altar of incense (1 Macc. i. 21 f., iv. 49), while in the court there stood an altar of burnt-offering built of stone (1 Macc. iv. 45).[4] This temple had also several, at least two, courts (*αὐλαί*) with closets or rooms (*παστοφόρια*), porticos, and gates (1 Macc. iv. 38, 42), the outermost court of which was subsequently enlarged and probably fortified as well (Sir. l. 2).[5]

[1] Founding on the notion, gathered from Hag. ii. 3 and Ezra iii. 12, that the temple of Zerubbabel was far inferior to that of Solomon, not only in point of magnificence but of *magnitude* as well, many older theologians take the height specified in the edict as applying to the height of the porch, which would thus be 60 cubits less than that of the porch in Solomon's temple as given in 2 Chron. iii. 4 (comp. Michaelis, *Annott.* on Ezra vi. 3), while they understand the 60 cubits given as the *breadth* as having reference rather to the *length* of the building (so Winer himself, *Realwörtb.* ii. p. 578). But from Ezra iii. 12 nothing whatever can be inferred as to the size of the new temple; nor are we to regard its inferiority in respect of glory (Hag. ii. 3) as consisting in the outward dimensions of the edifice. That, as Ewald also admits (*Gesch. d. Volks Isr.* iv. p. 147), the new temple was actually built in conformity with the given measurements, may be inferred from Joseph. *Antiq.* xi. 1, where King Herod is represented as endeavouring to dispose the people in favour of the improvements which he contemplated making upon the building, by remarking that the temple built by their fathers on their return from Babylon fell short of the height of that of Solomon by 60 cubits, and as there and then actually proceeding to raise the structure to the height of some 100 or 120 cubits. From this it would not only appear that in Herod's time the height of the porch stood in the chronicle precisely as it is there given now, and as the Masoretic text still reads it,—a height, too, which Herod made to apply to the whole of the sanctuary,—but also that the temple of Zerubbabel was, in point of fact, 60 cubits high. And as little, too, would we venture to curtail the given breadth of 60 cubits, because this was also the breadth of Herod's temple, though this statement must be understood as implying that, while the sanctuary proper was only 20 cubits in width, as in the case of that of Solomon, the side buildings occupied considerably more

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space, so that the breadth of the edifice as a whole would amount to 60 cubits.—But the passage in the edict of Cyrus (Ezra vi. 4) that says: "With three rows of great stones and a row of timber," remains as hopelessly obscure as ever. Comp. on this and on the entire edifice the author's comm. on Ezra vi. 4 and 5.

[3] According to the Talmud, *Joma* f. xxi. 2, the second temple wanted five things that were found in that of Solomon, viz. the ark, the sacred fire, the Schekinah, the holy Spirit, and the Urim and Thummim.

[3] Called in Mischna, *Joma* v. 2, אבן שתיה, *lapis positionis.*

[4] Likewise a laver (כִּיּוֹר), according to Mischna, *Midd.* iii. 6. The nature of the alteration made upon this laver cannot possibly be gathered from the obscure language of Sir. l. 3: *ἐν ἡμέραις αὐτοῦ ἠλαττώθη ἀποδοχεῖον ὑδάτων χαλκὸς ὡσεὶ θαλάσσης τὸ περίμετρον.* Comp. Fritzsche's note on this passage.

[5] Hence it is that Josephus, *Antiq.* xiv. 16. 2, speaks of an *ἔξωθεν* and *ἔσωθεν ἱερόν*, and likewise of porches in the courts (*ᾠκοδομήκεσαν γὰρ οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τὰς ἐν κύκλῳ τοῦ ναοῦ στοὰς τοῦ ἔνδοθεν ἱεροῦ*, xi. 4. 7). He further mentions that there was a bridge on the west side to connect the temple with the city, and which was broken down when Jerusalem was besieged by Pompey. Robinson is of opinion that to this bridge, which is further mentioned, *de bello jud.* i. 7. 2, ii. 16. 3, vi. 6. 2 and 8. 1, belonged the ruins of a huge arch not far from the south-west corner of the Haram walls. The oldest portions of those walls are built of immense hewn stones, and are to be regarded as dating back, if not to Solomon himself, at least to the time of his successors (comp. Rob. *Paläst.* ii. p. 94 ff.; *New Investigations on the Topography of Jerusalem*, vol. iii. pp. 203–263).

That there was a connection between this arch and the oldest portions of the masonry of the substructions still extant is also recognised by Rosen (*d. Haram*, pp. 7 f., 11). At the same time he thinks that the bridge can hardly be ascribed to Solomon, because, so far as can be gathered from what is said about the buildings of this monarch in the canonical Scriptures, there exists no trace of elliptical arches, or indeed of any curvilineal masonry at all (p. 14), while there are important (?) reasons for believing that the work in question belongs to the time of Herod. Our author is not prepared to admit that such a bridge as is here referred to was in existence as yet when Jerusalem was taken by Pompey, for at that time the Jewish fanatics are said to have broken down the bridge leading from the temple to Mount Zion; a thing quite possible no doubt in the case of a slim wooden bridge, but hardly so in the case of one built of massive masonry (pp. 22–24). But not one of

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these reasons can be regarded as conclusive. There is no historical testimony to appeal to in support of the view that it was Herod who first began and completed the powerful substructions under the southern portion of the temple area, for all that Josephus (*de bell. jud.* i. 21. 1; comp. with *Antiq.* xv. 11. 3) ascribes to this prince is the building of the porticos. Again, it seems extremely unlikely that we ought to regard this arch as a work that has continued in an unfinished state from the very first (Rosen, p. 64).—As yet the pleadings on one side or other of these questions cannot be held as finally closed.

At a subsequent period this temple suffered at the hands of Antiochus Epiphanes, who not only plundered it, but also defiled it with idolatrous worship (1 Macc. i. 21 ff., 46 ff., iv. 38; 2 Macc. vi. 2 ff.); but, after the expulsion of the Syrians, Judas Maccabæus restored the sanctuary that had been thus desecrated for a period of three years, got certain improvements made upon it, caused the interior decorations and the furniture to be for the most part renewed, and then had it consecrated afresh (1 Macc. iv. 36 ff.). It would further appear that, with a view to secure it against future attacks, he at the same time had it strongly fortified on the outside (1 Macc. vi. 7).[6] Subsequent to this, again, Alexander Jannæus (106 B.C.) caused a wooden palisade to be erected for the purpose of separating the court of the priests from that of the people (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiii. 13. 5). But not long after this the temple was taken by Pompey on the great day of atonement, after a siege of three months, on which occasion, however, it was not plundered, although fearful massacring went on in the courts; and again, at a still later period, it was stormed and captured by Herod the Great, at the time when the Roman troops took possession of Jerusalem, on which occasion several of the porches were burnt down (Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 4. 2 ff. and 16. 2).

[6] That the temple was enclosed, and so far fortified with a high wall surrounding the outer court, is plainly intimated in 1 Macc. vi. 7 comp. with iv. 60; is confirmed by 1 Macc. xiii. 52, where it is stated, with reference to Prince Simon, that he further fortified the temple mount (προσωχύρωσε τὸ ὄρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ); and, lastly, it is distinctly implied in many of the narratives of Josephus.

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§ 28. *The Rebuilding of the Temple by Herod.*

The temple as it existed after the captivity was no longer calculated to satisfy a man so vain and fond of display as was Herod the Great. Accordingly this prince undertook the task of rebuilding it,[1] temple and porches alike, on a grander scale,[2] and in a style more in keeping with the tastes of the age in which he lived. After the necessary preparations for the work had been made,[3] it was commenced in the eighteenth year of Herod's reign (20 or 21 B.C.), and the temple proper, on which priests and Levites were employed, was finished in a year and a half, and the courts in the course of eight years. The erection of the subsidiary buildings, however, only went on gradually, bit by bit being added through the reigns of several of his successors, so that the entire undertaking was not completed till the time of Agrippa II. and the Procurator Albinus in the year 64 A.D.[4] (Comp. Table iv.)

[1] Josephus, in the *Antiq.* xv. 11 and *de bell. jud.* v. 5, gives us a full, though somewhat obscure, and, as regards certain details, rather exaggerated account of this building. Besides this, we have in the tract *Middoth* in the Mischna a description of this temple in which the minutest details are given, though in many points it is at variance with the statements of Josephus. This Talmudic account has been fully commented upon and elucidated in the Σκιαγραφία *templi Hierosol. ed. Const. L'Empereur ab Oppyck.*, Lugd. Bat. 1630, and in the Mischna, ed. Surenh. v. p. 322 ff., and by Lightfoot, *Descriptio templi*, Opp. i. p. 549 ff. (with ground-plans in both instances). Lastly, we have the description, with ground-plan, given by Hirt (in *Abhandl. der histor. phil. Classe der kgl. preuss. Acad. d. Wissensch.* 1816–1817, Berl. 1819, p. 9 ff.), which, however, is one-sided in so far as he adheres exclusively to Josephus.

[2] According to Josephus, *de bell. jud.* i. 21. 1, and *Antiq.* xv. 11. 3, Herod the Great appears to have also enlarged the temple area and the surrounding wall; but his statements on this point are far from clear, so that it is impossible to gather from them how much belonged to the time of Solomon and the period before the exile, and how much to the post-exilian period and the time of Herod. If the ruins of the enclosing wall, with its colossal jointed stones, standing on the south and east sides, and at the south-west corner of the present Haram, do not belong to the age of Herod, but indicate an olden style of

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building, then this prince can only be supposed to have enlarged the temple area toward the north, while Josephus's statement as to the extension in question can only, with Robinson (*Paläst.* ii. p. 57), be regarded as having reference to the enlargement of the area of Fort Antonia, which was so far associated with the temple area. Comp. Robinson, *Paläst.* ii. pp. 89 f., 159 f., 166 ff., 384 ff. *Topography of Jerusalem*, vol. iii. p. 230.

[3] Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 11. 1, represents Herod as himself stating his motives for rebuilding the temple, in an address which he delivered to the people. With regard to the preparations for the undertaking, this historian mentions (as above, § 2) that Herod provided 1000 carts and 10,000 skilled workmen, and that he even got 1000 priests trained to work as masons and carpenters. The motive alleged by Josephus was this: ἡγούμενος ἁπάντων αὐτῷ τῶν πεπραγμένων ἐπισημότερον, ὥσπερ ἦν ἐκτελεσθήσεσθαι τοῦτο, καὶ πρὸς αἰώνιον μνήμην ἀρκέσειν. Undoubtedly Herod's principal motive was the vainglorious hope of perpetuating his name by associating it with so magnificent a building; but Calvin suggests a deeper explanation of the matter,—and Hengstenberg (*Christol.* iii. p. 237, note) has since argued in favour of the suggestion,—that Herod by means of this splendid structure wanted to bring about the fulfilment of the prediction in Hag. ii. 7, and so hinder the coming of the kingdom of God, from fear lest the heavenly kingdom should put an end to his sovereignty as an earthly monarch.—Although the reconstruction in question was practically equivalent to an entire rebuilding, still this temple cannot be spoken of as a third one, for Herod himself said, in so many words, that it was only intended to be regarded as an enlarging and further beautifying of that of Zerubbabel. Ernesti puts the matter correctly in his dissertation, "De templo Herodis Mag." (in his *Opuscula phil. crit.* p. 350 ff.), when he says: Herodem templum totum a fundamentis reædificasse, destructo per partes vetere. Ex consuetudine loquendi historica omninoque populari templum nihilominus *secundum* et fuisse et recte appellatum esse.—For the greater glory of this temple as predicted in Hag. ii. 9, see the views in Deyling's *Observatt. sac.* iii. p. 139 ff., and Hengstenberg, *Christol.* iii. p. 232 ff.

[4] Comp. Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 11. 1, 5, and 6 (with which *de bell. jud.* i. 21. 1 is at variance, in so far as it gives the fifteenth year of Herod's reign as the year in which the building was commenced), and xx. 9. 7.—On the "forty-six years in building" of John ii. 20, comp. the various expositions of this passage, and Anger, *De tempor. in Actis Apost. ratione*, p. 23.

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The whole buildings of the sanctuary proper, *i.e.* the temple and its courts (Table iv. *A*), occupied an area of one stadium (Joseph.), or 500 cubits (Talm.).[5] They were arranged in terrace-form, one court being always higher than another, and the temple highest of all, so that they could easily be seen from any part of the city or vicinity, and so presented a very imposing appearance (Mark xiii. 2, 3).—The *outermost purlieu* (הר הבית [Talm.], *τὸ ὄρος τοῦ ἱεροῦ*, 1 Macc. xiii. 52; *τὸ πρῶτον ἱερόν*, *τὸ ἔξωθεν ἱερόν*, in Joseph.), which was surrounded with a high wall (*a*) with several gates (*b*) on its west side,[6] had porticos running all the way round, those on three of the sides having double, and that on the fourth or south side having triple piazzas (*e*). These porticos were covered over with roofs of cedar supported on marble pillars 25 cubits in height,[7] and were paved with mosaic work. This *outer court*, which even Gentiles and unclean persons were at liberty to tread, had on its inner side, and extending all the way round, a rampart (חיל) surrounded with a stone parapet (סורג, *δρύφακτος λίθινος*), *i.e.* a mound (*h*) 10 cubits broad, the top of which was reached by a flight of steps, fourteen in number, and which constituted the exterior boundary of the square (*B*) that formed the *inner temple area* (*τὸ δεύτερον ἱερόν*, as Josephus calls it).[8] Passing through this elevated outer space, we come to the wall by which the temple with its inner courts was completely surrounded and enclosed. Measured on the outside, this wall was 40 cubits high, while on the inside it was only 25 cubits in height, the level of the space within being so much higher—a circumstance which rendered it necessary to have a stair to reach the gate (*i*) opening into it.[9] Passing through the east gate, we come next to the *women's court* (עזרת נשים, *γυναικωνῖτις*), a square space measuring 135 cubits (*c*), which was separated from the *court of the Israelites* by a wall on the west side, and which had gates on the north and south sides for the women to enter by. Those gates, which including those on the east and west sides were four in all, had rooms built over them to a height of 40 cubits, each room being ornamented with a couple of pillars 12 cubits in circumference, and provided with double doors 30 cubits high and 40 wide, and overlaid with gold and silver plates. The eastern gate, called in the

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Talmud *Nicanor's*[10] or the *great* gate (*k*), and made of Corinthian brass, enjoyed the distinction of being regarded as the principal gate on account of its greater height (50 cubits) and width (40 cubits), and because of its being more richly ornamented with precious metals.[11] Round the walls of the court into which the gates just mentioned led, ran porticos with a single piazza, the roof of which rested on lofty and highly-finished pillars.[12] The west gate of this court formed the eastern entrance to the court of the Israelites (*o*), which, from being so much higher, had to be reached by a stair of fifteen steps. Passing through this gate, we would come to the *inner* or *great court*, which (measuring from east to west) was 187 cubits long, and (measuring from south to north) 135 wide, and which surrounded the temple itself (*D*). On its inner walls were various rooms or chambers (*q*) for storing the utensils[13] required for worship, while it had three gates on its north and three on its south side, being thus furnished with seven entrances in all.[14] On the eastern side there was a stone balustrade 1 cubit high, which partitioned off a space 11 cubits deep (or long, measuring from east to west), and that extended over the whole breadth of the court. This space was for the Israelites (for the *court* of the *Israelites*), being thus separated from the rest of the space which went to form the court of the priests (*p*). In this latter stood[15] the *altar of burnt-offering*[16] (*r*), 30 cubits in length and breadth and 15 cubits high, and made of unwrought stone, and, toward the west, the temple proper, and, between both (the temple and the altar), but somewhat to the south, the *laver* (*s*) for the use of the priests.[17]

[5] This discrepancy may be owing to the fact that the measurements are given in such round numbers as approximated most nearly to the actual area, though, at the same time, the statements of the Talmud are nearer the truth than the stadium of Josephus. The stadium is understood to be equivalent to 600 English feet; but 500 cubits, reckoning $1\frac{3}{4}$ English feet to the cubit, would give 875 feet. Now the Haram, which is not exactly a regular oblong, measures on its south side 927 feet, on the north 1020 (therefore 93 more), on the east 1320, and on the west 1617 feet (Rosen, *d. Haram*, p. 3). But that the area of the temple was coextensive, on the west, south, and east, with the present limits of the Haram,

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as Robinson tried to prove, is also recognised by Rosen (p. 4 f.) as being beyond all question.

[6] There is some uncertainty as to the number and situation of those gates. Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 11. 5) mentions four as being on the west side, one opening into the royal fort on Mount Zion, two leading to the lower part of the city, and one opening upon a long stair leading to the upper portion of the city, adding, at the same time, that on the fourth side of this area, *i.e.* the south side, there were also gates towards the middle (πύλας ἀνὰ μέσον). Josephus makes no mention of any on the east and north sides. We cannot regard the explicit statement of this historian as in any way affected by what is said in the Talmud (*Middoth* i. 3) as to there being five gates, two on the south side and the rest on the other three sides. It is impossible that there could have been any gateways leading into the temple area on the south, south-east, and south-west sides, where, according to the most recent investigations of Lieutenant Warren, the wall was carried to a height of from 137 to 160 feet above the level of the valley, so that Josephus might well say without exaggeration, that it made one giddy to look down from the porches in the area above into the depth below. The πύλαι, which Josephus mentions as being on the south side, were not entrances into the exterior court, but formed "the large subterranean doorway that at the present day still exists under the Mosque el Aksha, and which was first explored by Catherwood, and subsequently visited and described by Nolcott and Tipping—a double doorway (see Table iv. *d*) with two arches and a row of pillars in the middle, and extending along the whole length of the passage" (Robinson, *Topog. of Jerusalem*, vol. iii. p. 221).

Those πύλαι probably opened into the subterranean crypts of the temple, to which allusion is likewise made in the *cavati sub terra montes* of Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 12, and which are described at length in Robinson's *Paläst.* iii. (Eng. ed. p. 222 f.), and by Tobler, *Topog. v. Jerus.* i. p. 482 ff.

A second gate, situated more to the west, is said by Rosen (*Haram*, p. 7) to have belonged originally to the same building. —One with which we are rather more familiar is the so-called *golden gate*, in the middle of the eastern portion of the enclosing wall, and to which, judging from its architecture, Rosen, p. 16, is disposed to ascribe a Christian-Byzantine origin; while de Vogüé, as above, p. 64, looks upon it as a Byzantine structure, inside of which he also discovered the ruins of two high colossal door-posts. According to this, it is not impossible that, as early as pre-exilic times, when the court of Solomon's temple did not reach so far as the present enclosing wall, there may

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have been a pathway at this point leading up from Bethany to Moriah. Robinson's view (vol. iii. *Topog.* p. 229), that this gate was connected with Fort Antonia, that it led out from it into the open country, is decidedly untenable. The outer temple wall had no gates on its north side (comp. Rob. p. 95, and Rosen, p. 38). According to Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 11. 7, there was no communication between Fort Antonia and the court of the temple except through a subterranean passage.—The only entrances, then, into the outer court of the temple that we have left, are the four gates mentioned by Josephus as being on the west side, the southernmost of which opened on the bridge, referred to in note 5 of § 27 as leading to the covered colonnade on Mount Zion, while the others are to be looked for somewhere to the north of this one. With regard to this last, which opened upon a stair leading to the valley below, Rosen conjectures, p. 39, that it had its portal gate in the enclosing wall at the foot of the stair, where the lintel may still be seen, outside the Borak Mosque. On this hypothesis, however, it is difficult to account for the arch (a portion of the ruins of a bridge) that at present spans the pool of Borak, for Rosen observes with regard to it, p. 24, that it is so much of a piece with the oldest masonry of the enclosing wall, that it is impossible to doubt that both were built at the same period. Still more difficult is it to agree with Diestel in placing this gate at the southern corner of the west side of the wall.

[7] Joseph. *de bell. jud.* v. 5. 2: *διπλαῖ μὲν αἱ στοαὶ πᾶσαι, κίονες δὲ αὐταῖς εἰκοσιπέντε πηχῶν τὸ ὕψος ὑφιστήκεισαν, μονόλιθοι λευκοτάτης μαρμάρου κεδρίνοις δὲ φατνώμασιν ὠρόφωντο . . . καὶ πλατεῖαι μὲν ἦσαν ἐπὶ τριάκοντα πήχεις.* According to *Antiq.* xv. 11. 5, "There stood on the south side the royal porch (*f*) with its triple passages, and reaching all the way along from the east to the west corners of the valley. It was the most remarkable work the sun ever shone upon. No one could look down from the pinnacle of it without becoming giddy, the building was so high and the valley so deep. The structure consisted of four rows of pillars, the distance between the rows being the same from end to end. The fourth row was inserted half-way into the enclosure wall, so that, strictly speaking, it was composed of a line of half-pillars. The pillars were so thick that it took three men with their hands joined to enclose them, while they were 27 feet in height and rested upon double pedestals. They numbered 162 in all, and had Corinthian capitals of beautiful workmanship. Between the four rows were three passages, two of them being of the same width, viz. 30 feet, while they were one stadium in length and more than 50 feet in height.

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But the centre passage was one half wider, and as much again higher than the other two, for it rose very considerably above them. The roofs consisted of crossbars, variously decorated with carved work, the centre roof being loftier than those of the two side passages. The pillars and the beams, resting upon them, were let into the enclosure wall, and the whole finished in the most careful manner possible." Hirt (p. 16), who thinks that the above figures are not correct, prefers to take 164 as the number of the pillars, with 41 in each row, and 44 feet as representing the height, so that, including capitals, pedestals, and the beams above, the passages would be some 60 feet in height. It is in this court that we must also look for the στοὰ Σολομῶνος (John x. 23; Acts iii. 11), to be further identified with the στοὰ ἀνατολική which Josephus (*Antiq.* xx. 9. 7) regards as forming part of the exterior portion of the sanctuary, and which he ascribes to Solomon (*g*). It was built, over a deep gorge, on a wall of white hewn stone, 400 cubits high. It is on this porch that some profess to find the πτερύγιον τοῦ ἱεροῦ, Matt. iv. 5, while others look for it on the royal porch, and others again prefer to identify it with the balustrade on the roof of the temple itself.—Into this outer portion of the temple area, which Christian archæologists call the court of the Gentiles, the Rabbinical writers introduce a synagogue (comp. Luke ii. 46, and Deyling's *Observatt. sac.* iii. p. 221 ff.), and rooms for the Levites to sleep and take their meals in. It was here, too, that the temple market was held, where animals were sold for sacrificial purposes, and money was exchanged for paying the temple tribute with (Matt. xxi. 12 f.; John ii. 14 f.).

[8] According to Josephus, *de bell. jud.* v. 5. 2, pillars were ranged along this parapet at a certain distance from each other, on which were inscriptions, partly in Greek and partly in Latin, warning those who were not Jews to abstain from entering farther within the precincts of the sanctuary (according to vi. 2. 4) upon pain of death. An inscription of this sort has recently been found in Jerusalem by the French Consul Clermont-Ganneau, which runs as follows: Μηδένα ἀλλογενῆ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν δρυφάκτου καὶ περιβόλου, ὃς δ' ἂν ληφθῇ ἑαυτῷ αἴτιος ἔσται διὰ τὸ ἐξακολουθεῖν θάνατον.

[9] Josephus, *de bell. jud.* v. 5. 2, says: "After mounting fourteen steps, we came to a space 10 cubits wide, reaching as far as the wall, and quite level. From this, again, another stair of five steps led up to the gates." This, however, is incompatible with his statement as to the height of the wall, as measured on the outside and inside respectively. For if we subtract the 25 cubits of the inside measurement from the 40 of the outside,

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there will remain 15 cubits for the stair, for which five steps would not have been sufficient. Even were we, with Winer (*Realwörtb.* ii. p. 581), to include the fourteen steps leading to the top of the rampart, and thus assume the number to have been 14 + 5 = 19, the steps would still be unnaturally deep, while, according to *Middoth* ii. 3, each of them was only half a cubit deep and the same in breadth. The numbers in Josephus must therefore have got corrupted, and accordingly Hirt (p. 13) proposes that we should read 30 instead of 40 cubits. But there is little to be gained by this, because we are neither at liberty to count the fourteen and the five steps together, nor, with Hirt, to take the fourteen steps leading to the top of the rampart as representing the height of the inner court above the level of the rampart. If the statement as to the πεντέβαθμοι κλίμακες is to be held as correct, then the height of the level of the inner court above the surface of the rampart can only have amounted to about 3 cubits, while the wall enclosing this inner court would, on its inner side, appear to have been only 3 cubits lower than the outside (measuring from the level of the rampart). But, according to *Middoth* ii. 3, there was a stair with twelve steps leading up to the court of the women.

[10] Comp. Mischna, *Middoth* i. 4, ii. 6; *Joma* iii. 2; *Schekalim* vi. 3, etc.; and L'Empereur's note on *Midd.* i. 4. According to *Midd.* ii. 3, the gates, with the exception of the eastern one, were only 20 cubits high and 10 wide.

[11] Comp. Josephus, *de bell. jud.* v. 5. 3. This eastern gate (that of Nikanor) was undoubtedly the θύρα τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἡ λεγομένη ὡραία mentioned in Acts iii. 2, and which Meyer in his note on this passage erroneously describes as situated "on the east side of the outermost court of the temple."

[12] In the four corners of the women's court rooms (*m*) were built: the דיר העצים, where the wood was kept that was considered unfit for burning on the altar (*Edajoth* viii. 5); the לשכת המצורעים, where those affected with leprosy washed themselves (*Neg.* xiv. 8); the לשכת בית שמניא, a room for storing sacrificial wine and oil; and לשכת הנזירים, where the Nazarites shaved their hair and cooked the flesh of the consecration sacrifices. Comp. Reland, *Antiq. sac.* i. 8. 11.—Further, according to Joseph. *de bell. jud.* v. 5. 2, it was here too, inserted in some of the pillars of the porch, that the thirteen alms-boxes (*n*) were placed, called in Mischna, *Schekal.* vi. 1, שופרות, and described by the Gemara on *Schekal.* ii. 1 as arcæ incurvatæ, angustæ supra, latæ infra propter deceptores. Comp. Reland, as above. May we venture to suppose that these are to be identified with the γαζοφυλάκιον mentioned in Mark xii. 41, Luke xxi. 1? The circumstance that Josephus (as above, and vi. 5. 2) uses the

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plural γαζοφυλακίοις does not prove that they were different, for in *Antiq.* xix, 6. 1, he makes use of the singular as well.

[13] In the Mischna, *Midd.* v. 2, three are mentioned as being on the north side: the salt room, the cell parva, where the skins of the sacrifices were salted, and the room in which the victims were washed; and three on the south side: the room for the wood, the room Gola, from the well in which the water for the altar was taken, and the chamber Gazith, where the Sanhedrim held its sittings. Comp. Reland, as above, i. 9. 6.

[14] In *Middoth* i. 4, seven gates are mentioned, three being toward the north, three toward the south, and one toward the east. When, on the other hand, Josephus (*de bell. jud.* v. 5. 2) speaks of four gates being on the north, four on the south, and two on the east sides, he must have meant the three that lead into the women's court to be included, as may be seen from *Antiq.* xv. 11. 6. Similarly, again, in *Middoth* ii. 6 mention is made of four toward the north, four toward the south, and one toward the east, the whole of the gates leading from the outer to the inner court being here enumerated.

[15] According to Josephus, *de bell. jud.* v. 5. 6, this altar was 15 cubits high, about 50 in length, and the same in breadth (Rufinus represents it as having been 40 cubits long and as many broad); and, according to *Middoth* iii. 1: Altare fuit quaquaversum 32 cubitorum; exsurgens in cubitum et in cubitum coarctatum, quod erat fundamentum (יסוד), deprehendebatur esse quaquaversum 30 cubitorum; ascendit 5 cubitis et coarctabatur in cubitum, qui est circuitus (סובב), deprehendebatur esse 28 cubitorum quaquaversum. Locus cornuum undique unius cubiti, deprehendebatur (igitur quod remanebat) esse quaquaversum 26 cubitorum. Locus ambulationis sacerdotum hinc inde unius cubiti, deprehendebatur locus pyræ (המערכה) cubitorum 24 quaquaversum. On the strength of this description, which is not particularly clear, several archæologists have assumed that, from the second stage (סובב) upwards, the altar was only 28 cubits square; but that after deducting from the surface a cubit on each side for the horns, and likewise a cubit all round for the portion on which the priests walked, there would remain a space of 24 cubits square available for the hearth. Comp. Reland, as above, i. 9. 10. But l'Empereur (note on *Midd.* as above) and others more correctly assume that there were three steps or stages round the altar, so that the walk for the priests would be some 2 cubits below the level of the hearth. On the south side was situated the sloping ascent to the altar, composed of rough stones similar to those of which the altar itself was made up (as enjoined in Ex. xx. 25), and 32 cubits high and 16 wide.—At the foot of the south-west horn

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there was a pipe with two openings, for the purpose of catching the blood that was sprinkled on the left side of the altar and conveying it through a subterranean conduit down to the Kedron. At the foot of the altar was a trench into which the drink-offerings flowed. Comp. Winer, *Realwörtb.* i. p. 195 f., and the literature of this whole subject as there given.

[16] Comp. *Middoth* iii. 6 and l'Empereur's note.

[17] At the north-west part of the priests' court stood the vaulted בית המוקד, where the officiating priests could go to warm themselves and sleep overnight, and having at its corners four rooms in which to keep the lambs for the daily sacrifice, to prepare the shewbread, etc., and which was provided with a private door that opened into the חיל. *Middoth* i. 5 ff.; *Tamid* i. 1, iii. 3. Comp. Reland, as above, i. 9. 7.

§ 29. *The Temple Proper.*

The temple (*e*) itself (ὁ *ναός*) stood higher still than the court of the priests, from which it was approached by a flight of steps twelve in number. It was situated in the western portion of the inner court, and on the north-west part of the temple mount.[1] It was built on new foundations (Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 11. 3) of massive blocks of white marble,[2] richly ornamented with gold on the inside and the outside as well. Its length and height, including the porch, was 100 cubits, the width (from south to north) 60 (or 70) cubits,[3] while on each side of the vestibule there was a wing or shoulder 20 (15) cubits wide, so that the total width of this part of the building (the vestibule), measuring from the outside, would be 100 cubits.[4]

The porch (*t*) measured on the inside was 10 cubits deep (or long, measuring from east to west), 50 wide, and 90 in height, had a wide open gateway 70 cubits high and 25 wide, without gates upon it, and within it was quite covered over with gold.[5]—The interior of the temple was divided into the *holy place* (*v*), and the holy of holies (*z*). The entrance to the holy place was through a gateway over which was hung a variegated Babylonian curtain into which the four sacred colours were wrought, and also by two entrances with folding-doors, 55 cubits high and 16 wide, which stood always open, and over the top of which there was suspended a huge golden vine with clusters as large as

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the size of a man. On the inside, the holy place was 40 cubits long, 20 wide and 60 in height, and contained one golden candlestick (*y*), a single table for the shewbread (*w*), and the altar of incense (*x*).[6] A wooden partition, provided with a doorway and a curtain over it, divided it from the holy of holies, which was 20 cubits long and 60 high, and was completely empty.[7] — According to the measurements just given, there must have been a free space of 10 cubits on the top of the porch, and of 40 on the top of the holy place and the holy of holies. The former space was undoubtedly taken up with the roofing, but on the latter upper rooms (עליות) were erected.[8] As in the case of Solomon's temple, siderooms three storeys high (*οἶκοι τρίστεγοι*) were built on to the sides of the main structure (*bb*). Those buildings, which occupied the south, west, and north sides of the temple, were, measuring on the inside, 10 cubits wide and 60 cubits high (taking the whole three storeys together), so that the sanctuary itself must have overtopped them by some 40 cubits.[9] Then, in the last place, as regards the roof, it was a sloping one with spikes of gilded metal placed all along the ridge.[10]

[1] Following Josephus, *de bell. jud.* v. 5. 4: *αὐτὸς δ' ὁ ναὸς κατὰ μέσον κείμενος, τὸ ἅγιον ἱερὸν, δώδεκα βαθμοῖς ἦν ἀναβατός*, Hirt places the temple in the centre of the entire area, and consequently he feels himself compelled to question the existence of the royal portico with its triple passage, as otherwise there would not be sufficient space left for it (p. 18). But the somewhat vague expression *κατὰ μέσον* cannot be supposed to warrant any assumption of so violent a character. According to *Middoth* ii. 1, the temple building stood upon the north-west part of the temple mount. Maximum spatium erat ab austro, proximum ab occidente, tertium ab aquilone, minimum vero ab occidente. Eo loco ubi majus erat spatium, major erat ejus usus.

[2] According to Josephus, *de bell. jud.*, they were blocks of marble that, in some instances, were 45 (?) cubits long, 6 wide, and 5 thick.

[3] Josephus, as above, sec. iv.: *Τὸ μὲν κατὰ πρόσωπον ὕψος τε καὶ εὖρος ἴσον, ἀνὰ πήχεις ἑκατόν.* On the other hand, according to *Antiq.* xv. 11. 3, the temple as built by Herod was 100 cubits wide, while the height was 20 cubits more, though the 20 cubits extra are said to have been afterwards lost in consequence of a subsidence of the foundations, which Hirt (p. 10)

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justly characterizes as a fable. The statement as to the height having been 120 cubits is to be traced entirely to the circumstance that, in his address to the people, Herod happened to say that the post-exilian temple, which was 60 cubits high, still wanted 60 cubits of its due height (*Antiq.* xv. 11. 1).

[4] Josephus, *de bell. jud.* v. 5. 4: Κατόπιν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα πήχεσι στενότερος· ἔμπροσθεν γὰρ ὥσπερ ὦμοι παρ' ἑκάτερον εἰκοσιπήχεις διέβαινον, *i.e.* the temple, was about 40 cubits narrower toward the back; for at the front (the porch) both the sides projected like shoulders to a distance of 20 cubits beyond the sides of the rest of the temple. Similarly *Middoth* iv. 7: *Porticus* fano amplius erat ac latius quindecim cubitis a septentrione, et quindecim cubitis a meridie; nomen iis secespitarum repositorium (בית החליפות, *i.e.* house of the butcher's knife) quia eo congerebant secespitas (*u*). Templum erat augustum a parte posteriori sed latum ab anteriori, referebatque leonis figuram, quia dictum est: vae Ariel, Ariel, etc. (Isa. xxix. 1).

[5] Josephus, as above: Ὁ πρῶτος οἶκος προὔκειτο καὶ διηνεκὴς εἰς τὸ ὕψος, ἀνατεινόμενος μὲν ἐπὶ ἐνενήκοντα πήχεις, μηκυνόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ διαβαίνων ἐπὶ εἴκοσιν. According to this, the length (measuring from south to north), or, strictly speaking, the breadth was 50 cubits, while the passage through (the space extending from the entrance on to the door of the holy place), or what we should call the depth, was 20 cubits. Winer (*Realwörtb.* ii. p. 583 f.) erroneously takes the expression μηκυνόμενος as referring to the length from east to west, and thereby makes Josephus contradict himself. And yet the statement as to the depth being 20 cubits cannot be correct either, as measured on the inside it can only have been 10 cubits, always assuming that the whole building was only 100 cubits long, viz. 10 cubits for the porch, 40+20 for the holy place and the holy of holies, 10 for the buildings joined on to the back, and 20 for the thickness of the four walls, the two inside and two outside walls, for we are to understand the 100 cubits as representing the length when measured on the outside. This pretty nearly coincides with the Talmudic statements in *Middoth* iv. 7, where 11 cubits are given as the length of the porch, 40 as that of the holy place, and 20 as that of the holy of holies, while behind the latter there is a space for which a depth of 6 cubits is allowed, the remaining 23 cubits being allowed for the thickness of the outside and inside walls. There is another discrepancy between Josephus and the Talmud in regard to the size of the porch doorway, which in *Midd.* iii. 7 is alleged to have been only 40 cubits high and 20 wide.

[6] Josephus, *de bell. jud.* v. 5. 4: Ὄντος δὲ ἤδη τοῦ ναοῦ διστέγου,

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ταπεινότερα τῆς ἔξωθεν ὄψεως ἡ ἔνδον ἦν, καὶ θύρας εἶχε χρυσᾶς πεντηκονταπήχεις τὸ ὕψος, εὖρος δ' ἐπικαίδεκα. Πρὸ δὲ τούτων ἰσόμηκες καταπέτασμα, πέπλος ἦν Βαβυλώνιος, ποικίλτος ἐξ ὑακίνθου καὶ βύσσου, κόκκου τε καὶ πορφύρας, θαυμαστῶς μὲν εἰργασμένος, and § 5: τούτου (of the interior portion of the ναός) τοίνυν τὸ μὲν ὕψος ἐξήκοντα πηχῶν καὶ τὸ μῆκος ἴσον, εἴκοσι δὲ πηχῶν τὸ πλάτος ἦν. According to *Midd.* iv. 1, the door leading into the holy place was only 20 cubits high and 10 wide, while the height of the holy place itself in the inside was only 40 cubits (*Midd.* iv. 6). On this point the statements of Josephus are manifestly more correct, because yielding a better proportion, inasmuch as for the upper rooms (τὸ ὑπερῷον μέρος) they allow a space 40 cubits high, including the roof. It is still doubtful whether the golden vine was suspended over the entrance to the porch or over the door leading into the holy place. According to *Midd.* iii. 8, it was placed *inter parietes Pronai et Sancti* (comp. Reland, as above, i. 9. 23). On the other hand, Hirt (p. 10) and Winer (*Realwörtb.* ii. p. 586), following Josephus, *Antiq.* xv. 11. 3, and *de bell. jud.* v. 5. 4, favour the view that it hung over the entrance to the porch. But Josephus does not expressly say so, either in the purely general account in the former of those passages, or in the more minute one of the latter, which runs thus: "the inner gate (ἡ διὰ τοῦ οἴκου πύλη) was entirely covered with gold," and then it goes on to say: εἶχε δὲ καὶ τὰς χρυσᾶς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμπέλους, ἀφ' ὧν βότρυες ἀνδρομήκεις κατεκρέμαντο. As regards the object itself here in question, it must not be forgotten that ἄμπελος is also used in the sense of a vine branch. According to the Mischna, the whole representation was formed, bit by bit, out of gold that from time to time had been presented to the temple. This vine was, besides, a representation in a plastic form of the well-known symbol of the prophets, Jer. ii. 21; Ezek. xix. 10 (Joel i. 7), and others; comp. Hävernick's *Ezek.* p. 210; Winer, *Realwörtb.* ii. p. 586, note.

[7] According to *Midd.* iv. 7, the partition-wall (מרקסין) was a cubit in thickness; while the Rabbinical writers maintain that there were two veils over the entrance to the holy of holies. It was this veil (καταπέτασμα) that was rent on the occasion of Christ's crucifixion (Matt. xxvii. 51), and not the one hung before the holy place, as Hug (*Ztschr. f. d. Erzbisth. Freib.* v. p. 56), on grounds of an utterly futile character, would have us believe. That the holy of holies was entirely empty is distinctly affirmed by Josephus, *de bell. jud.* v. 5. 5. Where the ark should have stood, nothing but a stone (*aa*) was to be found. Comp. § 27, note 3.

[8] For a fuller account of those upper rooms, see l'Empereur's note on *Midd.* iv. 5.

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[9] Josephus, *de bell. jud.* v. 5. 5 : Περὶ τὰ πλευρὰ τοῦ κάτω ναοῦ δι' ἀλλήλων ἦσαν οἶκοι τρίστεγοι πολλοὶ καὶ παρ' ἑκάτερον εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πύλης εἴσοδοι· and *Antiq.* xv. 11. 3 : Τὸ μὲν ἔνθεν καὶ ἔνθεν (τοῦ ναοῦ) ταπεινότατον, ὑψηλότατον δὲ τὸ μεσαίτατον.—According to *Midd.* iv. 3, those three storeys contained thirty-eight rooms (תאים) in all, fifteen on each side, five, that is, in each storey, while at the back there were eight, *i.e.* three in the lowermost and the middle storeys respectively, and two in the third or uppermost (*bb*). Access to the middle and uppermost storeys was gained by means of a winding stair (*cc*).

[10] According to *Midd.* iv. 6, the balustrade surrounding the roof was 3 cubits high, while there was upon the roof itself a "scarecrow" (בלה עורב) a cubit in height. According to Josephus, *de bell. jud.* v. 5. 6, the κορυφή was studded with golden (*i.e.* highly-gilded iron) spikes (ὄβελοι), with a view to prevent the birds from sitting upon the roof and defiling it. Michaelis conceives of these spikes as having served the purpose of lightning conductors.

This temple, built no doubt in a style of unbounded magnificence, though displaying but a small appreciation of sacred symbolism, this temple, in the porches and courts of which our Saviour when visiting Jerusalem often preached the gospel of God's kingdom to His disciples and the people, was not destined to fulfil the high expectations of him who built it in the hope that it would form a monument by which his name would be perpetuated for ever. The spirit of rebellion which had taken possession of the hearts of the people, alienated as they now were from the living God, began as early as the days of Archelaus to turn the courts of the temple into scenes of tumult and bloody atrocities (Josephus, *Antiq.* xvii. 9. 3), which were repeated over and over again (Josephus, as above, x. 2, *de bell. jud.* iv. 5. 1), till ere long they brought about the fearful catastrophe in which, along with the destruction of Jerusalem, the sanctuary itself, that had at length degenerated into a den of murderers, was overtaken by the fatal judgment foretold by the Lord of the temple in Matt. xxiv. 1, 2, Mark xiii. 1, 2, and burnt to the ground, and that, too, notwithstanding the special desire on the part of the Emperor Titus that this magnificent structure should be preserved. The sacred utensils that were found in it, viz. the golden table (for the shewbread), the golden candlestick, and the book of the law, were removed to Rome

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by the conqueror, where they were brought out and carried in the triumphal procession that took place immediately after; while the table and the candlestick, along with a couple of *tubæ*, were carved upon a triumphal arch that was subsequently erected in honour of this victory.[11] But as for the temple itself, not one stone was left standing upon another that had not been thrown down.[12]

[11] See above, p. 7, ii. 2.

[12] A condensed history of this temple is given in Winer's *Realwörtb.* ii. p. 586 ff.; while for the later fortunes of the site of the temple, comp. Robinson, *Paläst.* [Eng. ed. vol. i. pp. 365–433]; Krafft, *Die Topogr. Jerus.* p. 68 ff.; and Tobler, *Topogr. Jerus.* i. p. 459 ff.

§ 30. *The Synagogues.*

Along with the temple, though independently of it, there came into existence, subsequent to the exile, special houses of prayer called synagogues,[1] *συναγωγαί*, בָּתֵּי הַכְּנֶסֶת, also *προσευχαί* or *προσευκτήρια*,[2] the origin of which cannot be historically determined with anything like precision,[3] though in Christ's day they were to be met with, not only in every town in Palestine, but likewise in all foreign towns in which Jews happened to be resident.[4] At first, as is the case in many places still, it was the practice to hold meetings for reading and meditating upon God's word only in some commodious apartment in private houses, but for this purpose special buildings were afterwards erected, the construction and style of which differed in different localites and in different ages.[5]—The only things essentially requisite to constitute a synagogue were: (*a*) *a book chest* (תֵּיבָה, אָרוֹן, also called הֵיכָל) in which to keep the rolls containing the sacred writings, and placed on that side of the building that was turned towards Jerusalem; (*b*) a *desk* or pulpit (בִּימָה, *βῆμα*, or מִגְדָּל), usually elevated a little; (*c*) *seats* for the congregation, those in the front row (*πρωτοκαθεδρίαι*, Matt. xxiii. 6) being allocated to the scribes, while those for the men, again, were kept separate from those for the women; (*d*) one or more *candlesticks*, which were lighted on the Sabbath and festival days.[6]—The synagogues as a rule were built and kept up by the congregation itself,

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though this expense was not unfrequently defrayed by well-to-do private individuals, and even by Gentiles who happened to be favourably disposed toward Judaism (Luke vii. 5).[7] Every synagogue, again, had always (*a*) a *president* (רֹאשׁ הַכְּנֶסֶת, *Joma* vii. 1; *ἄρχων τῆς συναγωγῆς*, *ἀρχισυνάγωγος*, Luke viii. 41, 49, xiii. 14; Mark v. 35 ff.; Acts xviii. 8, 17), on whom devolved the duty of seeing to the maintenance of the building and of superintending the services of the synagogue; (*b*) a body of persons associated with the president, and known under the name of *elders* (זְקֵנִים, *πρεσβύτεροι*, Luke vii. 3; *ἀρχισυνάγωγοι*, Mark v. 22, Acts xiii. 15; also called פַּרְנָסִים *ποιμένες*, ממונים, *προεστῶτες*), whose function was to assist him in maintaining order and discipline in the synagogue; (*c*) an *officer* (חַזָּן, *ὑπηρέτης*, Luke iv. 20), whose duties were to open, close, and clean the synagogue, and also to hand up the books that were to be read; there was, besides, a special reader who conducted the service.[8]

[1] The principal work on the subject of synagogues is Vitringa's *De Synagoga vetere libri tres*, Franecq. 1696, 4to. Comp., besides, Carpzov's *Apparat.* p. 307 ff., and especially Leyrer in Herzog's *Encycl.* xv. pp. 299–314, and Schürer, *Neutestl. Zeitgesch.* pp. 468–474 [E. tr. vol. ii. p. 52 f.], as well as the copious statement of the literature of the subject given by both of the last-mentioned writers.

[2] The *προσευχαί* were originally different from the synagogues, being simply places for prayer in the open air and outside the towns, for the most part in the neighbourhood of running water, as the Jews were in the habit of washing themselves before engaging in prayer. This is quite evident from what is said in Acts xvi. 13: *ἐξήλθομεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως παρὰ ποταμὸν, οὗ ἐνομίζετο προσευχὴ εἶναι.* Joseph. *Antiq.* xiv. 10. 23: *καὶ τὰς προσευχὰς ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς τῇ θαλάσσῃ κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἔθος.* Epiphan. *Hær.* lxxx. 1: *καὶ προσευχῆς τόπος ἐν Σικίμοις* (Sichem) . . . . . *ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι κ.τ.λ.*, and others. But, because houses for prayer were frequently built upon such places as are here referred to, the name *προσευχαί* was also transferred to them; and hence we find in Josephus, for example, *Vita*, sec. liv., the following words: *κατὰ τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν οὖν ἡμέραν συνάγονται πάντες εἰς τὴν προσευχὴν, μέγιστο οἴκημα πολὺν ὄχλον ἐπιδέξασθαι δυνάμενον.* Comp. Vitringa, as above, p. 119 ff.

[3] No doubt Jewish tradition represents them as dating back as far as the time of the patriarchs (comp. Acts xv. 21; Onkelos on Gen. xxv. 27; Deut. xxxii. 10), but no trace of their

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existence is to be found in any part of the Old Testament, not even in the Books of the Maccabees, for the מוֹעֲדֵי אֵל of Ps. lxxiv. 8 were not synagogues at all; nor has 1 Macc. iii. 46 anything whatever to do with this matter.—We must carefully distinguish between the practice of meeting together to meditate in common upon God's word, and the instituting and building of houses of prayer specially designed for this purpose. The practice of meeting merely for mutual edification dates back to a period anterior to the exile, for, according to 2 Kings iv. 23, pious Israelites were in the habit of meeting together for the purpose in question, at the houses of the prophets, on Sabbath days and on festival occasions. Nor can there be any doubt but that this practice had developed yet further during the exile, now that the worship of the temple had ceased, although Ezek. viii. 1, xiv. 1, xx. 1, where the elders are represented as being present at the prophet's house, furnish no direct evidence of the fact. Further, it is no less certain that subsequent to the exile the practice spread yet more widely among the people after the solemn reading of the law by Ezra, recorded in Neh. viii., and in consequence of the efforts made by him to have them duly instructed in the knowledge of the law (Ezra vii. 6, 10). The erection, however, of special houses for the purpose in question owes its origin to that renewed zeal for the law that was awakened by the Maccabees in the course of their conflict with Antiochus Epiphanes, who aimed at the entire suppression of the Mosaic religion among their countrymen. Comp. Vitringa, as above, Lib. i. P. 2, C. xii.

[4] Comp. Matt. iv. 23, ix. 35; Mark i. 39; Luke iv. 15, 44; John xviii. 20; Mark i. 21, where there is express mention of one being in Capernaum, Luke vii. 5; John vi. 59, etc.; in Nazareth, Matt. xiii. 54; Mark vi. 2; Luke iv. 16; in cities of Syria, Asia Minor, and Greece, Acts ix. 2, xiii. 5, 14, 42, xiv. 1, xvii. 1, 10, xviii. 4, xix. 8. In Jerusalem there was a considerable number of them, there being, for example, a special one for the Hellenistic Jews (Libertiner and others), Acts vi. 9. The statement to the effect that there were 480 of them (*Megilla* f. lxxiii. 4), or 460 (*Hieros. Cthuboth* xxxv. 3), is in any case utterly unhistorical, these numbers, it may be, being only cabbalistic fancies extracted out of the word מלאתי, Isa. i. 21 (see Raschi on this passage).—According to the Talmud, a synagogue was required to be erected wherever ten Jews of full age happened to reside, because it would appear from Num. xiv. 27 that ten formed an עֵדָה.

[5] Philo and the *Jerus. Genara* speak of the great synagogue at Alexandria as having been particularly handsome (comp. Vitringa, as above, p. 276); while della Valle, as quoted in

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Jahn's *Bibl. Archæol.* iii. p. 284, gives a description of a beautiful one, that was built in the Oriental style, at Aleppo.

[6] See the full treatment of these matters according to the Rabbinical authorities in Vitringa, as above, p. 174 ff.

[7] Comp. Vitringa, as above, p. 240 ff.

[8] Vitringa discusses the subject of the president in every aspect of it in his *Archisynagogus observatt. novis illustr.*, Franecq. 1684, 4to. It was also the president's duty to select the person in the meeting who should read the law and give the address; comp. Luke vii. 16; Acts xiii. 15; and Vitringa *De Synag.* p. 696 ff.—Besides the president and the elders, there should be in every synagogue, according to Talmudic regulations: (1) the שְׁלִיחַ הַצִּבּוּר, *legatus ecclesiæ*, the official leader of the prayers of the congregation, though he might also be employed as secretary and deputy of the synagogue; (2) the חַזָּן, the *custodian* (warden); and (3) the *alms-gatherers*, although sometimes this duty was also included among those discharged by the Chassan. Comp. Vitringa, *De Synag.* p. 895 ff.

SECOND DIVISION.

THE SACRED OFFICIALS.

§ 31. *Their Appointment, Functions, Prerogatives, and Classification.*

The tribe of *Levi* was specially chosen by God for the purpose of entrusting to it the care and administration of holy things, and was by Moses set apart and consecrated to Jehovah as His peculiar property, instead of the male first-born of the whole nation, those first-born being replaced by the Levites, while all over and above the number required were ransomed at the rate of five shekels a head, and the proceeds given to the priests (Num. iii. and viii. 14–18).[1]

The *functions* of the whole tribe thus chosen were to preserve the law of Jehovah in all its integrity and purity, to see that its requirements were duly complied with, to dispense justice in accordance with its enactments, and to transmit it to posterity (Lev. x. 11; Deut. xxxi. 9-13, xxxiii. 10, 17, 18; comp. 2 Chron. xvii. 8 f., xxxv. 3; Neh. viii. 9; Ezek. xliv. 23; Mal. ii. 7 f.). Chosen, as they were,

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from among the whole people to be Jehovah's peculiar possession, the Levites did not obtain, like the rest of the tribes, any inheritance in the land of Canaan; for their portion was to be Jehovah Himself (Num. xviii. 20; Deut. x. 9, etc.), who ordained that they should have set apart for them four cities out of every tribe, therefore forty-eight in all, along with the necessary pasture for their cattle (Num. xxxv. 1–8).[2] Besides this, He assigned to them the tithes due to Him (Jehovah) out of the fruits of the field and from the flocks and herds (Lev. xxvii. 30–33 comp. with Num. xviii. 21–24), tithes of the first-fruits in the one case (Ex. xxiii. 19; Lev. ii. 14, xxiii. 17; Num. xviii. 12 f.; Deut. xxvi. 2), and of the first-born in the other (Ex. xiii. 12 ff.; Lev. xxviii. 26; Num. xviii. 15 ff.; Deut. xv. 19), as well as certain portions of the sacrificial offerings of the people (Num. xviii. 8–11, 19). All these did Jehovah assign to the Levites, as being His servants, for their provision and support.[3]

But the Levites did not all perform the same functions and enjoy the same prerogatives, these latter being all carefully arranged and classified. Out of the whole tribe it was the family of *Aaron* that was selected, and that, too, before the actual election took place, for the service of the priesthood (Ex. xxviii. 1 ff.), so that Aaron and, after him, the head of the house for the time being, was chosen to be high priest, while the ordinary priesthood was composed of his sons and lineal descendants. This classification corresponded with the two divisions of the sanctuary, in this respect, that the high priest alone was at liberty to officiate in the holy of holies, while the service in the holy place and at the altar in the court devolved upon the ordinary priests. Such other duties, however, as were not of a sacrificial and essentially holy character were discharged by a class of (unordained) Levites, who acted in the capacity of servants and assistants to the priests.—The nature of the consecration ceremony differed according to the classification just mentioned, while for the different orders separate abodes were also provided, and separate arrangements made for their maintenance and support.

[1] Not because the first-born, as such, had all along been in the habit of holding the office of the priesthood and discharging

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its duties, as the Rabbinical writers and many Christian scholars have assumed (comp. Selden, *de success. in pontif.* i. 1; Saubert, *de sacerdotibus*, i. 1, and others), but simply on the ground that the first-born ever since Israel's deliverance from Egypt had been dedicated to God (Ex. xiii. 2). For the truth is, the priesthood was not committed to the *Levites*, but, previous to *their* being appointed at all, it had been already conferred upon Aaron and his sons (Ex. xxviii. 1 ff.). Comp. Outram, *de sacrific.* i. 4; Spencer, *de legib. Hebr. rit.* i. 8. 2; Vitringa, *Observatt. sac.* ii. 2; Bähr, *Symbol.* ii. p. 4; and Oehler in Herzog (*Encycl.*), p. 349, and his *Theologie des alt. Test.* i. p. 310 ff. [E. tr. vol. i. p. 295 f.].

[2] A list of these cities is given in Josh. xxi. 9–42, and, with numerous divergences and many corruptions of their names, in 1 Chron. vi. 39–66. Comp. the author's *Comment. on the Book of Joshua.* Of the forty-eight cities in question, the thirteen that were situated in the tribes of Judah, Simeon, and Benjamin were reserved for the priests, so that only thirty-five fell to the share of the Levites as *places to dwell in.* The entire towns, however, with their fields and villages, did not become the property of the Levites, but continued to be the נַחֲלַת אֲחֻזָּה, the *hereditary possession* of the different tribes (Num. xxxv. 2; Josh. xxi. 12). What the Levites and the priests obtained as peculiarly theirs in the towns that had been assigned to them, was only such a number of houses as were found to be necessary for their accommodation, along with grazing places (מִגְרָשִׁים) in the suburbs of the towns, *i.e.* portions of the land surrounding the towns on which to pasture their cattle, and which were to extend as far out from the city walls as 1000 cubits in every direction (Num. xxxv. 4, 5). Comp. the author's comment. on Num. xxxv. 2–5; Bähr, as above, p. 50; and Oehler, as above, p. 352 f.

[3] "By this indirect method of drawing its revenues, the income of the sacred tribe, so far from being looked upon in the light of a charity, was regarded rather as something to be proud of. As Jehovah's servants, as being peculiarly His own, the Levites simply shared with Jehovah what belonged to Him as His own, while their fortunes, their existence, were thereby bound up as it were with the fortunes (*sit venia verbo*) of Jehovah Himself as regards His relations with the people. The more that He was recognised as the God of Israel, all the more was the existence of Levi guaranteed. Contempt of Jehovah and apostasy from Him necessarily meant want and misery for the Levites. Accordingly these latter would only be neglecting their own interests if they failed to promote the worship of Jehovah, and to do their utmost to discourage

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apostasy and idolatry." Bähr, *Symbol.* ii. p. 48, where it is at the same time shown, that while those incomes were by no means small, they were not too liberal either.

§ 32. *The Idea and Significance of the Israelitish Priesthood.*

Moses furnishes us with the key to the idea of the Old Testament priesthood[1] in Num. xvi. 5, where, on the occasion of Korah's rebellion against the special appointment of Aaron and his sons to the priesthood, he says: "To-morrow Jehovah will show who is His, and who is holy; and who it is that He will allow to come near Him: and him whom He chooseth for Himself will He allow to come near unto Him," *i.e.* in other words, to-morrow Jehovah will show who is to be priest. The idea of the priesthood, therefore, consists of three elements: the being chosen by or set apart for Jehovah as His own, the being holy, and the being allowed to come or to bring near. The being chosen or set apart as Jehovah's own forms the basis of the being holy and of the permission to approach Him, so that in the first there is expressed the fundamental condition, in the second the qualification, and in the third the function of the priesthood.[2] But according to Ex. xix. 5 f. it is also upon those three elements that the character of the whole covenant people is based. In order to give effect to the covenant made with Abraham, whereby the latter was to become a blessing for all nations (Gen. xii. 2 f.), God had chosen, from among all the nations of the world, the twelve tribes of Israel to be His own peculiar people (לְעַם סְגֻלָּה מִכֹּל־הָעַמִּים, Deut. vii. 6), that they might be a kingdom of priests and a holy nation, while in delivering them from Egypt and leading them to Mount Sinai, He had in fact brought them near to Himself (Ex. xix. 4–6). But, owing to the sinfulness of its nature, Israel's actual condition did not as yet harmonize with the idea on which its election to be God's holy people, to be a kingdom of priests, was based. When brought before Him at Sinai, they were unable to endure the immediate presence of the holy God, and begged Moses to act as their mediator (Ex. xx. 18 f.). It was therefore with the view of maintaining fellowship between

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the holy God and the sinful nation, of having the people's gifts and sacrifices brought before God on the one hand, and of having God's gifts, mercy, salvation, and blessing conveyed to the people on the other, that the Aaronic priesthood was instituted.—In pre-Mosaic times the father of a family (comp. Job i. 5) or the head of a tribe acted as the priest in his own family or tribe. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob built altars, offered sacrifices, and purified and consecrated themselves and their households (Gen. xii. 7, xiii. 18, xxvi. 25, xxxiii. 20, xxxv. 1, 2). Melchizedek combined kingship and priesthood in his own person (Gen. xiv. 18), while Jethro is not merely the spiritual, but also the civil head of Midian (Ex. ii. 16, iii. 1). Again, the priests mentioned in Ex. xix. 22 owed their position as such to natural superiority of rank, either as first-born or as elders. But this priesthood, based upon natural right, is of a different character from the election of Israel to be the people of God. As it is in virtue of the divine choice that Israel becomes a holy people and a kingdom of priests, so, again, it is by an act of the free favour of God that the priesthood is committed to one particular family in the chosen nation. God the Lord chooses Aaron and his sons to be His priests (לְכַהֲנוֹ־לִי Ex. xxviii. 1);[3] they receive the priesthood as a gift (Num. xviii. 7). In like manner, the whole tribe of Levi is by the free favour of God assigned to the priests of the family of Aaron to act as their servants and assistants in discharging the duties devolving upon them in the sanctuary.[4] Then the divine preference of the house of Aaron to any of the other families that might equally have claimed this privilege was confirmed by the miracle of the budding rod (Num. xvii.), the priesthood being at the same time secured to the descendants of Aaron as their heritage for all time coming. The qualification as regards holiness, again, was represented in outward form by the act of consecration and the sacred robes of office, and the permission to approach Jehovah by the fellowship with Him into which the priests were allowed to enter in the course of the various acts of worship.

[1] For the Israelitish priesthood, compare, besides the works of Saubert and Outram, mentioned at p. 14, the following of a more recent date: Bähr, *Symbolik*, ii. pp. 1–186 (*Das Cultusper-*

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sonal); Oehler, "Priesterthum im A. Test.," in Herzog, xii. pp. 174–187, and "Hoherpriester," *ibid.* vii. pp. 198–206, and his *Theol. des. A. Test.* i. p. 319 ff. [E. tr. vol. i. p. 292 f., vol. ii. p. 162 f.], and Küper, *das Priesterthum des A. Bundes,* Berl. 1865.

[2] Bähr (ii. p. 12) misapprehends the true relation of these three elements to each other, in so far as he prefers to take that of approaching Jehovah as the first and most comprehensive; the being chosen and set apart as Jehovah's own, as the second and more special; and the being holy, as the third and most specific of all.

[3] Although the fundamental idea involved in the word כהן is uncertain, yet it may be inferred with tolerable certainty from the Arabic Kâhinon, to which Firuzabadi, in the *Kamus,* attributes the sense of *qui administrat alicujus negotium* (not *qui surgit in alieno negotio,* according to Gesenius, *Thes.* ii. 561; comp., on the other hand, Fleischer in Delitzsch's *Jesaj.* p. 691 of the 2nd ed.), that its literal meaning is: to transact business for any one, to act for him, to represent him; and hence the use of the noun כֹּהֵן to denote not only the priest as representing the people before God, but also to designate certain high officials in the king's court, persons entrusted with the administration of some affair or other for the king, as in 2 Sam. viii. 18, xx. 26; 1 Kings iv. 5.

[4] As early as the time of Philo (*vita Mos.* p. 676 f.) the reason assigned for the choice of the Levites was the zeal they displayed against the worshippers of the golden calf. Similarly Spencer, *De legib. Hebr. rit.* i. 8. 2, p. 152; Saubert, *De sacerdott.* cap. ii., and others. But "the true reason is and always will be, a free choice on the part of Jehovah." Bähr, *Symb.* ii. p. 18. This unquestionably follows from God's own words addressed to Aaron and his sons, as given in Num. xviii. 7: "I have given your priest's office unto you as *a service of gift* (עֲבֹדַת מַתָּנָה);" and ver. 6, "Behold, I have taken your brethren, the Levites, from among the children of Israel; *to you they are given as a gift* for the Lord, to do the service of the tabernacle of the congregation." The faithful devotion to Jehovah displayed by the Levites in their opposition to the worshippers of the golden calf, only shows how far they desired to realize the ends for which, out of His free favour, God had chosen them. The same thing may be assumed with regard to the choice of Aaron for the priesthood (comp. Ex. iv. 14 ff.), and, consequently, that it did not fall upon him in consequence of his being related to Moses.

No one can approach the holy God and enter into fellowship with Him but one who is sinless. Now, as Aaron and

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his sons were stained by sin no less than the people whom they were to represent before God, and as the sanctity that was imparted to them through their consecration and the official robes they wore, as well as by all the other legal requirements which fitted them for serving at the altar, only presented sanctity of an outward character, it follows that all the prescriptions of the law with regard to the necessary qualifications for the priestly office can only have had a symbolical meaning. It was doubtless intended that, on the one hand, they should symbolize the immaculate and sinless character of those entrusted with the priesthood in this lower world, and, on the other, serve as a typical prefiguration of the perfect priesthood of the true and eternal High Priest, who was "holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners" (Heb. vii. 26), and through whose mediatorship the people of the covenant, too, was, in virtue of spiritual regeneration and sanctification of life, to be purged from sin, reconciled to God, and made partakers of the divine nature (2 Pet. i. 4), was to be raised to the dignity of being God's own holy people and a kingdom of priests, and fulfil the ultimate end of its divine calling and mission.

§ 33. *The Levites.*

The *Levites*[1] were divided into three families, the Gershonites, the Kohathites, and Merarites (Num. iii. 15 ff.), so called from the three sons of Levi, Gershon, Kohath, and Merari (Gen. xlvi. 11); and of the forty-eight cities set apart for the whole tribe they got thirty-five for themselves, while, as a provision for their maintenance, they obtained a tenth of the produce of the fields and flocks of the rest of the tribes, though, in turn, they were required to hand over a tenth of this to the priests (Num. xviii. 26). They were also required to be present at the tithe feasts and all the other sacrificial feasts (Deut. xii. 13, 18, xiv. 27, 29, xvi. 11).—They were chosen by the Lord for the purpose of serving (שֵׁרֵת) Aaron and his sons, and, on the part of the Israelites, they were assigned to Aaron as peculiarly his own (for נְתוּנִים), that on his behalf and that of the whole congregation that was before the tabernacle they should do such service as should be

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necessary in connection with the sanctuary and its furniture (Num. iii. 7–9, xviii. 2, 3, 6). However, they were forbidden on the pain of death to go near the furniture in the inner portion of the sanctuary or to approach the altar (Num. xviii. 3). Accordingly, the duties they had to perform during the journey in the wilderness were to take down and set up the sacred tent, and to attend to the transport of it and its veil-covered furniture when it was removed from place to place (Num. i. 51 and iv. 4 ff.; comp. above, § 22). So also when the people settled in Canaan, it was the duty of the Levites to guard the sanctuary, to open and close it, to look after the cleaning of it and the furniture, to prepare the shew-bread, and do whatever other baking was needed in connection with the sacrifices, to lead the vocal and instrumental music during worship, and to render such other assistance as the priests in the discharge of their own duties might happen to require of them; as, for example, in the slaughtering and skinning of the animals for sacrifice, in examining the lepers according to law, in looking after the temple stores, in building operations connected with the temple, and such like. In entering upon these duties, which they could only do when they were twenty-five or thirty years of age, they had to undergo a special purification by way of consecration, while the period during which they had to serve was limited to the fiftieth year of their age.[2]

[1] Comp. Oehler, "Levi, Leviten, Levitenstädte," in Herzog's *Cyclopædie*, viii. p. 347 ff., and his *Theologie des A. Test.* i. p. 314 ff. [E. tr. vol. i. p. 295 f.]; Staehelin, "Versuch einer Geschichte der Verhältnisse des Stammes Levi," in *ZDMG.* ix. p. 704 ff., and Delitzsch, "Leviten," in Riehm's *HWB.*

[2] The difference between Num. iv. 3, 23, 30, 35, 47, where it is stated that the Levites were to enter upon their duties in connection with the tabernacle in the thirtieth, and Num. viii. 29, where it is said that they were to do so in the twenty-fifth year of their age, may be simply enough reconciled by taking the regulation in Num. iv. as referring to the removal and transport of the tabernacle, and that in Num. viii. as referring to duties connected with the public services of the sanctuary after it had been erected in the land of Canaan. See the author's comm. on Num. viii. 29.

The *consecration* of the Levites, called טָהֵר, *to purify* (Num.

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viii. 6, 21), began with sprinkling them with *sin-water*,[3] and then the hair of the entire body was shaved off and their clothes were washed, the ceremony concluding with the offering of a consecration victim. They were required to present two young bullocks for sacrifice, whereupon they themselves were conducted to the front of the tabernacle where the whole congregation of the people was assembled. The congregation (in the persons of its representatives) then laid their hands upon them, which being done, the priests waved them (the Levites) before Jehovah as a wave-offering from the children of Israel, and thereby dedicated them to the Lord for the service of the sanctuary on the part of the congregation.[4] After this symbolical act of transference or dedication had taken place the two bullocks were slaughtered, with the hands of the Levites resting on their heads, and then offered in the usual way, the one as a sin-offering, the other as a burnt-offering, to make atonement for those who were being thus dedicated to the Lord (Num. viii. 5–22).

[3] It is uncertain what we are to understand exactly by the words מֵי חַטָּאת, *sin-water*, i.e. *water with which to purge from sin*. The view that simple pure water is to be understood, as Lundius, Carpzov (*Apparat.* p. 105), and others maintain, is precluded by the very terms employed to designate the water in question, pointing as they do to water that was specially prepared with a view to purging from sin, or that was calculated to produce this result. At the same time we must not suppose, with Raschi, Hengstenberg, *Christol.* iii. 583, and others, that it had anything to do with the sprinkling water prepared from the ashes of the red heifer (Num. xix.), nor, with Kurtz (*alttestl. Opferc.* p. 204), that it had any reference to the water of sprinkling prepared from blood and other ingredients for the purpose of purifying individuals and dwellings that had been affected with leprosy (Lev. xiv. 5 ff.), because the water being in both instances mixed with ingredients of a powerful character, and specially calculated to effect the particular kind of purification for which they were respectively used, would have been out of place in such a ceremony as that of purifying the Levites or purging them from sin. Probably what was meant was the water in the laver that stood in the court, which, just as in Num. v. 17, is called holy water, may in this instance be called sin-cleansing water, from the special use to which it is here applied. Comp. the author's comm. on Num. viii. 7, and Scholz, *Heil. Alterth.* i. p. 15.

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[4] The laying on of the hands expressed the intention on the part of the congregation to present the Levites to the Lord as an offering; while the act of presentation was duly ratified by the ceremony of the waving of the Levites, which consisted in this case in Aaron's solemnly moving them backwards and forwards in the direction of the altar.

§ 34. *The Priests.*

From among the whole people God chose as the only persons who were to enjoy the privilege of being His *priests*, the sons (descendants) of Aaron, Moses' elder brother, who through Amram was sprung from the Levite Kohath (Ex. vi. 18, 20, xxviii. 1). Of the four sons of Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar (Ex. vi. 23), the first two died without issue, having been put to death for burning strange fire upon the altar (Lev. x. 1 f.), so that the priesthood came to be invested in the descendants of Eleazar and Ithamar alone (Lev. x. 6). But of these, again, all were disqualified for serving as priests who had any physical defect or infirmity —the blind, the lame, the flat-nosed (חָרֵם, probably one who had a short, snub nose), those with limbs unduly long (שָׂרוּעַ, probably one who had any of his limbs too long, unshapely), the broken-footed, the broken-handed, the crookbacked, the lean and stunted (דַּק, *i.e.* the singularly lean), those who had a blemish in the eye, who were affected with scurvy, who had scab or any kind of eruption, and who had their stones broken.[1] Though, at the same time, all these derived their means of support from the altar as well as the other priests (Lev. xxi. 17–23).—The law does not prescribe any particular *age* for entering upon the duties of the priesthood. Possibly that which was fixed for the Levites was meant to apply to the priests as well.[2]—Of the Levitical cities, thirteen were assigned to the priests to reside in, while their *means of support* consisted of the tenth of the tithes that were drawn by the Levites from the first-fruits of the harvest (Lev. xxiii. 10), partly in the raw state in the shape of wheat, barley, grapes, figs, pomegranates, olives, and dates (Deut. viii. 8), and partly as prepared for ordinary consumption,— in the shape of bread (Lev. xxiii. 17 ff.), wine, oil, flour,

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groats,[3] even to the first-fruits of the sheep-shearing (Deut. xviii. 4). It further consisted of the male first-born, of which those of the human race were to be redeemed for five shekels each, while those of the unclean beast were to be redeemed for a sum fixed by the priest, with a fifth part of the value of the animal added thereto (Lev. xxvii. 26 f.; Num. xviii. 16). Those of the clean beasts, on the other hand, if they were without blemish, were offered in sacrifice, the priest receiving for his share the wave breast and the right shoulder (Num. xviii. 17). It further consisted of such lands or cattle as had been devoted (Lev. xxvii. 21; Num. xviii. 14), and lastly, of the skins of the burnt-offerings (Lev. vii. 8), of the flesh of the lambs presented along with the bread of the first-fruits as a thank-offering (Lev. xxiii. 20), of the breast and shoulder of all thank-offerings (Lev. vii. 34), and of such portions of the private sin- and trespass-offerings as were not consumed upon the altar, but which, as specially holy, were to be eaten by the priests alone, and that in the holy place (Lev. vii. 9; Num. xviii. 9 f.).

When ministering in the sanctuary, the priests were required to wear a prescribed *official dress*,[4] consisting of four parts, viz. (*a*) a long *coat with sleeves* (כְּתֹנֶת) made of fine diapered[5] linen (Ex. xxxix. 27); (*b*) a *cap* (מִגְבָּעָה) of linen, and probably resembling in shape the inverted calyx of a flower;[6] (*c*) *drawers, i.e.* short breeches (מִכְנְסֵי, Ex. xxviii. 42), reaching only from the loins to the thighs, and made of fine twined linen (Ex. xxxix. 28); and (*d*) a variegated *girdle* (אַבְנֵט) woven of the same four colours as were in the veil hung before the holy place (comp. Ex. xxviii. 40, 42, xxxix. 27–29); but they had nothing upon the feet, as they were not allowed to tread the sanctuary without having their feet bare.—When not officiating, they wore an ordinary dress.

The *functions of the priests*—described in Num. xviii. 3 "as a coming nigh the vessels of the sanctuary and the altar"—were, (*a*) in the *holy place*, to burn incense on the golden altar every morning and evening, to clean and trim the lamps, and light them every evening, and to put the shewbread upon the table every Sabbath; (*b*) in the *court*, to keep the fire constantly burning on the altar of burnt-offering (Lev. vi. 13), to clear away the ashes from the altar, to offer the morning and

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evening sacrifice, and bless the people after the daily sacrifice has been offered (Lev. ix. 22 ; Num. vi. 23–27), to wave the different portions of the sacrifices, to sprinkle the blood, and to put the various parts of the victims upon the altar and then burn them. Besides this, it was their duty to blow the silver trumpets and the jubilee horn at particular festival seasons, to inspect unclean persons, especially those who were leprous, and when so warranted to pronounce them clean (Lev. xiii. and xiv.), to declare the Nazarite released from his vow (Num. vi. 13), to administer the oath of purgation in the case of women suspected of adultery (Num. v. 15), and to appraise such things as were dedicated to the sanctuary. Finally, it also devolved upon them to instruct the people in the knowledge of the law, to act as a higher court of appeal in any difficult case (Deut. xvii. 8 ff., xix. 17, xxi. 5) that might be brought before them, and in time of war to address the troops, should it be thought necessary to do so, before they went into action (Deut. xx. 2 ff.).

They were ordained to the service of the priesthood by a solemn act of consecration (see § 36); and not only were they required to discharge all the duties of their office in a state of Levitical purity, but also to endeavour to maintain such a pure and blameless life as was in keeping with their sacred calling, to guard against defiling themselves either by eating of any animal that had died a natural death, or that had been torn to pieces by other animals (Lev. xxii. 8), or by contact with dead bodies—except the corpses of a father, a mother, of sons, daughters, brothers, and unmarried sisters living in their houses. Nor were they allowed to have recourse to such tokens of mourning as shaving the head, cutting the corners off their beards, mutilating their bodies, and rending their garments. They were likewise forbidden to marry any woman with a flaw in her character,—such as a prostitute, a woman that had been deflowered, or one that had been divorced,—not only so, but licentious conduct on the part of any of their own daughters was punished by the offenders being burnt to death (Lev. xxi. 1–9). Then, as long as they were on actual duty, they were prohibited from drinking wine or any strong drink (Lev. x. 9), as well as from having intercourse with their wives (Ex. xix. 15). But if

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they should happen, unwittingly or unavoidably, to have contracted Levitical defilement, they were required to abstain from eating of the holy things until they had been legally purified again (Lev. xxii. 2–7).—Every transgression of the law of Levitical purity was regarded as a crime punishable by death (Lev. xxii. 9).

[1] The Talmudists regard this enumeration as merely by way of example, and accordingly have swelled the list of disqualifying infirmities to 142. Comp. Selden, *de success. in pontific.* ii. 5, where they are all fully enumerated.

[2] The Talmud and the Rabbinical writers maintain that no one was admitted to the office of the priesthood *usque dum excreverint bini pili*, so that it could hardly be earlier than the twentieth year. Comp. Selden, *de success.* ii. 4, and Bähr, *Symb.* ii. p. 41.

[3] עֲרִיסוֹת, according to Gesenius, *groats, coarse meal;* according to Winer, *Lex.* (see word "Teig"), farina aquis mixta; Sept. φύραμα.

[4] The principal work on the subject is Braun's *Vestitus sacerdotum Hebr.*, ed. alt. Amstel. 1701, 4to. Comp. besides, Leyrer's article "Kleider, heilige," in Herzog's *Cyclop.* vii. pp. 714–722.

[5] On the pattern of the cloth, in Hebrew חֲשֻׁבָּן (Ex. xxviii. 4, 39), comp. Bähr, p. 62 f., who on valid grounds decides, as against the Rabbinical writers, in favour of the square, *i.e.* the die pattern—*tunica tesselata.* The chetonet, according to the Rabbinical writers, extended from the throat down to the ankles, while its somewhat narrow sleeves reached as far as the hands.

[6] For the shape of the cap, see the various opinions as given by Bähr, p. 64 f., who points to the distinction between the word מִגְבָּעָה and the word מִצְנֶפֶת as telling against the prevalent view of a turban, and from this infers that the shape was that of the cup of a flower turned upside down.

§ 35. *The High Priest.*

The high priest[1] formed the culminating point in the Israelitish hierarchy. The first to fill this high position was Aaron, who was succeeded by his eldest (surviving) son Eleazar. Not only did the high priest enjoy all the prerogatives of the priesthood, not only was he required to satisfy all the necessary conditions of admission to the sacred

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office, but, in virtue of his position as head (כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ, 2 Kings xxv. 18; 2 Chron. xix. 11) and representative of the entire order to which he belonged, he enjoyed, besides, certain privileges which were denied to the ordinary priests, though, at the same time, he was required to be still more scrupulous even than they had to be as to the purity and spotlessness of his behaviour.

[1] הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל, Lev. xxi. 10; Num. xxxv. 25, 28, etc. Bähr (ii. p. 4) is erroneously of opinion that this designation is not to be met with so early as the Pentateuch. This is correct only thus far, that not unfrequently Aaron and Eleazar are merely styled הַכֹּהֵן, the priest.

As befitted the superior dignity of his office, the high priest wore, in addition to the ordinary priests' attire, viz. the coat, the breeches, the girdle, and the cap (מִצְנֶפֶת, the shape of which differed from that of the ordinary priest), an *official dress* entirely peculiar to himself, and which also consisted of four parts: (*a*) an *upper robe* (מְעִיל, ποδήρης, Sept.), all woven (with no sewing or seam in it), and of a hyacinth (dark-blue) colour, with an opening at the middle of the top part to let the head through, with strong binding round it like that of a coat of mail, in order that it might not be easily torn,[2] without sleeves, and with a fringe round the bottom, composed of pomegranates made of blue, purple, and scarlet yarn,[3] and little golden bells arranged in alternate order.[4] Accordingly, it did not reach to the feet, but only as far down as the knees, so that the priest's coat could be seen under it (Ex. xxviii. 31–34, xxxix. 22–26). Over this robe again there was—

(*b*) The *shoulder-dress* or *ephod* (אֵפוֹד, ἐπωμίς), woven of blue, purple, scarlet, and fine linen yarn, and having gold thread artistically interwoven with it. This garment consisted of two pieces, the one of which covered the back, while the other covered the breast and upper part of the body, like chasubles. Those two pieces were fastened together on the top of each shoulder by means of a golden clasp or fastening made of onyx set in gold, on which were engraved the names of the founders of the tribes of Israel in the order of their birth, six on each stone.[5] At the bottom part, again, there was a girdle or belt (חֵשֶׁב אֲפֻדָּה, Ex. xxviii. 8) of the same material and manufacture, for the purpose of binding the ephod firmly to

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the body (Ex. xxviii. 6–12, xxxix. 2–7).[6] Over the part of the ephod that covered the breast was—

(*c*) The *choschen*, the *breastplate* (חֹשֶׁן, Sept. λογεῖον, Vulg. *rationale*, so called from the purpose it was intended to serve, Luther *Schildlein*, "little shield"[7]), a square piece made of the same material, and wrought in the same artistic fashion as the ephod, and doubled in such a way as to form a kind of pocket. This square, which measured a span, or something under half a cubit, in length and breadth, had upon its outside twelve precious stones set in gold and arranged in four rows, while on the stones were engraved the names of the twelve tribes of Israel.[8] At each of the four corners was a ring of gold. To the two upper rings small chains of wreathed gold were attached, at the other ends of which were fastenings (clasps?) for the purpose of fastening them to the ephod on the shoulders. To the two lower rings, again, blue cords were attached, the other ends of which were tied to rings that, for this purpose, were fastened to the bottom of the front part of the ephod immediately above the girdle or belt. In this way the choschen was securely bound to the ephod, and at the same time to the breast, both above and below, so that, held as it was by the chains and cords running obliquely in opposite directions, it could not possibly get displaced (Ex. xxviii. 13–28, xxxix. 8–21).—Into the choschen were put the *Urim* and *Thummim* (הָאוּרִים וְהַתֻּמִּים), in order that they might be upon Aaron's heart when he went in before the Lord (Ex. xxviii. 30). Even such early writers as Josephus, Philo, and the Rabbins are unable to furnish any precise information as to what the *Urim* and *Thummim* (Sept. δήλωσις καὶ ἀλήθεια, Luther, *Licht und Recht, i.e.* light and right) really were.[9] Nowhere in the Old Testament is any further account given of them, and all that we can infer from Ex. xxviii. 30 and Lev. viii. 18, though we can do that much with perfect confidence, is that they were something of a material nature, which, being put into the choschen after the latter had been prepared and put on, formed the medium through which the high priest was enabled to ascertain the will of Jehovah in regard to any important matter affecting the theocracy (Num. xxvii. 21), for which reason the breastplate was also designated (Ex. xxviii. 15, 29) the חֹשֶׁן הַמִּשְׁפָּט, λογεῖον τῆς κρίσεως (Sept.),

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rationale judicii (Vulg.), *Amtsschildlein*, official escutcheon (Luther).

(*d*) The high priest's head-dress, again, was a kind of *turban* (מִצְנֶפֶת, from צָנַף, to wind around, to roll around), which, according to Josephus and Philo, consisted of the ordinary priest's cap with something having a turban shape and of a dark-blue colour put over it.[10] On the front part of this addition, and over the forehead, there was a diadem (צִיץ or נֵזֶר) of pure gold, *i.e.* a thin gold plate, on which were engraved the words קֹדֶשׁ לַיהוָה, "holy to Jehovah," and fastened to a dark-blue cord (Ex. xxviii. 36–38, xxxix. 30 f.).

Besides this his ordinary official attire, the high priest had a simple sacred dress consisting of a priest's coat (כְּתֹנֶת), the breeches (מִכְנְסֵי), a girdle (אַבְנֵט), and turban (מִצְנֶפֶת) of white cotton (בַּד), which he wore when he presented the sin-offering on the day of atonement and entered the holy of holies (Lev. xvi. 3, 4).[11]

[2] Comp. the linen armour of the Egyptians, who were famous in ancient times for artistic weaving and embroidering with gold; see Hengstenberg, *die Büch. Moses und Ægypten*, p. 145 f. [E. tr. p. 139 f.].

[3] Of byssus, which Bähr adds to these, ii. p. 99, there is no mention whatever in the Scripture narrative. Comp. Ex. xxviii. 33 and xxxix. 24.

[4] The Rabbinical writers are at one in describing the pomegranates as made to resemble those with the flower crown, and therefore not yet open and perfectly ripe. The number of the pomegranates and the bells is not prescribed in the law. With regard to the latter, some Christian scholars say that they numbered 72, Clement of Alexandria goes even the length of 365, while the *Evangel. Jacobi* and Justin Martyr speak of as few as 12. Comp. Braun, *Vestit. sac.* pp. 436–61, and Bähr, *Symb.* ii. p. 97 ff.

[5] According to Josephus, the names engraven on the right shoulder were those of the six elder sons of Israel.

[6] Comp. Braun, as above, p. 463 ff., and Bähr, ii. p. 101 ff.

[7] For the various derivations and interpretations of the term חֹשֶׁן, comp. Braun, p. 590 ff.— Of modern scholars, Köster (*Erläuterungen d. h. Schrift.* p. 215 ff.), following the Arabic, agrees with Winer in his *Lex.* in taking it in the sense of *ornament;* Ewald (*Alterthümer*, p. 390) regards חֹשֶׁן as a dialectic form for חֹסֶן, *i.e. place for keeping anything, pouch.*

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[8] The order of the rows of the precious stones is given in Ex. xxviii. 17–20, xxxix. 10–13, but—owing to the vacillating manner in which the early writers designate and describe the stones—we are at a loss to know how it should be explained. The first (uppermost) row consisted of אֹדֶם, Sept. Σάρδιον, *i.e.* a carnelian; פִּטְדָה, a topaz; and בָּרֶקֶת, an emerald: the second, of נֹפֶךְ, ἄνθραξ, *i.e.* a carbuncle, probably the Indian ruby; סַפִּיר, a sapphire; and יַהֲלֹם, according to the majority of the ancient versions, a kind of chalcedony, Luther *Demant*, "adamant:" the third, of לֶשֶׁם, according to Sept. Vulg. Joseph. λιγύριον, *i.e.* a hyacinth; שְׁבוֹ, according to Vulg. Josephus, an agate; and אַחְלָמָה, according to Sept. Vulg. an amethyst: the fourth, of תַּרְשִׁישׁ, Sept. a chrysolite; שֹׁהַם, Sept. a beryl, according to others a sardonyx or onyx; and יָשְׁפֵה, according to Sept. Vulg. a jasper. Comp. Braun, as above, ii. c. viii.–xix., and Winer, *Realwörtb.* art. "Edelsteine."—The Rabbinical writers also differ as to the order of the names of the twelve tribes engraved upon the stones. But the majority of them are in favour of holding that they follow the order of the ages of the sons of Israel (comp. Braun, as above, pp. 491 ff. and 588), so that they would stand thus:—

Levi	Simeon	Reuben
Emerald.	*Topaz.*	*Carnelian.*
Naphtali	Dan	Judah
Onyx.	*Sapphire.*	*Carbuncle.*
Issachar	Asher	Gad
Amethyst.	*Agate.*	*Hyacinth.*
Benjamin	Joseph	Zebulon
Jasper.	*Beryl.*	*Chrysolite.*

[9] For the various opinions on this point, see Buxtorf, "Hist. Urim et Thummim," in his *Exercitatt.* p. 267 ff.; Spencer, *de legibus Hebr. rit.* iii. diss. 7, "de Urim et Thummim," p. 920 ff.; Braun, *Vestit. sac.* ii. cap. xx.; Carpzov, *Apparat.* p. 75 ff.; Saalschütz in Illgen's *Hist. theol. Abhandlungen*, iii. Lpz. 1824; Winer, *Realwörtb.* ii. p. 643 ff.; and Diestel in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*, xvi. p. 742 ff.—Generally speaking, these may be referred to one or other of two leading views, either to that which holds that the Urim and Thummim were identical with the twelve precious stones upon the choschen (as, following Josephus, *Antiq.* iii., is held by Braun, as above, p. 613; Schroeder, *Dissert. de Urim et Thum.*, Marb. 1744; Bellermann, *Urim und Thummim die ältesten Gemmen*, Berl. 1824; Theile in the *n. krit. Journ. d. Theol.* v. p. 185 ff.; Köster, *Erläuterungen*, p. 215 ff.;

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Baumgarten, notes on Ex. xxviii.), or to that, on the other hand, which holds that they referred to something that was inside the (in the pocket of) choschen; so Philo, *vita Mos.* iii. (*Opp.* ii. p. 152), although, *de Monarch.* ii. (*Opp.* ii. 226), he seems to identify them with the two parts (back and front) of the choschen, as well as the whole of the Rabbinical writers (comp. Buxtorf, as above, p. 276 ff.), and the majority both of the older and of modern theologians. It is the latter view that is alone borne out by the text of Scripture, for it is as clear as can be, not only from the terms of Ex. xxviii. 30: וְנָתַתָּ אֶל־חֹשֶׁן הַמִּשְׁפָּט אֶת־הָאוּרִים וְאֶת־הַתֻּמִּים, which, when compared with Ex. xxv. 16, 21, can only be rendered: "put the Urim and Thummim into the choschen," but also from Lev. viii. 8, where, in the course of dressing himself, Aaron puts on the choschen in the first place, and then puts the Urim and Thummim inside of it, that the things thus put into the choschen are regarded as things materially distinct from it. But what they really were cannot now be determined with anything like certainty. The Rabbinical writers hold that they were either the *tetragrammaton*—שם מפרש—or two holy names of God, which gave a peculiar brilliancy or prominence to the letters on the stones of the choschen, thereby enabling the high priest to interpret and read off the divine answer. Spencer and others hold that the Urim (sing.) was a small sacred image (Theraphim); Clericus thinks that they consisted of a necklace composed of gems and pearls, such as, according to Diodor. Sicul. i. 48, 75, Aelian. *V. H.* xiv. 34, and what we see upon the monuments (comp. Hengstenberg, *die Büch. Mos.* p. 154 ff. [E. tr. p. 149 f.]) was worn by the supreme judge in Egypt; Michaelis, Jahn understand them to have been three primitive sacred stones for casting lots with (the one representing an affirmative, the other a negative, and the third a neutral answer); while Züllig (*Erkl. der Apokal.* Exc. ii. Th. i. p. 408 ff.) supposes them to have been a number, perhaps a small handful, of diamond cubes, some of them polished (shining אוּרִים, brilliants) and some unpolished (rough תֻּמִּים), and having the name of Jehovah engraved upon them. For our own part, we can only concur with Bähr in accepting the conclusion of Prideaux, *Orat. de vest. Aar.*, quoted by Spencer, as above, p. 929: Sufficit observasse, Urim et Thummim a Deo tradita, a Mose recepta et inter Rationalis (Choschen) duplicitatem velut in theca quadam fuisse inclusa. Ultra qui temere quid asseruerit videat ne venditando scientiam, tam imperitis quam sagacioribus ludibrium debeat.—According to Josephus (*Antiq.* iii. 8. 9), revelation by Urim and Thummim had ceased two hundred years previous to the time at which

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his work was composed, τοῦ Θεοῦ δυσχεράναντος ἐπὶ τῇ παραβάσει τῶν νόμων.

[10] Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 7. 7: Πλοκὴ δὲ ἦν μὲν ὁ καὶ πρότερον αὐτῷ παραπλησίως εἰργασμένος τοῖς πᾶσιν ἱερεῦσιν· ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν δὲ συνῆρραμμένος ἕτερος ἐξ ὑακίνθου πεποικιλμένος. Comp. *de bell. jud.* v. 5. 7. For further information on the point, consult Braun, as above, ii. cap. xxi., and Bähr, ii. p. 110, as also the special works to which they refer.

[11] The assertion of the Talmudist, to the effect that this white dress was also worn by the high priest or his representative on the occasion of the sacrifice of the red heifer (comp. Braun, as above, ii. cap. xxiv.), is unsupported by anything contained in the law of Moses.

The sacred functions that devolved exclusively upon the high priest consisted partly in presenting the sin-offering for himself and the whole congregation as occasion required (Lev. iv. 5, 16), and the atoning sacrifice and the burnt-offering on the great day of atonement (Lev. xvi.), and partly in ascertaining the will of the Lord by means of the Urim and Thummim in regard to important matters affecting the theocracy, and thereupon intimating it to the people (Num. xxvii. 21; 1 Sam. xxx. 7 ff.). Besides this, he had the supervision of the rest of the priests and of the entire worship, and, of course, he was at liberty to exercise all the other sacerdotal functions as well, although he did so perhaps only on the Sabbath, and, above all, on high festival occasions.[12] Again, as being the head of the priesthood he had the right of pronouncing a final decision in all judicial matters which fell within the jurisdiction of the priests (Deut. xvii. 8 ff.), and hence at a later period he was also *ex officio* the president of the Sanhedrim. Like the rest of the priests, he was installed by an act of consecration, though, in his case, the anointing that formed part of the ceremony was of a more special character. In consequence of this special anointing, it was incumbent on him to cultivate greater purity and sanctity of life and conduct than the ordinary priests. He was forbidden to touch a dead body lest he should be defiled, even though it should be the body of his own father or mother; nor was he allowed by way of mourning to let the hair of his head grow longer than usual, or to rend his garments, or intermit his duties in the sanctuary.[13] Then he was prohibited not

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only from marrying a woman that had been divorced, or that had been deflowered, or a prostitute, but even a widow. He was only at liberty to marry a virgin from among his own people (Lev. xxi. 10–14).—As the priestly office generally was hereditary, so the high priest held his, too, as long as he lived, unless he became incapable of discharging its duties, or should be deposed in consequence of some misdemeanour, as was the case with Abiathar, for example, in the time of Solomon (1 Kings ii. 26 f.).

[12] Josephus (*de bell. jud.* v. 5. 7) bears testimony to this effect, so far, at least, as the post-exilian period is concerned.

[13] That is to say, as Lundius, *Jud. Heiligthümer*, B. ii. cap. xx., has already correctly explained: Should he hear of the death of his nearest relative, he was not on that account to quit the tabernacle or the temple and indulge his sorrow, but was to continue at his post till his appointed time of service was ended, and perform the duties devolving upon him for the time being as though nothing whatever had happened. Baumgarten (*Theol. Comm.* ii. p. 218) and Bähr (ii. p. 183), on the other hand, are wrong in supposing the words to imply that he was to confine himself constantly to the sanctuary, lest he should unwittingly come in contact with a dead body or anything dead.

§ 36. *The Consecration of the Priests.*

The ceremony to be observed at the consecration of the high priest, as well as the other priests to their office, is prescribed in Ex. xxix. 1–34 comp. with Ex. xl. 12–15, and according to Lev. viii. 1–36 it was Moses who performed it in the case of Aaron and his sons. The first part of the proceeding was to conduct the persons who were to be consecrated to the door of the tabernacle, and there wash them with water (evidently their whole body, and not merely the hands and feet). Then came the investment with the official dress, and immediately thereafter the anointing with the sacred holy anointing oil, specially prepared for this purpose from a mixture of four fragrant substances, viz. liquid myrrh, cinnamon, calamus, and cassia, with olive oil.[1] This oil, in the case of the high priest, was poured upon his head, while in that of the ordinary priests it was merely sprinkled upon the forehead.[2] This was followed by a solemn

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sacrifical service in which Moses officiated as priest, and the materials for which consisted of a young bullock without blemish, two rams also without blemish, and a basket with unleavened bread, unleavened cakes kneaded in oil, and unleavened cakes of a thinner description sprinkled with oil. At this stage in the proceedings, those who were being consecrated laid their hands upon the head of the bullock, whereupon Moses slaughtered it as a sin-offering, sprinkled the horns of the altar (of burnt-offering) with its blood, and poured the rest of it upon the ground, then took all the fat of the viscera, the caul of the liver, along with the two kidneys and their fat, and consumed them upon the altar, while the skin, flesh, and dung were burnt with fire without the camp. This being done, one of the rams was taken, and, with the hands of the persons that were being consecrated resting on its head as before, it was offered precisely as in the case of an ordinary burnt-offering, and then the other ram was taken and offered as a consecration sacrifice, but in this instance in a manner peculiar to the occasion. The mode of proceeding was this. Moses took the ram with the hands, in this instance, too, resting on its head, and slaughtered it, whereupon he sprinkled some of its blood upon the tip of the right ears, and upon the thumbs of the right hands, and upon the great toes of the right feet of Aaron and his sons, and then sprinkled the rest upon the altar round about. He next took the fat, the rump, and all the fat of the viscera, the caul of the liver, the two kidneys with their fat, and the right shoulder, and, along with these, an unleavened cake, a cake of oiled bread, and a thin cake sprinkled with oil, and laid the latter upon the fat and the right shoulder, and, placing these all together upon the hands of Aaron and his sons, he waved them before Jehovah, whereupon he took the whole and burnt it upon the altar. After this he took the breast of the ram, the portion of the animal that fell to the priest (Moses) as his portion, and waved it before Jehovah; which being done, he took some of the anointing oil and the blood that had been put upon the altar, and sprinkled it upon the priests that were being consecrated and upon their garments. The ceremony being thus concluded, the remainder of the flesh was cooked by Aaron and his sons at the door of the tabernacle and

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there eaten by them, and, in case any were left over till next day, it was consumed with fire.—The period throughout which the consecration ceremony lasted is stated, in Ex. xxix. 35 and Lev. viii. 33 ff., to have been seven days, during which time the persons who were being consecrated were not allowed to leave the sanctuary, the sacrifices mentioned above being repeated each day, and if the Rabbinical writers are to be believed, the anointing as well.[3]

[1] The mode of preparing the holy oil of anointing is prescribed in Ex. xxx. 22–25. This compound consisted of 1 Hin (7 lbs. or 3½ quarts) of olive oil, 500 shekels (=464 Dresdn. pennyweights) of pure myrrh (מָר־דְּרוֹר, *myrrhe electa*), 250 shekels of fragrant cinnamon (קִנְמָן־בָּשֶׂם), 250 shekels of calamus (קְנֵה־בֹשֶׂם, *calamus odoratus*), and 500 shekels of cassia (קִדָּה, the aromatic bark of a shrub that grows in Arabia and India). The proportions in which those ingredients were mixed compels us to assume that the cinnamon, calamus, and cassia were not mixed with the oil in their dry form, but as prepared spices, say, in the shape of cinnamon- calamus- and cassia-ointment (comp. Thenius, *Stud. u. Krit.* 1846, p. 126); or it may have been, as the Rabbinicial writers (in Bähr, *Symb.* p. 170) assure us, that the dry substances were steeped or boiled in water to extract the strength or virtue out of them, when, to the liquid thus obtained, the oil was added, when both were put upon the fire to boil till the whole of the watery element should evaporate. The preparing of the anointing oil (מַעֲשֵׂה רֹקֵחַ, manufacture of ointment mixture) was superintended by Bezaleel (Ex. xxxvii. 29).

[2] That the anointing oil was poured upon the high priest's head is not only clearly stated in Ex. xxix. 7 and Lev. viii. 10 (comp. Ps. cxxxiii. 2), but, in Lev. xxi. 10, 12, this kind of anointing is also spoken of as something that distinguished him above the other priests, from which it plainly follows that the anointing of the ordinary priests consisted, as the Rabbinical writers affirm, merely in anointing the forehead with oil; comp. Reland, *Antiq. sacr.* ii. 1. 7. It is true, no doubt, that Kurtz (*Alttestl. Opferc.* p. 248) characterizes the above distinction as "decidedly an inadmissible solution of the matter," and is disposed to hold that the only difference was this, that the holy anointing oil was poured upon Aaron's head and upon his alone, whereas the anointing of the ordinary priests consisted merely in that sprinkling of the persons and garments of Aaron and his sons with a mixture of sacrificial blood and anointing

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oil which is mentioned in Ex. xxix. 21 and Lev. viii. 30. But this solution is much more inadmissible still than the traditional view of the Rabbins itself. A sprinkling with blood and oil can hardly be spoken of as an anointing. As, in Lev. iv. 3, 5, 16, etc., Aaron is called הַכֹּהֵן הַמָּשִׁיחַ, "the anointed priest," so, in Num. iii. 3, his sons are, in like manner, called הַכֹּהֲנִים הַמְּשֻׁחִים, "the anointed priests." Consequently the absence of any express mention of their anointing in Ex. xxix. 8 f. and Lev. viii. 10 ff. can have no force as an *argumentum e silentio* in presence of such passages as Ex. xxvi. 41, xxx. 30, xl. 15, where the anointing of Aaron's sons is carefully prescribed, and Lev. vii. 35 f., x. 7, where it is spoken of as having already taken place.—But what the Rabbinical writers, further, allege as to dipping the finger in the oil, after it has been poured over the high priest's head, and imprinting the sign of the Greek letter X upon his forehead (comp. the passages as quoted by Selden, *De success. Pontif. Hebr.* ii. cap. ix.), we may pass by without saying more. Comp. Vitringa, *Observatt. sacr.* i. ii. cap. xv. § 9 ff.

[a] The repetition of the sacrifices on each of the seven days is distinctly attested by Ex. xxix. 35 f. and Lev. viii. 33. According to Ex. xxix. 36, a bullock was to be offered every day as a sin-offering for atonement (עַל־הַכִּפֻּרִים), and to purge the altar; and according to ver. 35 and Lev. viii. 33, Moses was every day to fill the hands of those who were being consecrated, that is to say, he was daily to place upon their hands the portions of the consecration sacrifice mentioned above, and then wave them before Jehovah. And, therefore, the daily filling of the hands presupposes the daily offering of a full sacrifice. And, if sin-offerings and consecration sacrifices were repeated every day, then the burnt-offering must have been so as well.—But the daily repetition of the anointing is nowhere clearly intimated in the law, and, at most, can only be inferred from the analogy of the altar, which, according to Ex. xxix. 36, seems to have been anointed daily throughout the whole seven days, or from the circumstance of the daily repetition of the sacrifices; for, it might be argued, if these latter, which formed the second stage of the consecration ceremony, were repeated every day, then it is likely that the anointing, which formed the first stage, would be repeated also.

After the consecration proceedings were brought to a close, those who had been consecrated, whether as high priest or ordinary priests, were required to offer a special meat-offering, consisting of a tenth of an epha of flour, kneaded with oil

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and baked in a pan, and in separate pieces, the one-half being offered in the morning and the other half in the evening, and entirely burnt upon the altar (Lev. vi. 12–16).[4] This being done, they commence the exercise of their priestly functions on the eighth day, by offering, in the first instance, a calf as a sin-offering, and a ram as a burnt-offering for themselves, which was immediately followed up by the offering of sacrifices for the people (Lev. ix. 1, 2).

[4] For further information regarding this mincha, see the author's comment. on Lev. vi. 13–16. Jewish tradition is unanimous in understanding the terms: "on the day of his being anointed," as referring to the commencement of the eighth day, and that in such a way as to make it evident that the offering of this priestly meat-offering preceded the sacrifice with which Aaron and his sons entered upon their duties, and that it was presented in connection with the morning and evening sacrifice, viz. between the daily burnt-offering and the daily meat-offering of the congregation, being offered as מִנְחָה תָּמִיד, *i.e.* daily during the whole period of their service, as is shown by Sir. xlv. 14 and Joseph. *Antiq.* iii. 10. 7. According to ver. 15, every official successor of Aaron and his sons, *i.e.* every succeeding high priest and priest, was required to offer this mincha. Comp. Lundius, *Jüd. Heiligth.* iii. cap. ix. § 7, and Thalhofer, *Die unblut. Opfer des mos. Cultus*, p. 140 ff.— But the further Rabbinical regulation, to the effect that, in entering upon their office, the ordinary priests were only [comp. Selden and Lundius, *ll.cc.*] to offer this mincha (without any further ceremony), cannot be justified by anything to be found in the Mosaic law.

§ 37. *Symbolical and Typical Meaning of the Priestly Prerogatives and Qualifications.*

I. The *symbolical* meaning. All the prerogatives conferred upon the priests, and all the duties and obligations imposed upon them, naturally flow from the three elements involved in the idea of the priesthood. In the circumstance of their *being chosen to be Jehovah's peculiar possession*, we find an explanation of the nature of the provision made for the priests and Levites, as regards their accommodation and income. Unlike the rest of the tribes, they were not to receive, as a provision for their physical subsistence, any

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inheritance in the promised land, for Jehovah Himself was to be their "part and their inheritance" (Num. xviii. 20; Deut. x. 9, etc.), who, as Lord of the whole earth and owner of Canaan, not only provided sufficient dwellings for them in the land which He had given as an inheritance to His people, but also assigned them an adequate allowance for their maintenance from the produce of their land, in the shape of tithes, first-fruits, first-born, and a certain portion of all the sacrificial offerings. If this mode of providing for them was in perfect unison with the idea of their belonging to Jehovah as peculiarly His own, inasmuch as, in regard to their material subsistence, they were thus taught to live in faith, and to regard their whole good as centring in and coming from the Lord; so it was no less consonant with their vocation to be holy, and to approach the Lord, and to bring to Him the people's offerings, that they should not have to be under the necessity of engaging in any worldly employment or business for the purpose of earning a livelihood, but should be left free to devote themselves exclusively to the Lord's service, to the ministry of His word and law, and to the functions devolving upon them in connection with His sanctuary. In this way were they not only constantly reminded of the duties of their high office, but, at the same time, were led to realize more fully their fellowship with the Lord, and the blessedness involved in a vocation and calling of so glorious a character.[1] Out of the idea involved in their *being holy*, which formed the indispensable condition of approach to God, the holy One, flowed all those regulations regarding the qualifications that were necessary for the priestly office; first and foremost the requirement as to freedom from anything in the shape of bodily defect or infirmity. The various physical defects and deformities which disqualified for the priesthood, did not do so merely because they happened to affect the personal appearance, or were calculated to interfere with the due discharge of duty, but because they were to be regarded as the bodily counterpart of inward spiritual defects and shortcomings. The bodily perfection of the priests was not intended merely to point to Jehovah's holiness, merely to be a reflection in their persons of the sacredness of their

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functions and ministry, and of the place in which they officiated, but rather to symbolize their (the priests') spiritual blamelessness, and to symbolize the sanctification of the heart.[2] It was for this same reason that they were enjoined not only to shun every Levitical defilement that could possibly be avoided, but also to show by their domestic life and in their conjugal relations that they were consecrated to God (Lev. xxi. 7 ff.).[3]

[1] In the number of the cities: $48 = 4 \times 12$, we have the number twelve, as the sign of the covenant people, combined with the four, which again is indicative of the kingdom of God. The significance of the number must not be pushed farther than this, for these cities were divided into thirteen for the priests, and thirty-five for the Levites, an arrangement which can only have been suggested by considerations of practical necessity.

[2] Only in the various physical defects enumerated in the law we must beware of looking for figures or symbols of certain specific moral or spiritual shortcomings, as Theodoret, for example, in his *Quæst.* 30 *in Levit.* has done.

[3] Bähr (ii. p. 55) justly rejects the view of Maimonides, Spencer, and others, who are disposed to trace the requirement as to entire freedom from physical blemish to a regard for a feeling of propriety and decorum, and though he himself, without being aware of it, afterwards drifts into the same externalism, when at p. 58 he combats Philo's interpretation (*de monarch.*): σύμβολα τῆς περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν τελειότητος, and shows a disposition to understand the freedom from physical defect merely as "a bodily reflection of the holiness of the duties and ministry of the priests, and of the place in which they performed them." For what else can one call it but outward appearance or the outward show of holiness, when bodily defects are declared to be incompatible with the sacredness of the place and of the worship conducted in it?—But the circumstance that priests labouring under any bodily blemish or defect were nevertheless at liberty to eat of the most holy things, only proves that the defects in question were not such as they themselves were to blame for, that they were not of the nature of sins; while the regulation which required that the high priest himself should offer a sacrifice for his own sins before entering the holy of holies, only shows that the law of God took a serious view of sin, and could not be put off with a mere external bodily reflection of holiness.

Then, in the next place, the *consecration*, which in the very

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term קִדּוּשׁ, employed to designate it, is already characterized as an act of sanctification, was divided into two parts, and having three distinct ceremonial proceedings under each of them. The first part, consisting of washing, attiring (investment), and anointing, represented the due equipment of those who were being consecrated for their priestly functions; the second, on the other hand, consisting of a threefold sacrifice, was that in which those who had been thus equipped were duly installed into the office and admitted to all the rights and privileges of the priesthood.

First part. The act of equipping for their duties those who had been chosen for the priestly office assumed, first, the negative form of washing, and then the positive one of investing with the priestly robes and anointing with the holy anointing oil. The *washing* of the body represented the removing of the defilement of sin; the purification of the body from outward pollution symbolized the purifying of the soul from the pollution of sin.—This negative preparation was succeeded by the positive impartment of the indispensable requisites for the holy office.

(*a*) The first of these was the *putting on of the official attire*, where the difference between the case of the high priest and that of the ordinary priests deserves to be noted. Here the number and colour of the garments are in general not without significance. Inasmuch as the attire of the ordinary priests consisted of *four* and that of the high priest of twice *four* parts, it bore upon it in this very number the stamp of the kingdom of God in Israel, while those who wore it were thereby represented as being in the position of servants in that kingdom.[4]—The predominating *colour* in the dress of the ordinary priests was white, and that the shining whiteness of white cotton (byssus), in garments of which material the high priest was also attired when he entered the holy of holies. But a shining white is the colour that indicates bright effulgence, the symbolic shadowing forth of glory or holiness according to the idea of Scripture, where glory and holiness are regarded as inseparable conceptions.[5] Hence we find that it is the colour that is distinctive of the glorious and awe-inspiring forms under which heavenly beings manifest themselves from time to time (Dan. xii. 6, 7, x. 5; Ezek.

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ix. 3, 11, x. 2, 7; Matt. xxviii. 3; Rev. x. 30, etc.), so that in wearing garments of this colour the priests appeared in the light of high and holy servants of God.—But, to come to details, the priests' attire consisted of the *breeches*, which was intended to conceal the "flesh of nakedness," *i.e.* not the genitals as the organ of reproduction, but as the privates, as being those parts of the body that have to do with the secretions, these latter being supposed to indicate that liability to bodily death and corruption that has overtaken human nature in consequence of sin. If in *this* article of dress it was the negative side of holiness that preponderated, then in the case of the others full prominence was given to the positive side of the priestly idea, the idea of being holy.—The *priest's coat* (כְּתֹנֶת), which, from its enveloping the whole body, formed the principal article of dress, was woven in one piece without any seam, and thereby indicated the spiritual integrity, the blamelessness and righteousness in which the idea of blessedness and life is realized, while the four-cornered form of the cloth of which the coat was made was to be a sign that those who wore it belonged to the kingdom of God. The cap (מִגְבָּעָה), again, in so far as it resembled in shape the calyx of a flower, pointed to the blooming character, *i.e.* to the fresh, vigorous life of him who wore it. Hence it was that the priest was forbidden to remove this head-dress, to uncover the head, but was required to tie it on lest it should fall off by accident; for, as the cap represented a flower, its falling off would have a significant resemblance to the falling of a flower—the usual emblem of decay and death (1 Pet. i. 24; Jas. i. 10; Ps. ciii. 15; Isa. xl. 6–8).[6]—The *girdle*, which the Oriental put on when about to do anything in the shape of active work, was the priestly sign of active service. Consequently it was of the same colours and wrought in the same style as the veils of the sanctuary, in order to show that those who wore it were office-bearers and administrators in the kingdom of God.[7]—Lastly, the circumstance of their not being allowed to wear shoes indicated that the place in which they exercised their functions was a holy place.

This same attire was worn by the high priest as well, but over it he wore, in addition, a special dress of a more handsome description, which like the other consisted of four pieces,

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while, owing to the circumstance of each of these being ornamented more or less with gold, it was called by the Rabbinical writers the golden dress (בִּגְדֵי זָהָב).[8] This very number, again, of the articles of dress—twice four—was itself an indication that he was the priest of priests, the highest priest of all.[9] It was also to correspond with his position as such that gold was put upon those articles of dress which distinguished him above the ordinary priests, and which were intended both for distinction and ornament (לְכָבוֹד וּלְתִפְאָרֶת, Ex. xxviii. 2). It was in those garments, therefore, that the peculiar character of his official dignity and functions would necessarily be reflected. Yet this dignity was not a threefold one, that of priesthood, of law, and of royalty, such as was peculiarily distinctive of the covenant people whom he officially represented, and so neither could the priestly, the legal, and the royal dignity be said to have been symbolized in his dress.[10] For the Old Testament knows nothing whatever of a royal dignity as attaching to the office of the high priest; it was not till the Maccabean period that the high priests are to be met with who combined the character of princes as well. In the Old Testament, on the other hand, it is only in predictions regarding the Messiah (Ps. cx. 4; Zech. vi. 13) that the combination of the royal and priestly character occurs for the first time. The duties of the priest, and therefore of the high priest as well, were only of a twofold kind, viz.: (*a*) to approach God in a propitiatory attitude in behalf of the people, and thereby bring about fellowship between them and God; (*b*) to teach the people the statutes of Jehovah and to train them in accordance therewith; comp. Deut. xxxiii. 10, Sir. xlv. 16, 17, with Lev. x. 11, Ezek. xliv. 23 ff., and Deut. xvii. 9 ff. These two aspects of the high priest's functions, and these alone, can we suppose to have been indicated by his official dress.

The *upper robe* (מְעִיל), in being designated as it is מְעִיל הָאֵפוֹד, Ex. xxviii. 31, is thereby associated with the shoulder-piece, and is spoken of as forming the substratum for the ephod. The characteristic feature about this robe was its being woven of blue yarn, and that in an entire form, *i.e.* in one piece, and in its having had at its lower hem a fringe consisting of pomegranates made of blue, purple, and scarlet twined yarn,

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and of little golden bells arranged in alternate order. Aaron was required to have on this fringe when in the act of officiating, that the sound might be heard as he went in before Jehovah and as he came out, that he might not die (Ex. xxviii. 35). Though with the circumstance of this garment being woven in one piece there was connected the idea of entireness of spiritual integrity, and though the blue colour of the material, as being the colour of the sky, pointed to the heavenly origin and character of the office in connection with which it was worn, still the specific significance of this garment must be sought in the fringe upon its lower hem. From the kindred regulation to the effect that every Israelite was to wear tassels with blue cords on the hem of his robe, that when they looked upon them they might remember the commandments and do them (Num. xv. 38 f.), we may infer thus much, that in the fringe of pomegranates and little bells there also lay some reference to the word and testimony of God, and that the tinkling of the bells on the high priest's robe, as he officiated in the sanctuary, was not meant to be heard by the people who were assembled in the court, nor by God on His throne in the holy of holies, but by the high priest himself, that it might remind him that his calling was to be the representative, the guardian and promulgator of the commandments of God. From this, again, it may be further inferred that the pomegranate, with its agreeable odour, its sweet and refreshing juice, and its large quantity of delicious seeds,[11] was meant to point to the divine law or testimony as a sweet and delicious spiritual food, invigorating the soul and refreshing the heart (comp. Ps. xix. 8–11, cxix. 25, 43, 50. with Deut. viii. 3, Prov. ix. 8, Sir. xv. 3);[12] while the bells on the other hand, were to be taken as representing the sound of this word, or the act of promulgating it. By wearing the robe to which this fringe was attached, the high priest appeared as the depositary and organ of the word and testimony that emanated from heaven, all which serves to explain why it was that he was forbidden to appear before the Lord without being accompanied with the sounding of the bells. It was not because in appearing without the robe on which this fringe was hung he would be appearing in the capacity of a private individual, for even in the absence of it

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he still would have had on other garments of an official character, but it was because no one but the high priest, as being the representative of the whole congregation, was at liberty directly to approach the Lord, while even he could do so only when clad in the robe of God's word, as the organ of that divine testimony on which covenant-fellowship with the Lord was based.[13]

The *shoulder-piece* (ephod) and the *breastplate* (choschen) are already shown to have been intimately connected with each other by the mere fact of the latter being attached to and wholly resting upon the former. The two parts of which the ephod consisted were called *shoulders* (כְּתֵפוֹת), so that this article of raiment was thereby characterized as *κατ' ἐξοχήν* the official dress of the high priest. It was upon the shoulder that the burden of the office rested, upon it the *insignia* of the office were worn (Isa. xxii. 22). The principal function of the high priest was to appear before God as a reconciling mediator on behalf of the people. In order to show that this duty devolved upon him, the names of the twelve tribes of Israel were upon the shoulders of the ephod, engraven upon precious stones. The precious stones, with their radiance and light, formed the most appropriate earthly substratum for the realization of the glory to which, as Jehovah's סְגֻלָּה (Ex. xix. 5), Israel was called; while the colour, and the gold, and the texture of the ephod pointed to the ministry of the sanctuary and the glorious character of that ministry.—Resting upon the ephod, and made of the same material, was the *breastplate*, having four rows of precious stones on which were engraven the names of the twelve tribes of Israel, and containing in the pocket or in the inside of it the Urim and Thummim, as is hinted at in the designation חֹשֶׁן הַמִּשְׁפָּט, *breastplate of judgment*. In wearing this ornament the high priest was distinguished as the judicial representative of the covenant people, as such he was called upon to bear the tribes of Israel upon his heart, *i.e.* not merely to keep them always in mind, but being, as it were, blended together with them by a living sympathy, to intercede for them, when, with the choschen upon his breast, he went in before the Lord to remind Him of (לְזִכָּרוֹן, Ex. xxviii. 30) the rights of the children of Israel.[14] But that he might be in a position

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for duly understanding those rights, there was given him, in the "*Licht und Recht*"—"Light and Right," as Luther has rendered the words אוּרִים וְתֻמִּים, a medium through which God would communicate to him, in every case in which the congregation needed a divine light in order to know how to act, such a measure of illumination as would enable him to maintain or re-establish the rights of Israel when they were disputed or infringed. That this was the meaning of the Urim and Thummim, of the exact nature of which nothing further is known, may safely be inferred from Num. xxvii. 21, where Joshua, as the leader of the people, is represented as coming to Eleazar the high priest to get him to consult Jehovah, "through the judgment of Urim (בְּמִשְׁפַּט הָאוּרִים)," as to how the whole congregation was to act, and what they were to do. For the matters on which Jehovah wished to be consulted, through the medium of the Urim and Thummim, were not private affairs and disputes, but such as concerned "the well-being and the existence of His own people."[15] "Just as, in taking up His visible abode in the heart of Israel, Jehovah gave a pledge that He desired to be Israel's God, so in like manner did He give a visible pledge that on critical occasions He would not withhold His counsel from that people whom, with a view to the salvation of all nations, He had deemed worthy of His special guidance;[16] but that, on the contrary, it was His desire to maintain it in all its integrity." Agreeably to this its design, the pledge in question was known under the designation of אוּרִים וְתֻמִּים, *light and perfection* (entireness), *i.e.* not complete enlightenment,[17] but enlightenment which results in perfection or integrity, so that the Urim was intended to point to the divine enlightenment with a view to the conservation of what was right, and Thummim, on the other hand, to its perfect and inviolate character.—The mode, however, in which the divine answer was communicated to the high priest is nowhere mentioned in the Old Testament, though it can scarcely have been other than this. The high priest would bring the matter in question before the Lord in prayer, and then would intimate to the people, as the Lord's reply and decision, whatever was put into his heart in answer to his prayer.[18]

Then coming, in the last place, to the high priest's *head-*

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dress, we may observe that its significance did not lie so much in the turban (מִצְנֶפֶת), or the cloth wound round it, which distinguished it from the ordinary priest's cap, and pointed to the wearer of it as the head of the whole priesthood, as in the diadem, with the inscription upon it, that was affixed to the head-dress. The meaning of this diadem, which on account of its sparkling radiance was called צִיץ, bloom or flower (Ex. xxviii. 36, xxxix. 30), lies in its being further designated נֵזֶר, a crown (Ex. xxix. 6, xxxix. 20; Lev. viii. 9; also the king's crown, 2 Sam. i. 10; 2 Kings xi. 12). For the wearer of this diadem was thereby indicated to be the crowned one among his brethren, the supreme spiritual head of the priesthood. But this crown was a holy crown (Ex. xxix. 6, xxxix. 30); it bore the inscription: "Holiness to Jehovah," *i.e.* holy to the Lord. He who was thus crowned was therefore consecrated to the Lord (קֹדֶשׁ יְהוָה, Ps. cvi. 16), and was required to wear the badge of his holiness upon his forehead (where it could be most easily seen), "that he may bear the iniquity of the holy things which the children of Israel shall hallow in all their holy gifts; and it shall be always upon his forehead, that they may be accepted before the Lord" (Ex. xxviii. 38). That is to say, the high priest, in virtue of the holiness to the Lord that had been conferred upon him, and was ratified by the inscription upon his diadem, was to have the power to bear or to take upon himself, and so put away, the sin that adhered to the holy gifts of the people in consequence of their native impurity, in order that their sacrificial offerings might thus become acceptable to the Lord, and that they, in turn, might at all times enjoy the favour of God.[19]

But it was not from the dress in which their official character, merely as such, was reflected that this holiness on the part of the priests was derived, but, in the first instance, from the anointing with the holy oil. For although the garments they wore were called "holy garments" (בִּגְדֵי קֹדֶשׁ, Ex. xxviii. 4, comp. ver. 2), and, according to Ex. xxviii. 3, required to be specially prepared for the purpose "of consecrating him (Aaron)," yet they did not possess a holy character till they had been sprinkled with anointing oil and sacrificial blood. The anointing with oil was intended to represent the fact of the priests being at the same time endowed with the spirit of

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God (comp. 1 Sam. x. 1, 2, xvi. 13 f.; Isa. lxi.), for the oil, with its power of giving light, and of awakening and raising the animal spirits, furnished a significant symbol of the spirit of God, as the principle of spiritual light and life.[20] But the oil employed in anointing the priests and the furniture of the sanctuary was constituted a holy anointing oil by its being composed of a mixture of four fragrant substances, the number four itself stamping it with the sign of the kingdom of God; nor was it allowable for any one to prepare a similar oil for ordinary private use (Ex. xxx. 25, 30). As being the persons whose function it was to approach the holy God and represent the holiness of Israel, the priests had to be endowed, above all, with the power of the sanctifying spirit of God. And so, for this reason, they were set apart to their office by being anointed; but with this difference in the case of the high priest, that the anointing oil was poured upon his head, *i.e.* a greater measure of the divine spirit was imparted to him than to the ordinary priests, in whose case the oil was merely sprinkled upon the forehead.

If, therefore, the washing of the body symbolized the removal of impurity, if the putting on of the official attire again symbolized partly the covering of natural nakedness and partly due equipment for the priestly office; so, on the other hand, did the anointing with holy oil represent the imparting of the holy and sanctifying spirit to those who had thus been cleansed and invested with the robes of priesthood.

[4] This significance of the number four is also recognized in the Rabbinical traditions, and is urged with such emphasis, that the Rabbins pronounce every priestly act illegal and invalid where the priest who performed it happened to have omitted even one of the four or the eight articles of dress. Comp. Selden, *de success. in pontif.* ii. 7; Braun, as above, i. pp. 14, 24 ff., and Bähr, ii. p. 71.

[5] Comp. Hengstenberg, *die Offenbarung Joh.* i. p. 271.

[6] Comp. Bähr, *Symb.* ii. p. 79.

[7] Hence the Rabbinical writers maintain that the priests were required to put off the girdle as soon as their duties for the time being were over, although they were at liberty to wear the other garments in the temple even when they were not officiating. Comp. the Rabbinical statements in Braun, as above, ii. p. 674, who, in accordance with this view, observes,

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p. 401: Tam necessarius quidem erat balteus Hebræorum sacerdotibus, ut summum piaculum esset, si quis eo deposito fungi voluisset ministerio. Ideo et balteum deponere debebat, quam primum ab opere cessabat, ut reliquas vestes retineret, et simulac ministerio fungi volebat, statim etiam balteo sese cingere oportebat.

[8] Maimonides, *De vasis sanct.* cap. viii.: Vestium sacerdotum tria sunt genera. Vestes omnibus sacerdotibus communes, vestes aureæ et vestes albæ. . . . Vestes aureæ sunt vestes Pontificis Max., etc. Comp. Braun, as above, i. p. 14.

[9] Comp. Ewald, *Ausf. Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache*, sec. cccxiii. *c.*

[10] So Bähr, *Symb.* ii. 119, who also quotes authorities from the Rabbinical writings in support of the notion of Israel's having had a threefold crown. In answer to this interpretation, which is also reproduced in the first edition of Bähr, see Oehler in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*, vi. p. 201 f., and the author's comm. on Ex. xxviii. 30.

[11] For the authorities regarding those properties of the pomegranate, see Celsius, *Hierobot.* i. p. 273 ff., with whom we may compare Braun, as above, ii. p. 734: Est grati odoris et habet succum nonnunquam dulcem aliquando vinosum, ad esum et refrigerium aptum.

[12] That the Hebrews saw in the apple a symbol of the divine word may be inferred, without going further, from Prov. xxv. 11: "A word fitly spoken is like apples of gold in pictures of silver;" and the extent to which the Rabbinical writers were in the habit of comparing the divine commandments to pomegranates, may be seen from the passages quoted by Bähr, ii. p. 124.

[13] To take the words: "that he die not" (Ex. xxviii. 35), with Bähr (ii. p. 126 f.), as referring to the whole of the high priest's dress, is inconsistent with the sense of the 35th verse, as well as with the position in which it stands; nor can it be justified by a reference to ver. 43. For neither does the similar threatening that occurs there refer to the whole of the priest's dress, but solely to the wearing of breeches.

[14] Bähr's interpretation of the אַבְנֵי זִכָּרוֹן, "stones of memorial unto the children of Israel" (Ex. xxviii. 12), "for the purpose of reminding the whole people of Israel that the high priest, when he stood before Jehovah, *i.e.* in the discharge of the functions of his office, had been set over them by God as their head and judge" (*Symb.* ii. 132), in no way tallies with the regulation to the effect that the high priest was to bear the names of the twelve tribes before Jehovah, and is much further from the truth than the explanation given by the older divines, and quoted by Braun, as above, ii. p. 477: ut per ea (nomina)

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Pont. Max. omnes duodecim tribus sibi in memoriam revocaret cum sacrificaret, ut pro omnibus tribubus sacrificaret omnesque secum in templum portaret et pro iis thymiamata et preces faceret, in which there lies at least one element of truth, as is no less the case with regard to the Jewish interpretation in Jonathan: Gemmæ in memoriam revocantes merita filiorum Israel, where, however, what truth there is, is perverted in the interests of a genuine Pharisaic self-righteousness.

[15] It is to these that all those cases in the history of Israel refer, in which the mind and will of God was consulted by means of the Urim and Thummim (Num. xxvii. 21; 1 Sam. xxiii. 9 ff., xxx. 7, 8; Judg. xx. 27 f.). Such is also the teaching of the Talmudists and Rabbins as quoted by Buxtorf, *Hist. Urim et Thum.* cap. iii., who, after giving the quotations, goes on to say: Non licuit sacrum hoc oraculum consulere de negotio privato vel levi aliqua de causa, sed de rebus publicis spectantibus ad totius reipublicæ et populi salutem. . . . Hinc tribuum nomina Pectorali erant inserta, ut scirent, harum duntaxat causa hoc beneficium ipsis indultum esse. Comp. besides, Bähr, ii. p. 137.

[16] The words of Bähr, as above, p. 137.

[17] So Bähr, as above, in answer to whom, however, Hengstenberg, *die Büch. Moses*, p. 156 [E. tr. p. 151 f.], justly points out the fact that the assumption of any such hendiadys, besides being very harsh in itself, and uncorroborated by any example of a perfectly analogous kind, is entirely precluded by Deut. xxxiii. 8, where the תֻּמִּים comes first.—For other interpretations of a purely arbitrary description, see Winer, *Realwörtb.* ii. p. 644.

[18] So Bähr, *Symb.* ii. p. 137, following the older divines; for example, Rivetus quoted by Buxtorf, as above, p. 321; Braun, as above, ii. p. 613 f., and others.

[19] That this sense of the words, at once so simple and so unanimously adopted by Jewish and Christian expositors alike, should have been rejected by Bähr (ii. 145 f.) on the ground that it "leads to the sacrifices being regarded in the light of magical purifications," justly strikes Baumgarten (comment. on this passage) as "astonishing." "For, in this instance, there is nothing more of a magical tendency than is to be found in any other part of the worship of Israel. The truth is, the ascribing of a personal and spiritual influence to external objects that had been sanctified before Jehovah, formed the ground on which, according to the law, all intercourse between God and Israel was based."

[20] Comp. Bähr, *Symbol.* ii. p. 172 f., and Schnedermann, "Die bibl. Symbolik des Oelbaums und des Oeles," in the *Luth. Ztschr.* 1874, p. 4 ff.

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Second part of the ceremony. With the anointing, the priest's equipment for his office was understood to be completed. Since, however, the priesthood was not merely an office with special functions belonging to it, but implied, at the same time, a superior rank in the Israelitish kingdom of God, with special prerogatives and privileges attaching to it, and had also the effect of bringing those among the covenant people who were entrusted with that sacred office into a closer relation with the covenant God, it followed that the consecration ceremony could not be regarded as completed without a special consecration sacrifice as well, in which the conveying of those special rights and prerogatives to those that were being consecrated was symbolically set forth. But in what way this was effected through those sacrifices that were specially prescribed for the occasion, can only become clear when we have explained the meaning of sacrifices generally, so that further treatment of this point must be reserved till we come to speak of consecration sacrifices below (§ 55).

II. The *typical* meaning of the priestly qualifications and prerogatives must be looked for, not so much in the various requirements necessary to qualify for the office of the priest along with their symbolical significance, as in the fact that all the requisites in question appeared insufficient duly to sanctify the priests, and to constitute them mediators between the holy God and the sinful people. Neither complete freedom from physical defects, nor the cleansing of the body by washing, nor the investing with the official robes, nor the anointing with oil, could be said to purify them from the sinful impurity of their nature, and sanctify them in body, soul, and spirit, but only served to represent a state of outward purity (*τὴν τῆς σαρκὸς καθαρότητα*), without, however, truly and permanently producing even this. Consequently, the Levitical priests were required to repeat the washing of hands and feet every day before they could be allowed to take part in the service at the altar, or enter the holy place; while, on the great day of atonement, the high priest had also to offer a sin-offering for himself and the rest of the priests before he could perform a similar service for the congregation, and make atonement for them before God.

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If, therefore, a priest who was holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners was alone qualified to represent sinners before God, and make atonement for them, and if the priests of the Old Testament, on the other hand, did not really possess those attributes, but could only be said to be invested with them in a symbolical form in virtue of certain divine prescriptions and promises, it followed that the various regulations as to the qualifications of the priests for the exercise of the functions entrusted to them could have been designed merely as a divine arrangement, whereby to foreshadow the nature and character of Him who was to be the true priest and high priest. Accordingly they must have been intended to prepare the way for the realization of the truth of the insufficiency of the Levitical priesthood for adequately representing the sinful people before the holy God, and typically to point to the future appearing of the perfect Mediator, who would redeem the people of Israel from all sin, invest them with true sanctification, and make them a genuine kingdom of priests.

§ 38. *History of the Sacred Officials.*

As the sacred officials in Israel constituted a distinct hereditary order, it was impossible that any essential modifications could find their way into it in the course of time so long as the Mosaic law continued in force.[1] On the death of Aaron the *office of high priest* passed to his eldest son Eleazar (Num. xx. 28 ff.), and in terms of the divine promise contained in Num. xxv. 13 was vested in his descendants from Phinehas downward (Judg. xx. 28), until, for some reason or other that has not been stated, it passed in the person of Eli into the line of Ithamar,[2] in which it continued till the deposition of Abiathar by Solomon, who, in appointing Zadok to the office, restored it once more to the exclusive possession of the house of Eleazar, to which it originally belonged (1 Kings ii. 26 f., 35). For, ever since there had been two sanctuaries, one having been added in consequence of the removal of the ark from the tabernacle to Mount Zion, there had also been two high priests as well (2 Sam. viii. 17, xv. 24, 35, xvii. 15; 1 Chron. xv. 11).[3]—This office remained in the hands of Zadok's descendants till after the exile, and even

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the high priests mentioned in the Maccabean age, Jonathan and Simon, the so-called Thassi, sons of Mattathias the priest (1 Macc. x. 20 ff., xiv. 35, 41, comp. with ii. 1–5), and of the order of Jehoiarib, belonged to Eleazar's line, a fact that is clearly evident from 1 Chron. xxiv. 7 compared with ver. 6,[4] although in the time of Judas Maccabæus the Syrians, by nominating for the office one Alkimus, who, though belonging to the posterity of Aaron, was not descended from Eleazar (1 Macc. vii. 5 ff., 14), had tried to interrupt the regular succession.[5]—It was the tyranny of Herod the Great that first upset the legitimate order of succession, inasmuch as he conferred the high office in question even upon ordinary priests, and appointed and deposed high priests at his own pleasure.[6]

[1] Comp. the historical epitomes of Oehler in Herzog, *Encyclopædie*, vi. p. 204 ff., and xii. p. 182 ff.; and Franz Delitzsch, "Pentateuch," *Krit. Stud.* v. "Der Hohepriester," in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift für Kirchl. Wissenschaft*, 1880, p. 223 ff.

[2] On the supposed occasion of this, see the discussion of the point in the author's comm. on 1 Sam. ii. 27. For the utterly vague and improbable conjectures of the Rabbinical writers, see Selden, *De success. in pontif.* i. cap. 2.

[3] Eli was succeeded by his grandson Ahitub, the latter, again, by his own son Ahiah (1 Sam. xiv. 3), Ahiah by his brother Ahimelech (1 Sam. xxi. 2 ff.), who is spoken of in 1 Chron. xxiv. 3 as a descendant of Ithamar, and Ahimelech by his son Abiathar (1 Sam. xxii. 20). Comp. the author's comm. on 2 Sam. viii. 17 and 1 Kings i. 7.

[4] From Selden's observing, as above, p. 152 f.: Utrum vero classis Jojaribi (e qua Hasmonæi ideoque Judas iste) fuerit ex Eleazaridis an ex Ithamaridis, non satis liquet. Nam etsi in xxiv. classium sacerdotalium distributione Jojaribi classis primarium obtinet locum, ut videre est 1 Paralip. xxiv. 7, id tamen sorti duntaxat, non Eleazaridum dignitati deberi ajunt Ebræi—he would seem not to have paid sufficient attention to ver. 6. For, according to that verse, the lot employed to determine the orders of the priests was drawn for the two principal households alternately, one household representing Eleazar and another representing Ithamar, so that the names of the two had to be kept separate, and in the drawing the line of Eleazar was to come first, and hence the first name (Jehoiarib) that came out of the urn could not fail, of course, to belong to the line of Eleazar. Comp. the author's comm. on 1 Chron. xxiv. 6.

[5] Comp. Selden, as above, p. 150 f.

[6] Comp. Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 10, and the principal work on

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this subject, Selden, *De success. in pontif.* lib. i.—For lists of all the high priests, according to Josephus, the *Seder Olam*, and the *Chronicon paschale*, see Reland, *Antiq. sac.* ii. 2, p. 144 f.

The *priests*—called sons of Aaron, Lev. iii. 5, 13, or כֹּהֲנִים הַלְוִיִּם, Deut. xvii. 9, 18—were exclusively the descendants of Eleazar and Ithamar, and originally when they exercised their functions they probably did so according to a definite principle of alternation. But when in the course of time their numbers had greatly multiplied, David regulated the order of their duties (מְלֶאכֶת קֹדֶשׁ הַקָּדָשִׁים), in so far as he divided the priests into twenty-four classes or orders (מַחְלָקוֹת or מִשְׁמָרוֹת, *ἐφημερίαι*), sixteen of them consisting of the descendants of Eleazar and eight consisting of the descendants of Ithamar, with a president at the head of each class (שָׂרֵי קֹדֶשׁ, or שָׂרֵי הָאֵלִפִים, or שָׂרֵי הַכֹּהֲנִים, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14; Ezra x. 5; *ἀρχιερεῖς*, Matt. ii. 4; Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 7. 8, etc.). The order in which each of those classes was to take its turn was determined by lot, a new one being appointed every week to conduct the worship for the whole of that week, their duties beginning on the one Sabbath and ending with the next (2 Kings xi. 9; 2 Chron. xxiii. 4); comp. 1 Chron. xxiv., where the twenty-four orders are enumerated.[7]—When the disruption of the kingdom took place, the priests and Levites withdrew from the ten rebel tribes into the kingdom of Judah, for Jeroboam had appointed high priests of his own making to take charge of the idolatrous worship he had set up on the high places (2 Chron. xi. 12; 1 Kings xii. 31, xiii. 33), so that from that time forward the Levitical priests confined themselves to this part of the kingdom, and there alone continued to exercise their functions, attending, that is, to the *sacra* in the temple, occupying themselves with matters of jurisprudence, and instructing the people in the knowledge of the law (2 Chron. xvii. 7–9). King Jehoshaphat created a supreme court in Jerusalem (2 Chron. xvii. 7–9), which was composed of Levites, priests, and the chiefs of the tribes (elders); and so long and so far as king and people remained loyal to the law of Moses, the priestly order was held in high esteem, and exercised an important and healthy influence upon the progress and development of the theocracy. But with the spread of apostasy there came a corresponding

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sinking of the priests into immorality, falling away from God, and idol-worship, the state of corruption into which they had fallen at length provoking stern remonstrance on the part of the prophets (Hosea vi. 9; Micah iii. 11; Zeph. iii. 4; Jer. v. 31, vi. 13; Ezek. xxii. 26; Mal. ii.).—After the erection of the temple the officiating priests occupied rooms immediately adjoining it, while subsequent to the exile several sacerdotal families came and took up their abode in private houses in Jerusalem, Neh. xi. 10 ff.

[7] In like manner the various regularly recurring duties were assigned by lot (comp. Luke i. 9; Mischna, *Ioma* ii. 3 ff., and *Tract. Tamid*, as quoted by Lightfoot, *Horæ hebr.* note on Luke i. 9), for which purpose there was a special *præfectus sortium* in the temple (Mischna, *Schek.* v. 1).

The services of the *Levites*, too, to whom Moses had specially entrusted the task of removing the tabernacle from place to place during the journey through the wilderness, were also carefully regulated by David. As soon as the sacred tent was erected on Mount Zion for the reception of the ark, he committed the teaching of the psalmody in this sanctuary to Asaph and his choir of singers and players, and the duty of watching over the place he assigned to Obed Edom ben Jeduthun and Hosah; while in the tabernacle at Gibeon, on the other hand, Heman and Jeduthun were appointed, under Zadok the priest, to take charge of the music, both vocal and instrumental, and the sons of Jeduthun again to be the doorkeepers (1 Chron. xvi. 37–42).—Some time after, and that on the occasion of Solomon's succeeding to the throne, the Levites were numbered (1 Chron. xxiii.), when there turned out to be 38,000 of them of thirty years of age and upwards,[8] of whom 24,000 were appointed to look after the work of Jehovah's house, *i.e.* to be at hand to assist the priests in all the various duties that devolved upon them in the sanctuary (vers. 4, 28 ff.), 6000 to act as officers and judges, 4000 as doorkeepers, and 4000 to conduct the musical part of the service (vers. 4, 5). David further took the 24,000 who had been appointed to assist the priests and divided them by lot into twenty-four orders (מַחְלְקוֹת), some of which, along with their heads or presidents (רָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת), are mentioned in 1 Chron. xxiii. 6–24, comp. xxiv. 20–31, accord-

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ing to their בֵּית אָבוֹת. The singers, again, and those who played on instruments, of whom there were 288, under the leadership of Asaph, Ethan or Jeduthun, and Heman, and all of them skilled musicians, were divided into twenty-four classes, which did duty by turns, the turn of each class being determined by lot (1 Chron. xxv.). The doorkeepers, the treasurers, and those appointed to act as judges were similarly divided into classes, their duties and functions being determined by lot (1 Chron. xxvi.). These classes thus continued, each of them, to discharge exclusively those duties that had been assigned it, down to the time of King Agrippa II., who introduced certain modifications into the existing arrangements (Joseph. *Antiq.* xx. 9. 6). Under this monarch, the Levites who conducted the music managed to secure for themselves the privilege of wearing the priests' dress as well as the regular priests (Josephus, as above); whereas, at the consecration of the temple of Solomon, they only wore the byssus coat (2 Chron. v. 12), the Levites as a rule having had no official dress at all.

[8] Comp. 2 Chron. xxiii. 3. On the other hand, according to ver. 24, they were appointed to their duties at the age of 20 and upwards.

For the heavier and more menial duties of their office the Levites came, in the course of time, to be assisted by a class of persons known as the *temple slaves*. As early as the time of Joshua, the Gibeonites, we are informed, had been appointed to act as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the sanctuary (Josh. ix. 21). Subsequently, persons were presented to the sanctuary by David and other kings to perform services of this nature (Ezra viii. 20), such persons being probably prisoners of war who had become proselytes, and who, in the post-exilian portions of Scripture (1 Chron. ix. 2; Ezra ii. 43, vii. 7; Neh. vii. 46), are called *Nethinim* (נְתִינִים, *donati, Deo dati*), by Josephus ἱερόδουλοι, who lived partly in Jerusalem (Neh. iii. 26, 31, xi. 21) and partly in the Levitical cities (Ezra ii. 70; Neh. vii. 73), and in Ezra ii. 58, Neh. vii. 60, xi. 3, are classed with *Solomon's servants* who served in the temple.[9]

[9] Comp. Winer, *Realwörtb.* ii. p. 148 f., and Oehler in Herzog, *Encyclopædie.*

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THIRD DIVISION.

THE VARIOUS ACTS OF WORSHIP.

FIRST SECTION.

THE SACRIFICES.

§ 39. *The Pre-Mosaic Sacrifices.*

The *beginnings* of sacrifice[1] reach back into the primitive ages of the human race. Not only do we find it existing at a surprisingly early period among all the nations of antiquity, but in Gen. iv. 3 the sons of our first parents are represented as already offering sacrifice (מִנְחָה) to God, Cain's consisting of the fruits of the ground which he tilled, Abel's of the fat of the firstlings of the flocks which he reared. After the flood, Noah expressed his gratitude to the Lord for his deliverance by presenting burnt-offerings, taken from all the clean cattle and from all the clean fowls, upon an altar built expressly for the purpose (Gen. viii. 20 f.). In a similar way, the patriarchs were in the habit of building altars to offer sacrifices and call upon the name of the Lord on those spots on which the latter had happened to reveal Himself to them (Gen. xii. 7 f., xiii. 4, 18, xxvi. 25, xxxi. 54, xxxiii. 20, xxxv. 7, xlvi. 1).—It is true, no doubt, that sacrifices were not instituted in compliance with any divine command, still they must not on that account be ascribed to mere human invention;[2] they are the spontaneous expression, so natural to man as made in the image of God, of the reverence and gratitude which he feels toward Him who is the creator and supporter of life, and the giver of all good.[3]

The *fundamental idea* of sacrifice may be gathered, partly from the designation, and partly from the nature of the first of them that were ever offered. The sacrifices of Cain and Abel alike are called מִנְחָה, *i.e. gifts*, although the one consisted of the fruits of the field and the other of animals taken from the flocks; while, in the Mosaic law, *Corban* (קָרְבָּן, *i.e.* προσφορά, *oblatio*), *a presentation*, — corresponding to the

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German *Opfer*, from *offerre*,—continues to be the term in most general use to denote sacrifice, its equivalent in Ex. xxviii. 38 being the words מַתְּנוֹת קָדָשִׁים, *holy gifts*. Originally, then, sacrifices were acts in which a man presented or gave away to God something or other that belonged to him, by way of testifying his gratitude for what he had been receiving at the hands of his Maker, and with the view of securing for himself a continuance of the divine favour and mercy. Then, in so far as he offered to God the very best of his acquisitions and possessions, those sacrifices served as signs or symbols of the surrender of his heart,—acts in which he was to be understood as giving himself, his life and all his aims, to God, with the object of entering more and more into fellowship with Him. In this way the sacrificial gift acquired the *vicarious* import of the surrender of the whole man, his life and aims, to God, because, as a being consisting both of body and spirit, he could not offer himself directly, person to person, to God the infinite Spirit, but could only give expression to his devotion in this respect in the shape of an outward material gift. The most direct surrender of himself that a man can make to God is realized in prayer, an act in which the soul merges itself in Him from whom it came, in which the spirit unites itself with its God. Now that which corresponds to this inward surrender, as being an outward, visible or tangible verification of it, is sacrifice which, on this account, has been called "embodied prayer."[4] The intimate connection subsisting between prayer and sacrifice may be further seen in the fact that the patriarchs did not only build altars for sacrifice, but also called upon the name of the Lord (in prayer) at the same time, Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 4, etc. Since, however, the earliest sacrifices of which we have any knowledge were offered after the fall, when man was separated from God by sin and had become subject to death, and, seeing that the one of the two sacrifices in question was a sacrifice of something living, there has always been a disposition to regard the idea of *expiation* as essentially belonging to the animal sacrifice, and either to see in the slaughter of the victim a confession on the part of the person sacrificing that "properly speaking he himself ought to die instead of the animal, and that therefore the animal was dying instead of him," or, at

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all events, to associate with the shedding of the blood the thought of expiation for a sin worthy of death.[5] But neither can the designation מִנְחָה, which is applied to Abel's sacrifice as well as Cain's, nor the mere blood streaming from the slaughtered animal, be said to point to the idea of expiation. For, in the language of the sacrificial thora (law), the term מִנְחָה denotes precisely those sacrifices to which no piacular significance was ascribed, the thora connecting the idea of expiation, not with the blood of the slaughtered animal, but only with the act of sprinkling the blood upon the altar. But in the case of Abel's sacrifice, in connection with which an altar is not once mentioned, such sprinkling was out of the question. Again, in the case of Noah's burnt-offerings we are precluded from assuming that it was any felt need of expiation that moved the patriarch to offer those sacrifices; for the truth is, Noah was regarded by God as righteous, and had for that very reason been saved from the judgment of the flood. As little can we detect any trace whatever of the idea of expiation in the animal sacrifices of the rest of the patriarchs (Gen. xxxi. 54, xlvi. 1). Not only so, but the result in the case of Abraham when called upon to make a burnt-offering of his own son (Gen. xx.), plainly teaches that what God desired was not the death of that son as an expiation for his own guilt, but only the surrender of the dearest object to which the heart of Abraham clung, and therefore only the complete surrender of the heart itself. What we find, then, in all the pre-Mosaic sacrifices is not a sense of sin and guilt as the motive for sacrifice and as the thought that underlay it, but merely the yielding to an impulse on the part of the worshipper to give outward expression to that devout feeling of reverence and gratitude which they cherished toward God for the blessings received at His hands, coupled with the desire of assuring themselves anew of the further continuance of the divine favour and goodness. Of course there was underlying this desire the feeling of being separated from God, and, so far as such a feeling contributed in some measure to produce the impulse to sacrifice, the sacrifices offered were not mere thank-offerings, but sacrifices of prayer as well, and were to be regarded "as propitiatory in the more comprehensive sense of the word."[6]

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[1] On the subject of sacrifices, comp., besides the older works of Saubert and Outram, quoted at p. 14, the following of a more recent character: Bähr, *Symbolik*, ii. pp. 179–453; Hengstenberg, "Die Opfer der heil. Schrift," in *Ev. KZ.* 1852, Nr. 12 ff., reprinted at Berlin 1859; Kurtz, *Das Mos. Opfer*, Mitau 1842, and the same work remodelled under the title, *Der alttestamentl. Opfercultus*, 1862 [E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1863]; the author's articles: "Die Opfer des A. Bundes nach ihrer symbol. und typischen Bedeutung," in the *Luth. Ztschr.* 1856, iv., 1857, i.–iii.; Oehler, "Der Opfercultus des A. Test.," in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*, x., and in his *Theologie des A. Test.* i. p. 480 ff. [E. tr. T. & T. Clark, 1875]; Dr. Wangemann, *Das Opfer nach Lehre der heil. Schrift A. und N. Testaments*, 2 vols., Berlin 1886; and Kleinert, "Religionsgeschichtliche Studien zur Theorie des Opfers," in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1874, pp. 417–461; and Delitzsch in Riehm's *HWB.* p. 1113 ff.

[2] For the disputes regarding this point among the older divines, see Deyling, *Observatt. sacr.* ii. p. 40 ff., and Carpzov, *Apparatus*, p. 705 ff.

[3] So many of the Fathers as quoted by Outram, *De sacrificiis*, i. p. 7 f. Comp., in addition, Oehler in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*, x. 617.

[4] Outram already observes, as above, p. 212 f.: Quod preces vituli labiorum appellentur Hos. xiv. 2. Cujus dicti ea ratio est, quod preces sacrificia quædam essent et sacrificia preces quædam. Preces utique sacrificia spiritualia, et sacrificia *symbolicæ* preces, referring in further corroboration of this to 1 Sam. xiii. 12 and Prov. xv. 8. Comp., besides, Hengstenberg, *Ev. KZ.* 1852, Nr. 13, p. 113, and Hofmann, *Schriftbeweis*, ii. 1, p. 218 of the 2nd ed.

[5] So Delitzsch, *Die Genesis*, p. 165 of the 4th ed. Comp. with vol. i. 196 of the 2nd ed.; Ebrard, *Die Lehre von der stellvertretenden Genugthuung* (1857), p. 37 ff., and others. This view has been justly questioned by Hofmann, as above. p. 218 ff.; but, at the same time, his attempt to explain the difference in God's attitude toward the sacrifices of Cain and Abel respectively, by some difference in the character of the two brothers as determined by their different pursuits in life, is quite a failure. For, in the first place, it is a mistake to say that "agriculture only reminded Cain of the curse which God had pronounced upon the ground in consequence of sin," and it is still more inaccurate to connect the thought of this curse with Cain's sacrifice. Because what the earth had yielded to Cain was not thorns and thistles, but fruits such as he could make an offering of to God, in order to express his gratitude to Him for bestowing those blessings upon him. In the next

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place, God had not granted to Abel alone the right of slaughtering animals for the purpose of using their skins for clothing, but to men generally, so that Cain would share in this privilege in common with others. Lastly, it is hardly good logic to argue that, in directing men to make use of the skins of animals to cover their nakedness, God had vouchsafed to them a token of His sin-pardoning grace, and that, accordingly, when Abel offered his animal sacrifice, he did not only express gratitude for the blessings with which his daily toil was crowned, but also at the same time for the forgiveness of his sins.

[6] Comp. Oehler in Herzog's *Encyclopœdie*, x. p. 616.

FIRST CHAPTER.

THE MOSAIC SACRIFICES IN GENERAL.

§ 40. *Their Idea and Classification.*

Idea. In the time of the patriarchs, sacrifices were the spontaneous outward expression of feelings of grateful reverence and faithfulness toward God; but under the Mosaic law, on the other hand, sacrificial worship was so incorporated with the covenant economy, that not only was the offering of sacrifices enjoined upon the people of Israel as a covenant duty to be performed to the Lord their God, and the materials of the sacrifices and the rites to be observed in offering them minutely prescribed, but the sacrifices that were thus offered in accordance with the law acquired the important character of means of grace to which a sacramental significance attached. In and through them was to be realized the aim of that covenant which God the Lord of heaven and earth had made with that people which He had chosen as His own, that is to say, through them the way was to be prepared for the ultimate redemption of the human race from the dominion of sin and death, and for its attaining to perfect felicity in fellowship with the life of God.—The ground on which the legal offering of sacrifices[1] is based is the commandment, incorporated with the covenant laws of Israel, which says: "None shall appear before me empty" (Ex. xxiii. 15), or as it is put in Deut. xvi. 16: "Appear not empty before the

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face of Jehovah," to which are added, by way of explanation, the words of ver. 17 : "Every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of Jehovah thy God, which He hath given thee." The people of Israel were required to seek the face of their God, to celebrate feasts three times in the year, and on the occasion of those feasts to appear before the Lord, not with empty hands, but with gifts consisting of a portion of the blessings which their God had bestowed upon them.[2] But in order rightly to apprehend the nature of the sacrifices prescribed by the Mosaic law as well as the idea that underlies them, we must direct our attention, in the first place, to the term *Corban*, which is applied to all sacrifices alike. In this designation the whole of the sacrifices which the people of Israel offered to their God are characterized as gifts.[3] But God did not exact those gifts from the people as though they were of the nature of tribute which, as feudal possessors of the land of Canaan, they were required to pay to Him as divine King—as though they were tithes of the produce of the flocks and the fields, payable to Him in return for the land which He had assigned them, but only as holy gifts which they were asked to present to Him as their covenant God, in consideration of their having been delivered by Him from the bondage of Egypt, and of their having been adopted by Him as His own peculiar people, so that in and through those gifts they might in turn obtain and enjoy the gracious benefits and blessings of the covenant in the shape of the forgiveness of sins, sanctification, and true felicity. But such blessed results could not possibly be effected by the mere offering itself of gifts taken from the people's own possessions and acquisitions, but only through God's grace imparting to those human gifts a divine saving efficacy. For when pious men in primitive times offered a portion of their possessions upon the altar to God, they could not be sure whether their sacrifice would produce the result which they desired and hoped for; when, on the other hand, the pious Israelite offered sacrifice to the Lord upon His altar in accordance with the regulations prescribed by the law, he had the divine promise as a guarantee that he would certainly obtain the blessing he wanted to secure. Through divine sanction thus given to them, the sacrifices of the Mosaic law acquired the

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character of *means of grace*, possessing a sacramental virtue and efficacy, and held so central a place in Old Testament worship that no religious act was regarded as complete that was not accompanied with sacrifice.

But in order that the sacrificial worship should duly harmonize with its character as a means of grace for the nation and the individual constituents of it in all their relations to Jehovah the Creator and Redeemer of Israel, it was necessary that it should embrace more than the two kinds of sacrifices that it had been the practice to offer from the earliest times, viz. burnt-offerings and oblations with their accompanying covenant feasts. The choice of Israel to become God's holy people, a choice which also involved the requirement so frequently inculcated in the law of "being holy as Jehovah is holy," would in consequence of the sinfulness of human nature never have been more than an unattainable ideal, unless, over and above those sacrifices by means of which Israel was enabled to cultivate fellowship with the Lord, others of a more special character had been instituted, having as their object the expiation of those sins and covenant transgressions that were due to the weakness of the flesh. Not only so, but the sacrificial system, if it was to answer the end contemplated by the covenant of proving a means of grace, if it was to train and guide the congregation of Israel, called as it was to be a holy nation, to the attainment of holiness of life, would of necessity require to be so framed as not only to awaken in the unholy people a consciousness of their sin and uncleanness, and impress upon them the possibility of obtaining the forgiveness of their sin and guilt, and of becoming righteous before God, but also to furnish ways and means of cultivating righteousness and holiness before the Lord, and of tasting the blessedness that flowed from reconciliation and peace with Him. The sacrificial worship had, therefore, to be framed in such a way as to satisfy all the needs of the community as a whole and of each of its individual members, and to form a channel through which there might be conveyed to that community those manifold gifts of God of which it stood in need in order to its realizing the end contemplated in its divine calling. With a view to this, the thora divided the sacrifices into several kinds,

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according to the particular purpose which they were intended to serve; while, by means of specific differences again in the ritual associated with them, those various kinds or classes of sacrifices were elaborated into highly significant channels, through which to the worshipped the benefits and blessings they were designed to evoke were conveyed.

Classification. According to their *purpose*, or according to the particular end to be served by them, the sacrifices of the Mosaic law were divided into four kinds: (1) *propitiatory sacrifices*, which were subdivided into *sin-offerings* and *trespass-offerings*; (2) *burnt-offerings*; (3) *peace-offerings*, which were subdivided into *thank-offerings*, *sacrifices offered in connection with vows*, and *freewill-offerings*; (4) *meat-* and *drink-offerings*. The first-mentioned class were intended to lead to the worshipper's being pardoned and received into the divine favour; those included under the other three classes were offered by the worshipper after being thus admitted to the state of grace. Should it happen, as was not unfrequently the case, that several sacrifices fell to be offered on the same occasion, then those of a propitiatory character—as a rule only sin-offerings, though in special cases trespass-offerings and sin-offerings simultaneously, or conversely, sin- and trespass-offerings simultaneously—took precedence of the burnt-offerings, the latter, again, being followed by the peace-offerings, while the meat- and drink-offerings were presented in conjunction with the burnt-offerings and the thank-offerings alike, or simply by themselves. — Then as regards their *materials*, the sacrifices were divided into two classes, the *bloody* (slaughtered victims) and the *bloodless* (meat- and drink-offerings); for the meat-offerings were not mere accessories of the burnt- and peace-offerings, but formed an independent class of sacrifices which could be offered by themselves.[4]—Then, looked at with reference to the *occasion* of their being offered, they may be classed under two heads: (1) those that were *prescribed by law*, *i.e.* such as entered into the regular worship of the community on week-days, on the Sabbath, and on festival days, or those that had to be offered by private individuals, by families, and by tribes in special circumstances, and the omission of which was regarded as a sin; and (2) those that were offered *spontaneously*, partly by

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the whole community or by others in its behalf on festival days or other occasions, and partly by private persons at such times as they themselves might think proper. The law further divided sacrifices into those that, on the one hand, were regarded as *holy* (קָדָשִׁים), and those that, on the other, were regarded as *most holy* (קֹדֶשׁ קָדָשִׁים).[5] Those known as "most holy" were all the burnt-offerings, the sin-offerings, and the meat-offerings, the different parts of which had to be entirely burnt (upon the altar or elsewhere), or else eaten officially by the priests; while those known as simply "holy" were all the peace-offerings, all offerings of firstlings, and those meat-offerings the flesh of which, not being burnt upon the altar, fell partly to the priests for their bodily sustenance, and was partly made use of in connection with sacrificial feasts.

[1] This proposition, the meaning of which, both from the words themselves as well as their context, it is quite impossible to mistake, Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 33) has converted into: "foundation and key for the understanding of the altar sacrifices;" whereupon he proceeds to argue at great length against what appears to him the "inconceivable delusion and blunder" involved in using the passages quoted in the text as a basis for *understanding the nature and meaning* of sacrifice. In the course of his argument he asserts, as a well-ascertained and unquestionable truth, that "those passages do not refer to the altar sacrifices specially, nay, not even to the Corbanim in general and as a whole, but exclusively and expressly to the firstlings and the tithes that were ordered to be presented on the occasion of the three harvest festivals." But he has here overlooked the fact that, according to the Thora, the tithes were not included among the Corbanim, and that on the occasion of the Passover which preceded the harvest, firstlings and tithes could not have been presented, that being possible only at the feast of Pentecost and the feast of Tabernacles, owing to the circumstance of their occurring after the harvest was over. One should hardly be disposed to regard it as a valid objection to this to point to the case of the wave sheaf which was offered by way of consecrating the harvest that was to begin on the day after the Passover, and that was taken from such of the barley as happened to be soonest ripe.

[2] Comp. the author's comment. on Ex. xxiii. 14 f., where it is shown how this prescription involves, not merely a duty, but also a privilege.

[3] Comp. Mark vii. 11: Κορβᾶν ὅ ἐστι δῶρον. The term קָרְבָּן occurs

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only in Leviticus and Numbers among the books of Moses, —whence again it has found its way into Ezek. xx. 28 and xl. 43,—and that as applying to the burnt-offering (Lev. i. 2, 3, etc.), to the meat-offering (Lev. ii. 1, 4, etc.), to the peace-offering (Schelamim, Lev. iii. 1, 2, etc.), to the sin-offering (Lev. iv. 23, 28), to the trespass-offering (Num. v. 15), to Aaron's meat-offering (Lev. vi. 13), to the Nazarite's offering (Num. vi. 14, 21), and to the Passover sacrifice (Num. vii. 9, 13). Not only so, but it is also used in speaking of the consecration gifts which were presented by the heads of the tribes at the dedication of the tabernacle, and which consisted of chargers and bowls of silver and gold filled with flour, oil, and incense, for altar sacrifices, as well as of animals for sacrifice (Num. vii. 10–88), while in the 3rd and 4th verses of this same chapter it is also used with reference to the waggons and oxen that were likewise presented by the heads of the tribes on Jehovah's sanctioning the acceptance of them for the use of the tabernacle. Moreover, in Num. xxxi. 50, that portion of the jewels of gold taken from the Midianites, which the captains offered to the Lord, is called קָרְבַּן יְהוָה, because they presented those gifts לְכַפֵּר עַל־נַפְשֹׁתֵיהֶם, *i.e.* as an extraordinary means of propitiation. Lastly, in Neh. x. 35 and xiii. 31, the offering of wood for the altar fire is spoken of as קָרְבַּן הָעֵצִים. From all this it would appear that *Korban* denotes only such gifts as were intended for the altar, or at all events that had the force and significance of altar-sacrifices; and further, that Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 32) gives an erroneous conception of the idea on which this term is based, when he includes under it all those gifts for God that required to be brought to His dwelling-place and handed over in the court of the tabernacle; and when, in addition to the sacrificial gifts properly so called, he includes all consecration gifts as well as those that are to be regarded somewhat in the light of *tribute*, such as first-fruits, first-born, and tithes, and classifies the whole under the three following heads: (1) korbanim for the sanctuary of Jehovah (consecration gifts), (2) korbanim for the maintenance of Jehovah's servants, or the tribute-payments (first-fruits, tithes, and first-born), and (3) korbanim for Jehovah direct (sacrifices for the altar).—We are bound, however, to regard as utterly reprehensible the high-handed criticism of Wangemann (*Das Opfer*, i. p. 111 f.), who sets aside the interpretation of the κορβᾶν in Mark vii. 11 as "a purely arbitrary gloss on the part of Mark," because it happens to stand in the way of *his* theory of sacrifice; comp., as against this, the author's comment. on Lev. p. 26, note.

[4] The independent character belonging to the meat-offerings, though it has been questioned by Bähr (*Symb.* ii. p. 199) and

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others, has been conclusively demonstrated in the author's articles on sacrifice in the *Luth. Zeitschr.* 1856, p. 610 ff., and by Thalhofer, *Die unblut. Opfer des Mos. cultus*, Regensb. 1848, p. 51 ff., and is now generally admitted; comp. Oehler, "Opfer," in Herzog's *Encyclopædie*, x. p. 621, and Kurtz, *Opfere.* p. 260 ff. The meat-offerings offered by the priests on the occasion of their consecration were presented independently and by themselves, while the offering in the case of the trial of jealousy consisted of a bloodless gift (Num. v. 15, 25 f.). It is a disputed point, no doubt, but still it is highly probable, that the meat-offerings described in Lev. ii. were also allowed to be offered by themselves without being accompanied with bloody sacrifices. From the regulation to the effect that every burnt-offering and every peace-offering was to be followed by a meat- and drink-offering, the quantity of fine flour, oil, and wine composing which was determined (Num. xv. 1–16) according to the kind of animals that were being sacrificed, it by no means follows that the meat- and drink-offerings formed mere adjuncts to the bloody sacrifices, or that they were allowed to be offered solely and exclusively in conjunction with burnt-offerings and sacrifices.

[b] Accordingly the Rabbinical writers distinguish between the קדשי קדשים, the most holy, and the קדשים קלים, the less holy sacrifices. On these and yet further classifications of the Rabbinical writers, all determined by the varying character of the sacrifices, see Reland's *Antiq.* iii. cap. i. sec. ii. ff. On the idea involved in קדש קדשים, see the author's comment. on Lev. ii.

§ 41. *The Material of the Sacrifice, its Nature and Meaning.*

The materials prescribed for the altar sacrifices consisted partly of animals and partly of vegetable substances. The sacrificial animals were (*a*) animals taken from the herds of the Israelites, viz. *oxen* (בְּהֵמָה) and the *smaller cattle* (צאן), *i.e.* sheep and goats on the one hand; and, on the other, (*b*) fowls (עוף), viz. *turtle doves* (תורים) and *young pigeons* (בְּנֵי יוֹנָה), the pigeons being intended partly to form the offerings of such poor persons as could not afford more costly sacrifices (Lev. v. 7, xii. 8), and partly to serve as sin-offerings of an inferior order. Of the cattle, both male and female animals might be offered (Lev. iii. 1), partly when full-grown, as the *ox* (שׁוֹר), *bullock* (פַּר = בֶּן בָּקָר, Lev. iv. 3, young heifer, and פָּרָה, young cow), and partly when young, as the *calf* (עֵגֶל = בֶּן בָּקָר,

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Lev. ix. 2, and עֶגְלָה, Gen. xv. 9; 1 Sam. xvi. 2). In the case of the smaller cattle, viz. the sheep (כְּשָׂבִים) and goats (עִזִּים), it was no less permissible to offer those of both sexes (Lev. iii. 6), though among the sheep special prominence was given (Num. xv. 5 f., 11, xxviii. 11 ff.) to the ram (אַיִל), while among the he-goats the עַתּוּד and the שָׂעִיר עִזִּים or שְׂעִיר are distinguished from each other, as, for example, in Num. vii. 16 f., 22 f., etc.[1]

As regards the quality of animals intended for sacrifice, they required to be (*a*) of a *certain age;* the young animals had to be eight days old at least (Lev. xxii. 27; Ex. xxii. 29); usually, however, the smaller cattle were sacrificed when a year old (Ex. xxix. 28; Lev. ix. 3, etc.), and the oxen when they had reached their third year,[2] although in Judg. vi. 25 we read of an ox being offered in sacrifice that was seven years old. Then (*b*) they required to be absolutely *free from blemish.* They had to be תְּמִימִים, *ἄμωμοι*, stainless, without blemish (מוּם), were not to be blind, broken, maimed (חָרוּץ), were not to have wens, or be affected with scurvy or scab, were not to have any member of the body too long or too short, nor were they to be castrated in any way whatever (Lev. xxii. 20–24).[3]

The *vegetable* materials for sacrifice consisted of corn, olive oil, incense, salt, and wine. The *corn* was offered (*a*) in the form of *ears* (אָבִיב), and that קָלוּי בָּאֵשׁ גֶּרֶשׂ כַּרְמֶל, *i.e.* roasted at the fire, beaten out from the fruits of the field (Lev. ii. 14);[4] (*b*) as *fine flour* (סֹלֶת, Lev. ii. 1). To those two, the fine flour and the ears of corn, oil and incense had to be added (Lev. ii. 1, 15 f.); and (*c*) as *unleavened bread* or *cakes*, and that of three sorts: (*α*) bread baked in the oven (מַאֲפֵה תַנּוּר), consisting either of cakes mixed with oil (חַלּוֹת, cakes of a thicker sort with holes through them), or flat ones of a thinner kind sprinkled over with oil (רְקִיקִים); (*β*) bread baked in the pan, and consisting of fine flour mixed with oil, and which was to be thoroughly baked and then broken into pieces, after which oil was to be poured over them (Lev. ii. 5); and (*γ*) bread baked in the frying-pan (מַרְחֶשֶׁת), consisting of fine flour with oil, *i.e.* cakes fried in oil (Lev. ii. 7).—Besides this, every meat-offering had to be salted with salt (Lev. ii. 13), the concluding words of which passage: "with all thine offerings thou shalt offer salt," have been understood by Jewish tradition as meaning that the animal sacrifices as well required to be

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sprinkled with salt (Ezek. xliii. 24; Mark ix. 49).[5] On the other hand, there was to be no leaven about any meat-offering, for neither leaven nor honey[6] was allowed to be introduced into any offering to Jehovah made by fire (Lev. ii. 11). Lastly, the wine, probably a dark-coloured kind (Sir. l. 15), was used for drink-offerings.

[1] Both words evidently denote different kinds of rams, שָׂעִיר, *pilosus*, being the shaggy, rough-haired species; עַתּוּד, on the other hand, being probably another sort, having a somewhat handsomer appearance. Comp. Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. lib. ii. cap. liii., and the author's comment. on Lev. iv. 23.

[2] According to the Rabbinical writers, פַּר was an animal under three years of age, עֵגֶל under one year, כֶּבֶשׂ under one year, אַיִל between one and two years, שָׂעִיר over one and under two years. In the B. Siphri as quoted by Outram, *De sacrificiis*, p. 97, it is said: Quadrimis et quinquennalibus animalibus ad sacrificia quidem uti licet, sed honoris ergo vetula non adducunt. Comp. Reland, *Antiq.* iii. 1. 11, and Bähr, p. 297.

[3] The various kinds of blemishes are discussed in detail by Bochart, as above, p. 594 ff. ed. Rosenm., and by Baldinger, *De victimarum integritate ac mysterio*, Heidelb. 1731, where we also find the regulations of the Rabbinical writers, who multiplied the number of points that were to be regarded as defects to as many as 73.

[4] Knobel renders גֶּרֶשׂ כַּרְמֶל by fresh corn bruised; the Rabbinical writers take כַּרְמֶל, in this instance, in the sense of: arista tenera et recens; Gesenius in *Thes.* p. 713, again, understands it in the sense of: fresh wheat and barley groats. On roasted grain as a favourite article of diet, see the author's comment on Lev. ii. 14.

[5] Comp. Josephus, *Antiq.* iii. 9. 1; Philo, *Opp.* ii. 255; Hottinger, *jur. hebr. leges*, p. 268 ff.; and Lindemann, "das Salz u. seine Bedeutung im bibl. Sprachgebrauch," in the *Theol. Ztschr.* of Dieckh. and Klief. v. p. 284 ff.

[6] Probably the honey of the bee, and not grape honey, as, following the Rabbinical writers, Bähr, p. 303, has assumed.

In order to appreciate aright the principle underlying the selection of just those things mentioned above and no other, as the materials for sacrifice, we have to bear in mind that the animals and the vegetable substances in question were among the ordinary articles of diet used by the Israelites, though, in the case of the animals, not only the unclean ones,

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i.e. those forbidden to be eaten, but also edible game (the stag, roe, gazelle) and edible fish, and, in the case of vegetable articles of food, tree-fruit and kitchen vegetables, were excluded, and lastly, that honey and leaven, or even anything with leaven in it, were forbidden. This of itself would seem to show that neither the idea of property[7] nor that of sustenance can have been the principle that regulated the selection of the above, and no other objects as materials of sacrifice, although there are elements of truth in both of those ideas. If the people of Israel brought as gifts to their Lord and God a portion of the blessing with which their ordinary vocations had been crowned by Him, those gifts could only be drawn from their well-earned possessions; and if it was by the fruits of their daily toil that they were supported, and thus gained a livelihood, then, in like manner, its offerings could only consist of gifts that were bestowed upon themselves for their nourishment and support. But the ideas of property and sustenance are, on the one hand, much too comprehensive, and, on the other, far too little in keeping with the object of altar sacrifices, to be taken into account in estimating the principle on which those latter were selected. The property of the Israelites included many things besides those that were allowed to be used as altar sacrifices, while such animals and fruits of the ground as were so used were, after all, only a selection made from the animals, fruits of the ground, and tree and garden fruits that had been assigned to them with a view to their sustenance. It is further to be borne in mind, that the sacrifices of primitive times were taken by the sons of Adam from the products of their daily toil, from the produce of the flocks and the fields, and that for the purpose, in the first instance, of expressing their gratitude to God for the blessings bestowed upon them, and of soliciting a further continuance of His goodness, by offering to Him a portion of the good things they had acquired. But this was not all, for in presenting their sacrificial gift they had in view the further object of offering the fruits of their life and labours to God, by consecrating to Him who was the author of their being, and the giver of all good, their life with all its energies and endowments, and that in such a way as to show that they placed their calling in life at His disposal.

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But man is created for eternal life, which he can acquire and possess only in fellowship with God. Even after his apostasy from God through sin, it was not intended that the preserving and cherishing of the physical and earthly life should form the sole aim of his existence and work upon earth, but that that aim should rather be directed towards the attainment of spiritual and eternal life. It was this that Jesus had in view when He said to the Jews who sought Him because He had fed them in a miraculous manner with material bread: "Labour not for the meat that perisheth, but for that meat which endureth unto everlasting life, which the Son of man shall give unto you" (John vi. 27). It was in this spirit, too, that the people of Israel were called upon to offer to the Lord their God sacrifices consisting of portions of the sustenance they had earned through the exercise of their ordinary avocations. Those sacrifices are called in the Thora *bread of God* (Lev. xxi. 6, 8, 17, 21 f., xxii. 25; Num. xxviii. 2), not meaning by this, of course, that the people were to be understood as offering a share of their material sustenance to God as food, which He Himself was to partake of, nor even by way of shadowing forth in their *victus* as *symbolum vitæ* that in which their life consisted,[8] but simply for the purpose of exhibiting, through those gifts by which their life was sustained, the fact of the fulfilment of their life's work. It would not have been appropriate to employ for such a purpose as that anything, no matter what, that happened to be simply edible, but only such ordinary articles of food as were obtained as the result of their labour and toil. It is only from this point of view that the idea of sustenance, as forming the principle on which the selection of the legal materials for sacrifice was made, can be said to come in. Seeing that in the land of Canaan, which they had received as an inheritance from the Lord, the people were enjoined to adopt as their ordinary avocation, not fishing and hunting, but the rearing of cattle and the cultivation of the soil, we have here the principle on which, not merely wild animals, but also edible game and all kinds of fish, and also such ordinary domestic animals as had never been considered edible, were expressly excluded as unsuitable for altar sacrifices. At the same time, it is not difficult to reconcile with this

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principle the use of pigeons in sacrifice, for from the earliest times the Israelites were in the habit of rearing pigeons (Isa. lx. 8), and even turtle doves, although birds of passage were yet so common in Palestine[9] that the flesh-food of the more necessitous among the people may well be supposed to have consisted, for the most part, of tame pigeons and turtle doves. And although the qualification insisted on in the case of all other sacrificial animals, to the effect that they should only be such as were reared by man, could not, strictly speaking, apply to turtle doves, yet this exception to the rule is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that, except in a few cases of purifying, those birds were only offered by the poor as substitutes for the ordinary victims. It was precisely on a similar principle that, among the vegetable products of Canaan, *those* tree-fruits were excluded which grew either without any cultivation on the part of man at all, or with only a very small amount of it, while as regards the olive tree and the vine, their products were converted into oil and wine solely by means of human industry.—In so far, then, as the worldly calling and pursuits of the Israelites resolved themselves almost exclusively into cultivation of the soil and rearing of cattle, it was only natural that the materials for sacrifice prescribed by the law should have formed the most appropriate substratum on which to represent — because expressing itself in his life and work—the personality of the worshipper who, in offering his gift, wished it to be understood that he was devoting himself to the Lord. If, then, in the act of sacrifice the people of the earthly covenant desired to consecrate to their God their life and all its aims with the view of obtaining through such consecration, not only vigour and strength for a new life, but of finding in it, at the same time, the joy and felicity of loving fellowship with their God, there could not have been a more fitting symbol under which to exhibit their personal surrender to the Lord, than by offering to Him a share of the cattle they had reared, and of the products of the fields they had cultivated. For it was these that furnished them with daily sustenance, and this sustenance, in so far as it is the result of man's industry, may be said to represent his aims and pursuits; while, in so far as he partakes of and enjoys it,

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it may also be said to impart enjoyment and refreshment to his life.[10]

This view of the meaning of the sacrificial *gifts* is no less in harmony with the character of the regulations as to their *nature and condition.* Every animal offered in sacrifice required to be free from every sort of blemish and defect, besides having to be at least eight days, and as a rule not more than three years old. This regulation finds its natural explanation, on the one hand, in the fact that the gift had necessarily to be the expression of that love which always offers its choicest and its best; and, on the other hand, in the further fact that none but a faultless and perfect gift could form an appropriate offering for God, the holy One and the perfect. Not only so, but this regulation likewise implied that—in so far as ethical shortcomings might be said to be reflected in physical blemishes—it is only as irreproachable and free from ethical infirmities (תְּמִים ἄμωμος) that man could be said to be in a position to devote himself to the holy One, and enter into fellowship of life with Him. Again, this devotion could only be said to be of the right stamp, when it sprang out of the energy of a life characterized by high and earnest endeavour, and for this reason it was that with regard to the victim offered in sacrifice, it was required that it should not have the appearance of being either imperfectly matured for the purposes of life, from being too young, or of having its vital force impaired through being too old. —Then, as regards the vegetable offerings, it was strictly enjoined that no *leaven*[11] or *honey*[12] should be used in connection with them, on the ground that, although those substances are calculated to render man's earthly bread and nourishment somewhat more palatable, they nevertheless have the effect of producing fermentation, and tend to acidify and spoil anything with which they happen to be mixed. They were accordingly forbidden to be used in connection with sacrifice, with the view of showing that the taint of corruption must not be allowed to adhere to the spiritual food which man offered to God, must not be allowed to taint, that is, the holiness of his life. On the other hand, the meat-offering was to be prepared from flour and oil,[13] and seasoned with incense and salt, in order—as explained in

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Lev. ii. 13, *apropos* of the latter — that "the salt of the covenant of thy God be not lacking from thy meat-offering." For it was only in the power of the Divine Spirit, which was symbolized by the oil, and only through the medium of prayer, which was represented by the burning of the incense, that consecration to a life pleasing to God became at all possible; while the salt, again, in virtue of the property it possessed of making the food nutritive, and of preventing it from spoiling, served to indicate that the sacrifice represented an active, sincere, and unfeigned devotion to the Lord, as well as to show that, by sincerity and truth, the covenant with God was consolidated into enduring fellowship of life.[14]

[7] So Bähr, *Symb.* ii. p. 316 f., who, in support of this view, lays special stress on the fact that whatever any one sacrificed would necessarily be something that was his own, that belonged to him as his own property, and not that of any one else. This is no doubt true, but is not decisive. The offering of what belonged to another was expressly forbidden. The correctness of this proposition is in no way affected by the fact that when the people, for example, were in the straitened circumstances in which we find them immediately after the captivity, they were under the necessity of using as materials for sacrifice things that had been bestowed upon them by the king of Persia (Ezra vi. 9, comp. vii. 17, 22, etc.). We do not find that those straits released the people from the obligation under which they lay of providing their own offerings, as may be seen from Neh. x. 33 ff.

[8] Neumann, in Schneider's *Deutsch. Ztschr.* 1853, Nr. 42, seeks for the principle on which the materials for sacrifice were selected and restricted in the idea of nourishment, and understands the *victus* as being a *symbolum vitæ*, expressly observing, at the same time, that the thought of offering food to God for His own use was an idea altogether foreign to Israel. This anthropopathic view does not find the slightest support in the circumstance of the sacrifices being designated "bread of God" in the passages quoted in the text, for in those passages this designation is only to be regarded as a condensed form of the expression לֶחֶם אִשֶּׁה לַיהוָה, food of the offering made by fire unto Jehovah, or of לֶחֶם אִשֶּׁה רֵיחַ נִיחוֹחַ לַיהוָה, the meat of the sacrifice made by fire, of a sweet savour unto Jehovah, as we learn from Lev. iii. 11, 16, and Num. xxviii. 24; comp. the author's comm. on Lev. iii. 11, 16. The notion in question is foreign even to heathenism in its lowest and rudest forms. For here too, as

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Wuttke observes, *Gesch. des Heidenth.* i. p. 131, "the sacrifice is uniformly understood to mean the giving up on the part of man of what in itself is vain and worthless, with the view of getting nearer to the true and the real. We ought to dismiss at once the notion that the sacrifice is supposed to be a gift of something intended for the support and nourishment of the divine being Himself. Such a view of the matter is utterly subversive of all religion. Wherever there is religion at all, we find that the divine is recognised as the higher power from which the finite derives its existence, and by which it is sustained, humanity being dependent on the divinity, and not the divinity upon man."—"In the sacrifice, man offers to the divinity only what was his own already; his sacrifice is only an act of homage which he pays to the reality of true being in contradistinction to the hollowness of mere material things, and is by no means regarded as a gift of something intended to serve as food for deity, but is offered rather in the spirit in which the Oriental presented gifts to his sovereign, not as though *bestowing* upon him something that was not already his, but merely as an act of homage, and as an acknowledgment that, strictly speaking, all things belonged to him."—Comp. with this the lengthened refutation of the above view — that of Spencer, Meiners, and others—in Bähr, *Symb.* ii. p. 270 ff.

[9] See above, p. 42, and the author's comm. on Lev. i. 14.

[10] It has sometimes been asserted that the psychico-biotic relation existing between them and the worshipper has also had something to do with the fixing upon oxen and the smaller cattle as the animals to be used for sacrifice. It is to this that Philo alludes when, *De victim.* 646, he applies to the victims such designations as ἡμερώτατοι, χειροηθέστατοι, βιωφελέστατοι. But this view was propounded in a somewhat more definite shape by le Maistre, *Les soirées de St. Pétersbourg*, Bruxelles 1837, tom. ii., in the *Éclaircissement sur les sacrifices*, p. 234: "On choisissait toujours parmi les animaux les plus innocents, les *plus en rapport avec l'homme* par leur instinct et leurs habitudes—les victimes les *plus humaines*," etc. Accordingly Kurtz (*D. mos. Opfer*, p. 60 f. [E. tr. p. 80]) has maintained that it was chiefly in consideration of this *rapport* that the sacrificial animals were selected on the principle of their being the property of the worshipper. Subsequently, however (*D. Opferc.* p. 40 [E. tr. p. 59]), he speaks of it merely as an element to be taken into account in conjunction with the sustenance idea. But he takes the psychico-biotic rapport as applying to the whole of the materials for sacrifice (the bloody and bloodless alike), on the ground that, as being the result and fruit of man's daily work and toil, those materials are, in consequence,

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tinged and impregnated to some extent with his *vis vitalis;* and, on the other hand, that, as being the means by which he is sustained and invigorated for his work, they are designed to impregnate him with their life-giving (nutritive) power—on the ground, in fact, that "the sweat of man's toil adheres to the cattle which he has reared, to the corn which he has reaped, and to the wine and oil which he has pressed."—But it may well be asked whether the sweat which adheres to any piece of work can really justify the assumption that a psychico-biotic relation exists between the work and the person who performs it. No doubt the relation that exists between man and his means of nourishment may be accepted as a valid reason for selecting the tame domestic cattle for the purpose of supplying him with animal food, but it cannot be supposed to have had any decisive influence in determining the choice of such cattle for sacrificial purposes.

[11] The significance of leaven as an emblem of moral corruption and spiritual decay is proved beyond question by the ζύμη τῶν Φαρισαίων, ἥτις ἐστὶν ὑπόκρισις of Luke xii. 1; Mark viii. 15; Matt. xvi. 6; and by the saying of the apostle: "a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump," Gal. v. 9, taken in connection with the context; and lastly, by 1 Cor. v. 6–8.

[12] Honey, in like manner, possesses the property of turning things sour (Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xi. 15), a property with which the Hebrews were also familiar, as is evident from the Rabbinical חָמַץ, *dulcedinem admittere, corrumpi, fermentescere.* Nor is it at all incompatible with this to regard honey as representing the *deliciæ carnis,* to which there is an allusion in the grape or honey cake of Hos. iii. 1 (Theodoret, Hengstenberg, *Beitr.* iii. p. 650), inasmuch as the *deliciæ carnis* may also be said to corrupt the man, to produce in him moral decay.

[13] The oil in the meat-offering is not to be regarded as a mere accessory or simply as a seasoning, as is the case with regard to the incense, but is to be understood as forming an integral part of the mincha, and that as much so as the flour or the bread. This is obvious from Num. xv. 1 ff., where, in the case of burnt- and thank-offerings, the quantities prescribed for the mincha are, as regards the oil, co-ordinate with those prescribed for the wine in the case of drink-offerings; comp. Oehler, *Theol. d. A. T.* i. p. 427 f. [E. tr. vol. i. p. 408]. On the other hand, Lev. ii. 1, 15, which Kurtz (*D. Opferc.* p. 246 [E. tr. 257–292]) has quoted to show that the oil is only an accessory of the mincha, proves nothing more than that the fine flour or the grains of the roasted ears were not to be presented merely by themselves as a meat-offering, but were in every instance to be accompanied with oil. But nothing can be inferred, with

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regard to the question at issue, from the regulation to the effect that neither oil nor incense was to accompany the sin-offering of flour offered by a very poor person, or the offering presented in the case of trial for jealousy (Lev. v. 11; Num. v. 15), because in those instances the omission of those important elements from the meat-offering is sufficiently explained by the object and character of the two sacrifices here in question.

[14] For more on the meaning of the salt, see the author's comm. on Lev. ii. 13.

§ 42. *The Sacrificial Ritual, its Nature and Meaning.*

In presenting the offerings a certain mode of proceeding had to be observed, which, in the case of animal sacrifices, was, generally speaking, as follows: The victim was brought to the door of the tabernacle, *i.e.* to the altar in front of the dwelling place (Lev. i. 3, iv. 4, etc.), because it was here and here alone that sacrifices could be legally offered (Lev. xvii. 1–6). This being done, the person bringing the sacrifice next leant with his hand[1] upon the animal's head and then slaughtered it[2] at the north side of the altar[3] (Lev. i. 4, 5, 11, iii. 2, 8, vi. 25, vii. 2). While the blood was flowing from the victim, the priest caught it up in a vessel, and, according to the nature of the sacrifice that was being offered, sprinkled some of it either on the side of the altar, or on its horns, or on the horns of the altar of incense, and likewise toward the veil, or upon and in the direction of the Capporet in the holy of holies, after which he emptied what remained at the foot of the altar of burnt-offering (Ex. xxix. 12; Lev. iv. 7, 18, etc.). The person offering the sacrifice then flayed the animal and cut it up into pieces consisting of the different members of the body (Lev. i. 6, viii. 20), whereupon the priest took the whole of the pieces and laid them upon the altar and burnt them, or, if it happened to be a case where only the fat was to be consumed on the altar, the remainder of the flesh was either burnt without the camp or eaten by the priests, or failing that, it was consumed at the sacrificial feast, partly by the priests and partly by those who had brought the sacrifices.—In those cases in which pigeons were sacrificed, the priest wrung off the pigeon's head and allowed the blood to flow out upon the

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side of the altar; he then took away the crop and the dung and flung them on to the ash-heap beside the altar, whereupon he made an incision at the wings, though without entirely cutting off the latter, all which being done, he placed the birds upon the altar fire and there burnt them (Lev. i. 15 ff.).

With regard to vegetable offerings, again, the mode of proceeding, in cases where they were conjoined with burnt-offerings, was this: the priest took a portion of the flour and oil that were offered, some of the ears of corn and the baked meat, and burnt them along with the whole of the incense upon the altar. The remainder fell to the priests as their share, but it had to be consumed in the court of the tabernacle, and that without any admixture of leaven (Lev. ii. 2 f., 9 f., 16, vi. 9–11, vii. 9 f., x. 12 f.); the only instances in which the whole of the flour and oil were burnt being those in which the parties bringing the sacrifices happened to be the priests themselves (Lev. vi. 16). If, on the other hand, the vegetable offering accompanied a thank-offering, and consisted of baked meat, then, in that case, out of the whole gift only a single cake was offered as a wave-offering (תְּרוּמָה) to Jehovah, which cake was thereafter to fall to the priest who sprinkled the blood (Lev. vii. 14), while the remainder of the offering was to be consumed by those who presented it at the sacrificial feast.[4]

[1] The terms invariably made use of in the law are סָמַךְ יָדוֹ, meaning to lean with his *hand, i.e.* to lay it on heavily, whereas the Rabbinical writers hold that *both* hands were to be laid on. Comp. Bähr, ii. p. 306. They are, further, unanimous in maintaining that, along with the laying on of the hands, a prayer was repeated, which of course is probable, although the form of the prayer as given by those writers is of a more recent date. Comp. Outram, as above, i. cap. xv. § viii. ff., and Bähr, p. 307.

[2] It was only in the case of sacrifices connected with the regular services of the sanctuary and of such as were offered on festival occasions, and that in behalf of the whole nation, that the victims were slaughtered, flayed, and cut up by the priests themselves, when, if the sacrifices happened to be somewhat numerous, they got the Levites to help them (2 Chron. xxix. 24, 34). The laying on of the hand in the case of those public sacrifices is expressly mentioned only in connection with the sin-offerings (Lev. xvi. 21; 2 Chron. xxix. 23). Moreover, every

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one who came to present an offering was required before coming to cleanse and sanctify himself (1 Sam. xvi. 5).

[3] As the mention of this detail occurs only in connection with the burnt-offerings, the sin-offerings, and the trespass-offerings, but not the thank-offerings, the Rabbinical writers suppose, though without any further ground for doing so, that these latter must have been slaughtered at a different place.

[4] The Rabbinical regulations with regard to the sacrificial ritual, and which are spun out with painful minuteness, are chiefly to be found in the *Tract. Sebachin, Menachoth,* and *Temura,* in the fifth part of the Mischna, and in Maimonides, *Massech. Korbanoth,* from all which the passages of greatest importance bearing on this matter have been extracted by Otho, *Lexicon rabb. philolog.* (1757) p. 631 ff.; Lightfoot in *Ministerium templi, Opp.* i. p. 701 ff.; Outram, *De sacrific.* i. cap. viii. ff.; Lundius, *Judische Heiligthümer,* vol. iii. cap. xxxiii. ff., and others.

In order to understand aright the *meaning* of the ceremonial observed in the offering of sacrifices, we must distinguish, in the first instance, between the part that was played by the party who offered the sacrifice on the one hand, and by the officiating priest on the other. In the case of animal sacrifices, the person who offered the victim was required to bring it (הֵבִיא) to the altar, lay his hand upon its head, slaughter it, flay it, and cut it into pieces, and so to do everything that was necessary in the way of preparing it for the altar. It was the duty of the priest, again, to catch up the blood as the animal was being slaughtered, and to sprinkle some of it on the altar, then to consume amid smoke and vapour on the altar fire the portions of the sacrifice that were required to be burnt, and, in one instance, that of a particular kind of sin-offering, officially to eat the flesh. In discharging those functions the priest was not understood to be acting as the representative of God, but as a consecrated mediator (μεσίτης) between him who brought the sacrifice and Jehovah, who accepted the victim as a gift well-pleasing in His sight.—The following points, which were common to all the bloody sacrifices alike, seem to have possessed a certain significance: (1) The *leading of the animal to the altar* and the *laying on of the hand.* In bringing the animal before the altar, the worshipper thereby intimated that he was offering it as a sacrificial gift to God,

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who at that sacred centre graciously revealed Himself to His people, and gave loving testimony of His presence amongst them. As for the laying on of his hand, again, it was not intended to be regarded either as a sign that he was letting the animal pass out of his power and of his possession, nor as a formal declaration that, though it was really his own, he was prepared to devote what was his own to death for the sake of Jehovah, nor as a symbol of the imputation of sin, but just as in the case of the act of blessing on the occasion of consecrating any one to an office, or of the healing miracles of Christ and the apostles, or of the confirmation of believers (Acts viii. 17, xix. 6), it was the outward visible token that the person acting on those occasions was imparting and conveying to another some spiritual blessing, some supernatural power or gift; so, in the case of the sacrifice, it was a symbolical transference of the disposition and intention that were at the time animating him who offered the victim to the *victim itself*, which, in virtue of this act of dedication, was supposed to assume the place of the worshipper and to embody the feelings and intentions in question.[5] (2) The *slaughtering* of the victim —not the putting of it to death, for such an expression is nowhere to be met with in the sacrificial code—must not be understood as meaning death in a penal sense, and which the person offering the sacrifice had to inflict with his own hands by way of representing the punishment which he merited himself in consequence of his own sin. For in that case, to say nothing at present of other reasons that are fatal to such a theory, the duty of slaughtering the animal could not have been left to the person who offered it; and what is more, the act of sacrifice was in no case understood to be a judicial act implying the punishment of sin, but a divine ordinance of grace, in which the worshippers became recipients of the forgiveness of sin, of salvation, and of blessing. Nor, again, was the act of slaughtering simply intended as a means of getting at the blood, that in which the animal's soul was supposed to be, so as to use it as a propitiation for the worshipper's own soul, and of providing the necessary flesh for an offering by fire unto Jehovah; but its object was at the same time to show, by means of the death of the animal thus substituted for the man, that death is the fruit of sin, and

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likewise to represent the necessity of the dying of the old man in order to the attainment of life in God.[6] But the full significance of the slaughtering of the victim only began to be seen in the course of the further disposal of it, *i.e.* in what was done with the blood and the flesh by the priest, who sprinkled the former on the altar and its horns, and, on the great day of atonement, before and on the mercy-seat of Jehovah, while he burnt the latter, or at all events the fat, upon the altar.

With regard to the *sprinkling of the blood*, we are furnished with the key to the meaning of this act by the law itself, inasmuch as in Lev. xvii. 11 the ground on which the eating of blood is forbidden is stated to be: "because the soul (נֶפֶשׁ) of the flesh is in the blood, and I (Jehovah) have given it to you upon the altar to make an atonement (לְכַפֵּר) for your souls; for the blood makes atonement in virtue of, or by means of, the blood." The Israelite was accordingly enjoined not to eat the blood, because, being the seat of the soul that undulated through it, God had fixed upon it to serve as a means of atonement for the souls of men. But the blood, as containing the soul of the animal (Deut. xii. 23), did not derive its atoning significance from the fact that, when the animal was slaughtered, its soul or life flowed out along with the blood, but from the circumstance of the shed blood having been sprinkled and poured upon the altar, as may be clearly seen from the words: "I have given you the blood upon the altar to make an atonement for your souls." The altar was the point where God desired to meet His people in order to bless them, to manifest His loving-kindness toward them (Ex. xx. 24). The due appreciation of the above explanation of the sprinkling of the blood will depend upon our correctly apprehending the force of the words: כַּפֵּר עַל־נְפָשׁוֹת, to make atonement for the souls. כִּפֶּר, which according to its fundamental signification in Arabic is equivalent to *texit*, is, like verbs of covering, construed for the most part with עַל followed by an objective, and in the sacrificial laws uniformly by the objective of the person (comp. Lev. iv. 20, 26, 31, 35, v. 6, 10 ff., x. 17, xii. 7, xiv. 20, 29, xvii. 11, etc.), and further, in the case of piacular sacrifices, by a second objective preceded by מִן or עַל, as, for example, כ׳ עָלָיו מֵחַטָּאתוֹ, Lev. iv. 26, v. 6,

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etc., or כ' עָלָיו עַל חַטָּאתוֹ, iv. 35, v. 13, 18, to cover him in respect of his sin, to make atonement for him. According to this, it was not the sin which was covered by the sprinkling of the blood of the victim, but the person of the individual who offered it, and in the case of the sin- and trespass-offering he was understood to be covered in respect of the sin or the trespass of which he had been guilty.[7] It is further to be observed, that wherever the cappara (כפרה) occurs in the sacrificial law in connection with the sin- and the trespass-offerings, it invariably comes in for the first time, not at the stage where the blood is sprinkled, but after the fat of the victim has been burnt upon the altar, which shows that it was not ascribed to the sprinkling of the blood alone, but rather to the entire proceeding on the part of the priest in offering the sacrifices in question, while the forgiveness of the sin is spoken of as being the result of that proceeding; comp. the formula וְכִפֶּר עָלָיו הַכֹּהֵן מֵחַטָּאתוֹ וְנִסְלַח לוֹ, Lev. iv. 26, 31, 35, v. 6, 10, 13, 16, 18, 26, xiv. 1, 18, 19, 29, 31, xix. 22. It should likewise be noticed that in the case of the burnt-offering the worshipper was required to lay his hand upon the victim in order to its being accepted of Jehovah, and so made efficacious for covering him (כַּפֵּר, Lev. i. 4); while in the case of the sin-offerings, again, the priests were enjoined (Lev. x. 17) to eat the flesh of the victims with the view of bearing the iniquity of the congregation, of covering it before Jehovah (לְכַפֵּר עֲלֵיהֶם), from which it undoubtedly follows that in such cases the cappara was not regarded as completed till the priests had disposed of the flesh as directed in the law.[8] From all that has just been stated, it is abundantly evident that the view which represents the atoning act as lying in the covering of the sin by means of the blood of the victim, is not borne out by the terms of the law itself, and that, consequently, it cannot be accepted as correct; and further, that what is said in Lev. xvii. 11 about the blood must not be understood and interpreted as though it were meant to imply that the atonement was complete whenever the blood was sprinkled on the altar. According to the teaching of the sacrificial law, the burning of the flesh of the victim upon the altar was not less essential to the completeness of an act of atonement for sin. As regards the power that, in virtue of the divine promise, is in Lev.

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xvii. 11 ascribed to the blood of the victim, the power, namely, of covering the sinner before God, or of making an atonement for him, there can be no doubt that it was due to the circumstance of that blood being brought before God as the element in which resided the soul of the animal put to death in sacrifice, and also to the fact that the soul of the man, who had substituted the animal for himself, was received by God into His favour.

The meaning of the *burnt-offering*, again, may be gathered from the following technical terms employed to describe the burning of sacrificial material upon the altar: הִקְטִיר הַמִּזְבֵּחָ אִשֶּׁה לְרֵיחַ נִיחוֹחַ לַיהוָה, *i.e.* to resolve them into smoke and vapour upon the altar as an offering made by fire of a sweet savour unto the Lord (Lev. i. 9, 13, 15, 17, ii. 2, etc.). It is clear from the terms here used that the purpose of the burning was not the mere consuming of certain portions of the victims by fire (שָׂרַף), the mere annihilating of them, the mere converting of them into ashes, but the object rather was that the vapour evolved in the course of the burning should mount to heaven as the ethereal essence of the sacrifice. הִקְטִיר and קִטֵּר mean to cause to evaporate, and הִקְטִיר קְטֹרֶת to burn incense, comp. Ex. xxx. 7, etc.; whereas שָׂרַף, to destroy by fire, is used in connection with sacrifice, only with reference to the annihilating by fire of *that* portion of the flesh of the victim which was forbidden to be laid upon the altar or to be consumed either by the priests or by those offering the sacrifices. The fire that burnt upon the altar was fire that, on the occasion of the first sacrifice offered by Aaron and his sons after their consecration to the office of the priesthood, had fallen from heaven and had thus emanated from God Himself, and which had been carefully preserved ever since (Lev. ix. 24, comp. with vi. 6) From the inherent power which it possesses of destroying whatever is perishable, mean, and corrupt, fire is used in Scripture as the symbol, partly of purification, partly of torment and destruction. Whatever contains within itself an indestructible residuum is only purified by the action of fire, the perishable matters that adhere to it or that have got mixed up with it being burnt up, and its precious and indestructible essence being thus purged of all its dross; whereas, in those cases where the imperishable is entirely

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buried and lost in the perishable, the effect of the action of the fire is not purification but total annihilation (1 Cor. iii. 12 f.). Fire is accordingly met with as the symbol and medium of the Holy Spirit (Acts ii. 3 f.), while the flame that emanated from Jehovah, and was kept alive upon the altar, symbolized the agency of the purifying Spirit of God; and accordingly the burning of the sacrifice upon the altar would be understood as representing the purification of the worshipper—now that he had been restored to the divine favour—by means of the fire of the Holy Spirit, which consumes what is flesh in order that what is spirit may only become penetrated with light and life, and so be raised to blessed fellowship with God.[9] From what has now been stated, we may also gather at least a general idea of the meaning of the ritual—so very simple on the whole—that was observed in connection with the meat-offerings, so that it is unnecessary to say more on that point at present.

[5] Comp. the author's *Comm. on Levit.* p. 26 of the 2nd ed., and Hoelemann: "Die biblische Handauflegung," in his *Neuen Bibelstudien* (1866), p. 282 ff., where he has demonstrated that in every instance (in blessing, in communicating the spirit, in sacrifice, in cases of dedication, religious or otherwise) the laying on of the hands was intended to signify an "actual transference of something at the time dwelling in the worshipper, and taking its character from the existing frame or disposition of his mind," or "a surrendering and giving away of himself *ad hoc*, *i.e.* in a concentrated and concrete bending of the will in a particular direction."

[6] As telling against the view that regards the slaughtering of the animal simply as the means of getting blood and flesh to make an offering by fire, I have, in my *Comment.*, as above, already insisted on the fact that, in the case of the antitype itself, viz. the sacrifice of Christ, the death is regarded as an element of deep significance, from which it of necessity follows that it must also have had a symbolical significance in the case of the typical victim as well.

[7] For evidence of this usage with regard to כִּפֶּר in the sacrificial thora, see the author's *Comment.* p. 27 f., where, in the note on p. 28, it is further shown that, even in those passages in which כפר is used in the metaphorical sense of a covering to protect against wrath, such as Gen. xxxii. 21, Prov. xvi. 14, Isa. xlvii. 11, and xxviii. 18, as well as in the case of the noun כֹּפֶר, λύτρον, the meaning: to make an atone-

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ment, is the one that lies at the root of all the others. Accordingly, when sacrifice was offered, it was not the sin that was covered, but the person sacrificing, who, on account of his unholiness, was covered before the holy God, and, in the case of a sin-offering, was covered from the wrath of God and the expression of that wrath, viz. the punishment he had incurred in consequence of his sin. This is evident from Gen. xxxii. 21, and still more plainly so from Ex. xxxii. 30. In the former case, Jacob endeavours, by means of a present, to appease his brother Esau כַּפְּרָה, *i.e.* to avert his brother's displeasure which he had incurred by appropriating the blessing of primogeniture (Gen. xxvii. 42); in the latter, Moses tries, by means of his intercession, to make atonement for the sin of the people against whom the anger of God was on the point of kindling so as to destroy them utterly (Ex. xxxii. 9 f.), *i.e.* he tries to preserve the people from the extinction with which they were threatened in consequence of the divine wrath. It was precisely in a similar manner that the judgment of the divine wrath was stayed and the congregation secured against annihilation in Num. xvi. 46 and xxv. 11 ff., in the one case by means of the intercession embodied in Aaron's burning of incense, in the other in consequence of the zeal displayed by Phinehas the priest in rushing upon the offenders and slaying them. Those passages place it beyond a doubt that the *cappara* that takes place in an act of sacrifice refers, in the first instance, to the person of the worshipper and not to his sin. It has been asserted, though quite erroneously, by Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 48 [E. tr. p. 67]) and others, "that even where the person is mentioned as object it is not the person *per se*, but the sin and impurity that adhere to him, that are to be regarded as the thing to be covered, and that the formula כפר עליו, which is the one that most frequently occurs in the sacrificial ritual, is an abbreviated expression, which, in its fuller form, runs thus: כפר על נפשו, while this latter, again, stands for כפר על חטאת נפשו," as Rosenmüller and Bähr have assumed. But neither of the two arguments advanced in favour of this view has the slightest cogency. The assertion that, in the phrase כפר עליו על חטאתו, Lev. iv. 35, etc., the words על חטאתו "are added appositionally as explanatory of עליו," is shown to be exegetically groundless, from the fact of the expression מֵחַטָּאתוֹ, Lev. iv. 26, v. 6, 10, etc., being of more frequent occurrence, for מִן, *from, on account of*, could not be said to be in apposition with עַל, *upon, over;* while as regards the other argument, to the effect that "the more frequent combination of כפר with עָוֹן, חַטָּאת, and such like compels us to assume that the sin or guilt was the object

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of the כפר," it is at once disposed of by the simple fact that no such "frequent combination" can be shown to exist. In the sacrificial regulations עון or חטאת is *never* found conjoined with כפר as its sole or most immediate object, nor are we at liberty to base an exception to this rule upon the words אֲכַפְּרָה בְעַד חַטַּאתְכֶם in Ex. xxxii. 30. It is only in writings of a later date, as, for example, in Jer. xviii. 23, Ps. lxv. 4, lxxviii. 38, that we find any trace of כפר, in its derivative sense of to forgive sin, being construed with עון and חטאת as objects; while in all such instances the subject forgiving the sin is uniformly God Himself, whereas, in the sacrificial thora, it is by the priest or by Moses, as the mediator of the covenant, that the כִּפֻּר is effected.—Accordingly every conception of כפר that is based on the assumption that sin or guilt is the immediate or proper object of the cappara must be rejected as having no foundation whatever in Scripture; while the statement of Kurtz (as above, p. 50), to the effect that "God, or His servant and representative the priest, always appears as the *subject* from whom, in the sacrificial worship, the כִּפֻּר proceeds," is precisely the reverse of the truth. In no act of sacrifice does the כִּפֻּר ever proceed from God, nor is it as God's *representative* that the priest effects it, but in his capacity as mediator between Jehovah and the congregation.

[8] The idea which the sacrificial thora connects with כִּפֻּר is not identical with the dogmatic idea of *justificatio*, but is of a much more comprehensive character, inasmuch as it includes not merely the forgiveness of sin and the cancelling of guilt, but also sanctification as well, and the introduction of the person justified into the state of grace that accompanies sanctification.

[9] Comp. with this the author's *Comment.* as above, p. 23 f., where it is only the contents of note 2 that require to be corrected in order to bring them into harmony with the above remark.

§ 43. *The Symbolical and Typical Meaning of the Sacrifices prescribed in the Law.*

Although all theologians that believe in a divine revelation agree in recognising the symbolical character of sacrifices in general, they nevertheless hold widely divergent views as to the specific nature of the symbolical ideas embodied in the sacrifices prescribed in the Mosaic law. We find, on the one hand, that on the strength of what is said in Lev. xvii. 11, to the effect that God had fixed upon the blood, because

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it contains the soul of the slaughtered victim, to be the medium of making atonement for the souls of men, it has been assumed that all sacrifices in which blood was shed must therefore have been atoning sacrifices, or that, at all events, they must have had atonement as their aim and object; while, on the other, the circumstance of the materials for sacrifice being taken from those animals and products of the soil which the Israelites were in the habit of using as food, coupled with the further fact that, for this reason, sacrifices were called bread of God, has given rise to the notion that the material food offered in sacrifice was intended to serve as a symbol of spiritual food, offered for the use of Jehovah Himself.[1] Agreeably to what we have observed in § 42, both with regard to the meaning of the materials used in sacrifice and the Biblical idea of קָרַב, we find it impossible to accept any one of these interpretations as correct and consonant with Scripture. The view that all bloody sacrifices were atoning sacrifices, and had an atoning significance, is conclusively shown to be inadmissible by the twofold fact—(*a*) that nowhere in Scripture is an atoning significance ascribed to thank-offerings, and (*b*) that in all cases in which it was a question of making atonement for sin or trespass, it was sin- or trespass-offerings that were commanded to be offered. Just as it is purely gratuitous to assert that "every sacrifice (*i.e.* every bloody sacrifice) was prompted by the consciousness of sin, and that atonement for this sin was always what was aimed at," so it is no less untenable to hold that "the laying of the hand upon the victim was by way of showing that it was thereby set apart as the medium through which the sin of the person offering the victim was to be atoned for, and that in consequence of this substitutionary transference to the victim of the man's own obligation to render service to God, or to bear the penalty of his sin, its consecration was to be understood as assuming the more special character of a consecration to death, and that, too, a vicarious penal death."[2] For the significance of the laying on of the hand was not confined merely to the slaughtering of the victim, but extended quite as much to the burning of the flesh upon the altar, or, to speak more precisely, to the entire treatment of the victim, to each and all of the important acts in the

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sacrificial rite.—That being the case, the second view is not only unsupported by valid scriptural authority, for it can scarcely be pretended that we have such authority either in the circumstance of selection of articles of human food to serve as sacrificial gifts, or in the further circumstance of sacrifices being designated "bread of God" (for לחם אלהים does not mean "bread for God," but is a compendious expression for לֶחֶם אִשֶּׁה, "an offering of fire for Jehovah," as was pointed out at p. 264), but it is also at variance with the teaching of Scripture regarding the immateriality and absolute independence of God. The assertion that "Jehovah, as the God of salvation who has entered into history, and is marching forward in and along with that history, also requires in His character as such to be fed with food, though food of a spiritual kind, and that in the entire absence of it He would cease to be Jehovah,"[3] is as erroneous as it is unscriptural. Jehovah does not change (does not alter) (Mal. iii. 6). He is an eternal God (Gen. xxi. 33); and not only the unchangeable and eternal, but also the absolutely independent and self-existent One; He is what His name implies, הוּא, *the same*, from eternity to eternity (Isa. xli. 4, xliii. 13, xliv. 6, etc.). The unfaithfulness of man does not suppress the faithfulness of God, Rom. iii. 3; 2 Tim. iii. 13. But if both those views are untenable and unscriptural, this holds true, even in a higher degree, with regard to the third, which, blending as it does the two former together, breaks up the organic unity of the sacrificial act into two elements of a totally heterogeneous character, and gives it to be understood, with reference to the victim by which the personal self-surrender of the offerer to Jehovah is represented, that, at the stage where it was killed and the blood sprinkled, it acquired the character of a real vicarious substitute (*alter ego*), and that at the point, on the other hand, where it was burnt upon the altar, it came to assume an ideal representative character (*ipse ego*).[4] Considered in itself, the distinction, as regards the sacrifices of the Mosaic law, between real and ideal substitution is, no doubt, one that is perfectly justifiable. In one respect the victim was the real substitute (*alter ego*) of the person who offered it, suffering and bearing what he himself should have suffered and borne in order that he might be let off; in

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another respect it was the ideal representative of the offerer, suffering and bearing, as his ideal *ipse ego*, what was binding upon himself; not, however, to relieve him of his own obligations, but rather as binding him to discharge them in his own person. But those two points of view are not to be so dissociated and so put in opposition to one another as though, in the first half of the one sacrificial act, we had a real, and in the second half of it an ideal substitution. We should rather view them in connection with the circumstance that the sacrifices of the Old Testament possessed a typical as well as a symbolical meaning, that they were not designed merely to secure the saving benefits of God's covenant of grace for the Israelites, who, in confident reliance upon the divine word and promise, offered the sacrifice in accordance with the prescriptions of the law; but were, at the same time, types of the true and perfect sacrifice of Christ, and derived their whole significance as pledges of the divine blessings of salvation solely from the typical character which they thus possessed. As a type of the antitypical personal sacrifice, the victim formed the substitute of the offerer as the real *alter ego*; but in respect of the significance which, in virtue of the divine appointment and promise, that victim possessed for the Israelite, it constituted the representative or ideal *ipse ego* of the offerer, who, in and through his sacrifice, was regarded as surrendering his person, his whole life and aims, to Jehovah, his covenant God, with the view of being thereby pardoned, sanctified, and blessed by Him.

[1] Kurtz, following Ernst v. Lasaulx (*Die Sühnopfer der Griechen und Römer und ihr Verhältniss zu dem einen auf Golgotha*, Würzberg 1841), has specially defended the first-mentioned view in his treatise entitled *Das mos. Opfer*; the second has been urged by Neumann in the essay referred to in note 8 of § 41; while Kurtz has tried to recommend the third as being the traditional view of the Church in his work entitled *Der alttestamentl. Opfercultus* [E. tr., T. & T. Clark, 1863].

[2] So Kurtz, *Der alttestl. Opferc.* pp. 63, 78, 91.

[3] As taught by Kurtz, as above, p. 42.

[4] What Kurtz has advanced, as above, pp. 126–132, in justification of this view that savours so much of a "duplicity that is unallowable, objectionable in itself, and destructive of the unity of the idea," may be briefly reduced to this, that only

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the flesh of the victim was meant as a gift by way of *nourishment* for Jehovah's use; while the blood, on the other hand, was appointed to be used as an atoning medium,—two propositions, the one-sided and untenable nature of which we have already pointed out.

Just as the different sorts of sacrifices prescribed by the law (see § 40, p. 206) were simply a development of the sacrifices and burnt-offerings of pre-Mosaic times, so, too, must we regard their *symbolical meaning* merely as being such an expansion and deepening of the simple primitive symbolism as was necessary to bring it into harmony with the fundamental idea on which Mosaism was based.—That surrender of the person of the offerer himself, which was implied in his presenting to God as a gift a portion of the fruits of his daily toil, and which was duly embodied in the pre-Mosaic sacrifice, was the idea that formed the starting-point and ultimate aim of the Mosaic sacrifices as well. The truth that what God required was not the death of the man, but the surrender of his heart, is one that the Israelites could not fail to learn from what took place in the case of Abraham when he was called upon to sacrifice Isaac his son. The presenting of sacrifices under the impression that they embodied the fact of the man's surrender of himself to God, is a matter that the Mosaic law insisted upon as a covenant obligation. But from his being unholy and sinful, man is unable to surrender himself to the holy God. With the view of impressing this more and more upon the Israelites, and of reminding them of the fundamental precept of the covenant according to which they were required "to be holy as Jehovah is holy," it was prescribed that the animal to be sacrificed was to be without spot and blemish, *i.e.* to be free from physical defects, which, as being the bodily analogue of ethical shortcomings and defects, were unfavourable to the man's surrender of himself to God, or at all events stamped it with the character of insincerity.—If, then, the victim was one that in all physical respects was suited to the purpose for which it was to be offered, the next thing the person offering it was required to do was to lean his hand upon the animal's head. By this symbolical act he was understood to transfer to the victim the dispositions that animated him in approaching the altar,

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and to devote it to the object which the sacrifice was intended to secure, so that it was now to be regarded as taking his place and becoming his responsible substitute, its further treatment and disposal being supposed to be fraught with benefit to him. The slaughtering of the animal, as an indispensable preliminary to its being offered upon the altar, pointed to the necessity of death in the case of the man inwardly alienated from God by sin, if he ever expected to attain to life in the enjoyment of loving fellowship with Him. When the blood, in which the soul resides, flowed from the animal on its being slaughtered, the soul was understood to be at the same time separated from the body, and it was not till the blood was sprinkled that, in virtue of the divine promise (Lev. xvii. 11), the soul of the offerer of the victim was brought within the range and under the influence of the divine favour. Then, when the flesh of his victim came to be burnt upon the altar, the man's own body was understood to be at the same time surrendered to the purifying fire of the divine love, so that in this way he was symbolically covered in body and soul from the divine wrath, and brought within the sphere of the justifying, sanctifying, and saving grace of God.

Such are the general fundamental features in the symbolism associated with the sacrifices of the law, features with which the various classes of sacrifices seemed to have been more or less impressed according to the particular object for which they might happen to be offered. That from the first those fundamental features have characterized the pre-Mosaic sacrifices as well, is assumed in the sacrificial thora to be a well-known circumstance, so that the only point on which it considers it necessary to offer a word of explanation is as to the meaning of the sprinkling of the blood. How the blood was disposed of in the case of the pre-Mosaic sacrifices we have no means of knowing. In the Mosaic law it was ordered to be sprinkled upon the altar or its horns, and on the great day of atonement on the Capporet, while there were occasional hints to the effect that this was done with the view of covering the soul of the person offering the victim.

It is in divine sanction thus given to the sacrifices of the Old Testament law that we must also look for the germ of

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their *typical meaning.* The power of covering the unholy man before the holy God, of covering the sinner from the divine wrath, which in Lev. xvii. 11 is ascribed to the blood of the victim when sprinkled on the altar, and that because the soul was understood to be in the blood, was a power which it could not be said to possess either on account of its being shed for the man or in virtue of its being sprinkled on the altar. The truth is, it is impossible to suppose that it was in the animal sacrifices and meat-offerings merely as such that there resided any power to procure for the offerer forgiveness of sin, justification, sanctification, and felicity, all of which the Israelites not only looked for as the result of their sacrifices, but which, so far as the Old Testament dispensation admitted of it, they actually received. For no matter how perfectly the domestic animals reared by man and the fruits of the field for which he had toiled might be suited, as being the products of his divinely-appointed earthly calling, to shadow forth the fruit of his mental and spiritual labours in the kingdom of God; no matter how singularly the domestic animals, as being endowed with both body and soul, were adapted to be employed as symbols of man himself, consisting as he also does of body and soul: still, between the animal and man there always would remain such a difference, not merely of degree, but of nature and essence, as must necessarily disqualify the former for taking the place of the latter as a true and adequate substitute. The animal has no will of its own, whereas man, through the spirit that has been breathed into him by God, is a being endowed with freedom, a being that, in virtue of his innate freedom of will, choice, and action, stands in a moral relation to God, so that his life and conduct are subject to the laws that regulate the moral and spiritual order of the world; while the animal, obeying as it does its mere natural impulses or instincts, belongs exclusively to the sphere of natural necessity. The object of the sacrifice is to establish a moral relation between the man as a personal being and God the absolute Spirit, to heal the rupture between God and man that had been caused by sin, and to bring man once more into the attitude in which he ought to stand towards God, the well-spring of all true life. But in order to the restoration of that original

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relation which had been destroyed by sin, only a personal and sinless being could become the vicarious substitute of man, as no creature that belonged merely to the domain of natural necessity could be said to be at all appropriate for such a purpose. For, as free personality is the soil out of which sin has sprung, so must the atonement be a work rooted in free personality as well. Now, although the lower animal may be regarded as innocent and sinless in so far as being outside the sphere of moral freedom, it is incapable of committing a guilty or sinful act; still, for precisely the same reason, we cannot speak of it as possessing innocence in the true sense of the word, and therefore as possessing such a righteousness as could be said to form an adequate satisfaction for the sin and guilt of man. Not only so, but even a sinless human being, one perfectly just and innocent in the sight of God,—supposing it were possible to find one such among the frail children of Adam,—would be unable, no matter how willing, to take the place of his neighbour, and through laying down his own life offer in behalf of that neighbour a sacrifice of such atoning and saving efficacy as would secure his being reconciled to God and introduced into the blessed sphere of the divine life, the truth being that, in relation to God, every individual man can only answer for *his own* soul, and not for that of another as well (comp. Ps. xlix. 8 f.). Much less could such a result be effected by means of animal sacrifices and meat-offerings; these could not possibly take away sin (Heb. x. 4 and 11). If, then, God did invest the animal sacrifice with such a significance as is here in question, He can only have done so in view of the true and perfect sacrifice, which in the fulness of the times was to be offered through the eternal Spirit (Heb. ix. 24) by Christ the Son of God and Son of man. Christ's sacrifice is one that satisfies all the conditions of a true, efficacious sacrifice. On the one hand, as a true man, Christ resembled His brothers of the human family, though without sin, and as the holy and sinless One He was fitted to take their sin and guilt upon Himself, to bear and suffer all their consequences; on the other, as the only-begotten Son of God, uniting in Himself both the nature of God and of man, He was no less able to offer an all-sufficient atoning sacrifice in behalf of all men, and in virtue

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of the satisfaction and complete expiation that resulted from that sacrifice, to present to God as an acceptable offering all those who in faith laid hold of the power of His atoning death, and further to provide for them in His broken body and shed blood that sacrificial feast, the partaking of which is fraught with life and blessedness.[5]

This mystery of the unfathomable love of the triune God lay concealed under the Mosaic law, so that the Israelite could not as yet discern it, and still, in point of fact, it formed the background for the divine sanction of animal sacrifices, a sanction to which they owed the typical significance, according to which they foreshadowed that reconciliation which from all eternity God had resolved to bring about by the giving up of His only-begotten Son to death as a sacrifice for the sins of the whole human race. It is true that as yet there was no express mention of the typical character thus attaching to the sacrifices prescribed in the thora; what the law did was simply to enjoin the Israelite, in the first instance, to have faith in the words of the promise given with reference to the blood of his victim, in and through which blood he would be enabled fully to participate in the blessings flowing from the act of sacrifice, provided he took care not to doubt the truth of God's word and promise. At the same time, their typical character was hinted at in the special regulations with regard to the mode of offering them, while in the course of time it came to be revealed through the spirit of prophecy, although it was not till Christ voluntarily offered Himself as a sacrifice upon Golgotha that it was completely unveiled. It will be our endeavour to make this more plainly evident in the course of the inquiry into the various kinds of sacrifices into which we are now going to enter.—Meanwhile, let us merely glance at the seeming contradiction involved in the fact that, although God prohibits the Israelites from eating the blood of animals on account of His having reserved it for the altar as a means of making atonement (Lev. xvii. 11), He does not, however, assign an atoning significance to all the sacrifices whose blood was put upon the altar, but only to the sin- and the trespass-offerings, and also, though only in a vague and general sort of way (Lev. i. 4), to the burnt-offerings, but in

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no case whatever to the thank-offerings (schelamim). This seeming contradiction is owing to the somewhat inadequate nature of mere animal sacrifices. The sacrifice was designed not only to bring about the forgiveness and remission of sin and guilt; it was likewise intended to be a means for the sanctification of the life, and, further, to represent the blessed fruits of justification and sanctification. The three factors which are thus included in the idea of sacrifice, and which were all combined in the case of Christ's sacrifice of Himself for the human race (see below), could not possibly be all combined in the case of the typical fleshly sacrifices of the Old Testament, in the offering of merely a *single* animal. These factors could only be represented by the offering of different kinds of sacrifices, *i.e.* by distinguishing between atoning sacrifices, burnt-offerings, and thank-offerings through the observance of certain peculiarities in the treatment and disposal of the victim, and hence we find that what was specially exhibited in the atoning sacrifice was the idea of expiation; in the burnt-offering, surrender to God in sanctification of life; and in the thank-offering, participation in the life and peace of God.[6] If, then, it should be desired to attain all those different objects in equal measure, or at one and the same time, the only way of accomplishing this was by offering three different kinds of sacrifices one after the other.

[5] With this comp. the author's "Abhandl. über die typische Bedeutung des alttestamentl. Opfers," in the *Lutherische Ztschr.* 1857, p. 437 ff.

[6] For, as it was necessary in order to the due symbolizing of the idea of atonement that besides the sprinkling of the blood, the fat of the victim should be burnt upon the altar, and not only so, but that its entire flesh should be consumed by fire elsewhere, there would, of course, be nothing left from the sin-offering that could be utilized in the way of representing the idea embodied in the burnt-offering. This is no less true with regard to the burnt-offering, in the case of which it was necessary that the entire victim should be burnt upon the altar with the view of representing the surrender of the *whole* man, with all the organs of his body, to the Lord, so that nothing was left of it with which to provide the sacrificial feast. If, then, the idea embodied in the feast was also to find a place in the sacrificial rite, it was necessary that, in order to this, a special thank-offering should be presented.

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SECOND CHAPTER.

THE FOUR PRINCIPAL KINDS OF SACRIFICES.

§ 44. I. *The Expiatory Sacrifices. Distinction between Sin- and Trespass-Offerings.*

Expiatory sacrifices were, according to the law to be offered, not only for offences against God's commands and laws, in order to atone for the sin and the wrong, that the sinner or guilty person might be forgiven (Lev. iv. 26, 31, 35, v. 10, 13, 16, 26, etc.), but also on occasions of uncleanness in certain minutely defined cases, to make expiation for the unclean person, that he might become pure (Lev. xii. 8, xv. 30, etc.). But it was not every sin and act of guilt that could be atoned for by expiatory sacrifices; only those sins and misdeeds which were committed through "inadvertence" (בִּשְׁגָגָה); cf. Lev. iv. 2—where the "sin committed through inadvertence" ("ignorance," Auth. Ver.) stands at the beginning of the ordinances relating to the sin-offerings—with Lev. v. 15, 18, where the same expression recurs in connection with the trespass-offering. It also is repeated in Num. xv. 22–29, and more precisely defined by the additional words, "The soul that doeth aught (*i.e.* sins) presumptuously (בְּיָד רָמָה)—that soul shall be cut off from among his people" (ver. 30). Those sins or transgressions of the law, which are committed with "high" or "uplifted hand," are sins of rebellion against God, which arise from audacity. He who raises his hand against Jehovah is a "blasphemer" of God, and is to be punished with death, "because he hath despised the word of the Lord, and hath broken His commandment" (vv. 30, 31). On the other hand, sins of "inadvertence" are sins of weakness of various kinds, springing not only from haste, thoughtlessness, and are unpremeditated, but also those committed of purpose and *premeditation*, but resulting from the weakness of the spirit in its struggle with the flesh.[1]

[1] So, rightly, Hengstenberg, *Ev. KZ.* 1852, No. 13 f. p. 120 f., and Hofmann (*Schriftbeweis*, ii. 1, p. 252, 2nd ed.), who adds: "Rebellion against the law, in whatever way it is committed,

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must be punished; for it there is no sacrifice, because the sacrifice is an act of piety, and dare not become a medium of wickedness. But he who has fallen into a sin, although premeditated, whatever it may consist in, and repents of the same when he has come to reflect upon it, is still able, although he must make satisfaction to the law by penal compensation, to offer a sacrifice to God as an act of atonement for his sin."—Too narrow and erroneous is the distinction drawn by Kurtz (*d. mosaische Opfer*, p. 156), who says: "Only for those sins which were committed in error, haste, and unintentionally, but by no means for premeditated or presumptuous sins, was atonement by sacrifice of avail." This limitation of the sins committed בִּשְׁגָגָה to unintentional and unconscious acts, Kurtz strives also to maintain in his *Alttestamentliche Opfercultus* [E. tr. p. 189 f.], after he had seen that this category does not coincide with that of the sins which are capable of expiation, since the holding back of property, which had been stolen, intrusted, lent or found, and denying the same on oath (Lev. v. 20, 21), could not possibly be brought under the category of unconscious and unintentional sins, and he would therefore view the classification of these sins with those capable of expiation, as "exceptions to the rule." As, however, the grouping of the sins capable of expiation with "such as of themselves and at once were capable of expiation by sacrifice,—those, viz., committed בִּשְׁגָגָה or בִּלְתִּי דַעַת, *i.e.* without knowledge and intention, without design and forethought,—and such as, although done knowingly and *with* forethought, and therefore of themselves *not* capable of expiation, but through accompanying circumstances have *become* capable of expiation" (p. 154), is with Num. xv. 27–31, where only sins committed בִּשְׁגָגָה,—for which expiatory sacrifices could be brought,—and sins בְּיָד רָמָה, for which the punishment of death was assigned, are distinguished, "not easily reconcilable" (to speak properly, *is irreconcilable*), consequently the expressions בְּיָד רָמָה and בִּשְׁגָגָה must be used without exactness. On the contrary, we hold it to be the more correct view, so to take the conception of the שְׁגָגָה that it applies to all the sins designated in the law as capable of expiation, rather than in accordance with a preconceived opinion to accuse the law of an inaccuracy.—Quite erroneous is the opinion of Bähr (ii. p. 387 f.), that the expiatory sacrifices were ordained for theocratic sins, but not for moral offences in the narrower sense, as if—quite irrespective of the view, which is on the whole foreign to the Old Testament, and which splits up the Mosaic Law into positively religious or devotional, and ceremonial, and into universally moral precepts — perjury,

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embezzlement of the property of others entrusted to our keeping, etc., were not moral offences, but only theocratic sins.

The sacrifices prescribed for the expiation of sins of weakness fall into two divisions, *sin-offerings* (חַטָּאת) and *trespass-offerings* (אָשָׁם). Considering the close connection between sin and trespass, inasmuch as every act of sin forms the foundation of a trespass, and every trespass is committed by means of a sin, the distinction between sin-offerings and trespass-offerings appears to be a very variable one. There is, however, a definite distinction between the two, not only in this respect—to disregard other differences for the present—that the procedure with the blood in the case of a trespass-offering was different from that with the blood in every kind of sin-offering, but also more distinctly in this, that in certain cases (cf. Lev. xiv. 21 f., and Num. vi. 11, 12) a sin-offering and a trespass-offering were ordered to be offered simultaneously, or in close succession. In general, there is one distinction between the two which presents itself to our notice, viz. that for the purpose of cleansing from legal impurities, only sin-offerings, never trespass-offerings, are required, so that the conception of the sin-offering is wider and more comprehensive than that of the trespass-offering. To ascertain, however, this distinction more exactly, we must seek for the common idea which lies at the basis of the trespass-offerings.[2]—In the section, treating of the trespass-offerings, Lev. v. 14–26, three kinds of cases are distinguished.[3]—In two (vv. 15–16, and 21–26) the sinful act is designated as מַעַל בַּיהוָה, "faithlessness towards Jehovah," and consisted in laying hands on the property of others: in the first case, on what had been dedicated to Jehovah (קָדְשֵׁי יְהוָה, *i.e.* tenths, first-fruits, etc.), which belonged to Him, was *His* property (Lev. v. 14–16); in the other, on the property of one's *neighbour*, in denying what had been intrusted to one, of a pledge, of what had been purloined, an act of fraud, secretly retaining what had been found (Lev. v. 20–26). In these cases, before the trespass-offering was presented, that which had been unjustly withheld, or taken possession of, had to be restored or made up for in substance, with the addition of a fifth part of its value, in regard to which, in Num. v. 6–8, there follows a supplementary direction. To this category

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belongs also Lev. v. 17–19. For although here the sin is designated as a "committing in ignorance of one of those things which are forbidden to be done by the commandments of the Lord," and no material restitution is spoken of, yet for that very reason this can be sought for in nothing else than in a violation of the claims of the covenant, because not only does this case stand between two acts of trespass, consisting in a violation of covenant rights, and is appended without any new formula of introduction to the previously mentioned act of trespass against the claims of Jehovah as the Lord of the covenant, by which also the following trespass, which consists in the embezzling of property, only not that which belongs to Jehovah, but to one's neighbour (vi. 2), is separated from the preceding,—but also on this account, because in this, as in the preceding case, the ram for the trespass-offering is subject to a valuation. This valuation of the animal offered in sacrifice points to an injury done to the claims, which here, of course, where no material substitution is in question, must have been of such a nature as could not be carried out. But it is distinctly contained also in the case, named in Lev. xix. 20 f., where a man deflowers the bondmaid of another,—an invasion of the rights of another, consequently a violation of law. Here punishment ought to follow, not putting to death, according to the law in Deut. xxii. 23 ff., "because she is not free," and the guilty person has to offer for his trespass a ram to Jehovah for a trespass-offering, for which no valuation is prescribed, because restitution was substantially made for the trespass by the punishment inflicted.[4]

If all these cases may be compressed under the conception of an infringement of the rights either of Jehovah or one's neighbour, or of a violation of law, such a conception, however, does not apply to the two still remaining cases, to the trespass-offering of the leper in Lev. xiv. 12 ff., and that of the Nazarite who had become unclean, Num. vi. 6. The leper, indeed, had not contracted his leprosy, during the duration of which he was obliged to omit the worship of God in public, through an act of sin wilfully done on his part, but he had been seized by his disease. Still, through his leprosy he was, like one excommunicated, excluded from the possession and use of the covenant privileges, and could only

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be restored to these privileges through ecclesiastical purification by means of sacrifice. To again obtain these privileges, he was obliged—as a recompense—to bring a *trespass*-offering, by which, like a priest, he was formally consecrated, and thereby again received into the fellowship of the priestly people. In like manner, the Nazarite, who, during the time of his consecration, had unexpectedly contracted uncleanness through a death suddenly taking place near him, had violated no law, either by his own will or his own act, but had, through his becoming unclean, a state which had to be expiated by a sin-offering, only interrupted the duration of his vow, which ought not to have been interrupted. This trespass he must make good *materially*, by beginning the days of his vow anew, and besides must also bring a lamb for a trespass-offering, as a recompense or return for being reinstated in his former condition of sacredness.[5] Of course, in both cases, there is no question of any material substitution and valuation of the trespass, and, consequently, the sacrificial animals were here not subject to any valuation by the priests.

From what has been said, it appears that trespass-offerings were to be brought, where either a violation of law had to be atoned for, or when it was a question of reobtaining theocratic privileges which had been lost. The violations of law referred either to Jehovah as covenant God and theocratic King, to whom a contribution in keeping with the covenant was reserved,—and that when the result of sinful weakness or error (בִּשְׁגָגָה, Lev. v. 15, 18), for every criminal wrong committed against that which was dedicated to Jehovah was punished with death as being a sin of rebellion (Josh. vii. 1 ff.), or were assaults upon the property of one's neighbour. In both cases there was a twofold guilt incurred, one the earthly and material, partly against the Lord of the covenant, partly against one's fellow-man, and a supersensuous ethical one, against the holy God. From this, however, it does not follow that this twofold guilt was atoned for by means of the trespass-offering; but the earthly, material guilt must also be made good in a material manner, as well to the God King as to the individual. Only where a material restoration to the God King, as being injured in His rights, was not possible, was the infraction symbolically discharged merely by the valuation

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of the sacrificial animal; or, in case the violation of right related to one's neighbour, it was removed by a penal compensation (discipline, Lev. xix. 20). The *trespass-offering* served merely for the atonement of the moral guilt, and, when the guilt was capable of valuation, it was raised to a symbolical equivalent by the appraisement of the ram. By this satisfaction was made both to the theocratic law as well as to the sanctity of God. Of a substitution, an equivalent, on the other hand, in trespass-offerings of the second kind, there cannot properly be any question. For these, also, are to be regarded as a contribution, which was required for the restitution of full theocratic rights, and to be regarded as satisfaction for that. According to this, the idea of *compensation*, of satisfaction, forms the fundamental conception, common to all the trespass-offerings, by which they are distinctly and definitely distinguished from the sin-offerings, and maintain their independent character alongside of these.[6]

The *sin-offering* also was ordained for the atonement not merely of the sin, but also of the guilt, as is clearly made prominent in the law; cf. Lev. iv. 3 (לְאַשְׁמַת הָעָם), 13, 23, 27, v. 2 ff. (וְאָשֵׁם). But although every sin involves also an act of guilt, there yet exists an essential difference in this, whether in the act of sinning the sin as such, or the offence, forms the principal element. Every sin as a transgression of a divine command draws after it upon the individual guilt against God, which he must bear or atone for until it is forgiven him. But many transgressions of divine commands are at the same time violations of positive rights, are, in a most proper sense, *crimes;* because they not merely violate the moral relation of man towards God, but at the same time do injury to civic or politico-civic (theocratic) rights, so that satisfaction must be made to the violated right before forgiveness of sin can be spoken of. While, now, offences of the latter kind required trespass-offerings, so sin-offerings were sufficient for all sins of the first kind, because it was here alone a question of the taking away of the sin, with which, as soon as it is only forgiven, the guilt also, as its consequence, is *eo ipso* effaced.—To this department of sin, as merely ethic guilt, refer also the sin-offerings, which—as the name sin (חַטָּאת) also denotes—have to do with sin as such. Of course,

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not merely with individual definite sins, for which the private sin-offerings were prescribed, but also for all sins which have been committed, and unrecognised, and unatoned for in the course of a definite period of time, to which the standing festival sin-offerings applied. However, only for such sins as were either committed out of weakness, or, when committed, remained hidden from the individual (מֵעְלַם, Lev. iv. 13, v. 2, 4), and not till afterwards became known to him as sins (iv. 14, 23, 28, v. 4). To atone for these sins is the aim of the sin-offerings, the fundamental idea of which, accordingly, lies in the idea of *expiation*.[7]

[7] On this distinction a multitude of untenable opinions have been held. See the enumeration of them in Winer (*RW.* ii. 342 ff.), Bähr (*Symbol.* ii. p. 410 ff.), Knobel on Lev. v. 14 ff., and Wangemann (*Opfer*, i. p. 307 ff.).—Hengstenberg was on the track of the truth (*Beiträge*, iii. p. 218 [E. tr. vol. ii. p. 177]) when he remarked "that in Lev. v. 14–16 the conception of incurring a debt is not merely prominent because the sin is directly against God, but rather because it here relates to an injury against God in the grossest sense, a violent seizure of what peculiarly belonged to Him. This is conveyed in the clause נֶפֶשׁ כִּי תִמְעֹל מַעַל. The מָעַל מַעַל always means an act of faithlessness, and that of the most secret kind. In Num. v. 12 it is used of the secret infidelity which a woman practised against her husband. In Josh. vii. 1 it is said: וַיִּמְעֲלוּ מַעַל בַּחֵרֶם, because there had been breach of trust there must be compensation. Achan had defrauded God in a twofold respect, as owner, and as the living moral Governor of the world." Further, he remarks on Lev. v. 20, "this case is to be explained from the first (14–16), from which it is distinguished only by this, that here the robbery is committed against God *mediately*, in the person of him who is nearest to God, while in the other case it is done *immediately*. Every *læsio proximi* is properly and at the same time an אָשָׁם, but the confession of the אָשָׁם is contained most closely in a proper material act of defrauding." But this trace could not lead to a full knowledge of the state of the case, because Hengstenberg views every sin as an act of robbery against God, which must necessarily be compensated and atoned for. The same remark holds true of the view which Kurtz (*d. mos. Opfer*, p. 200 ff.) has developed. "That the sin-offering refers to sins the earthly *Ascham* of which can just as little be recompensed as the super-earthly can be substituted by the sinner, the sin-offering on the other hand to sins whose earthly *Ascham* can still be made up, so that here

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then along with the ethical *Ascham*, that is symbolically recompensed by the sacrifice, the earthly Ascham must still be actually repaid." For however correct is the distinction between an earthly and super-earthly Ascham in the expiatory sacrifices mentioned in Lev. v. 14–16, yet the Biblical foundation is wanting for the transference of this distinction to the sin-offerings. Riehm is nearer the truth ("Ueber das Schuldopfer," in the *Theolog. Stud. und Kritik.* 1854, p. 93 ff.). Setting out from the principle, that the acts of sin which were to be atoned for by expiatory offerings are designated in Lev. v. 14, 21 and Num. v. 6 as מָעַל מַעַל בַּיהוָה; while, on the other hand, those to be atoned for by sin-offerings are regarded as trangressions of מִצְוֹת יְהוָה (Lev. iv. 2, 13, etc.), he explains that formula of a violation of the covenant law, and accordingly determines the distinction thus: "Sin-offerings are brought for transgressions of the ordinances of the covenant and of its commands, while expiatory sacrifices for violations of the laws of the covenant." But although a distinction can be made between covenant commands and covenant laws, yet the covenant laws are nowhere opposed to the covenant commands: at least in the prescriptions relating to sin and expiatory sacrifices, where in Lev. v. 17, where a kind of transgressions, which required sin-offerings for their expiation, are designated as a doing of מִצְוֹת יְהוָה, which ought not to be done, so that the distinction between sin-offerings and trespass-offerings cannot be based on this distinction. The setting forth of the laws of Israel in Ex. xxi.–xxiv. forms also, fundamentally, only an unfolding of the contents of the commands of the covenant or of the decalogue, Ex. xx. 1–14, according to which every transgression of one of the ten commands is at the same time a violation of the laws of the covenant. Therefore the distinction cannot be determined in this way: "trespass-offerings are brought for such transgressions of the covenant commands as are at *the same time* violations of the covenant laws; sin-offerings, for transgressions of the covenant commands where such is not the case," as Riehm has formulated, according to the counter remarks of Rinck (*in den Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1855, pp. 369 ff. and 370). For the conception of the violation of the covenant laws is appropriate to several cases for which trespass-offerings were prescribed, but not to *all*, as neither in the trespass-offering for the leper who is healed, Lev. xiv. 12 ff., nor in the case of the Nazarite who was polluted by a sudden death occurring near him (Num. vi. 12), but where no violation of the covenant laws took place. The distinction lies rather in this, that a trespass-offering had to be brought when satisfaction had to be made for a violation of laws, or in substitution for

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the restoration to rights which had been lost, as Rinck has shown, *loc. cit.*; cf. Delitzsch, "Schuldopfer u. Sundopfer," in Riehm, pp. 1439 ff. and 1582 ff.

[3] We cannot, with Bähr (ii. pp. 404 f., 412) and Hofmann (*Schriftbew.* ii. 1, p. 263 f.), here assign the section in Lev. v. 1–13, because the latter is still dealing with the trespass-offerings, as Kurtz (*d. mos. Opfer*, p. 229 ff.), Winer (*RW.* ii. p. 431), and others, and at last Riehm, *loc. cit.* p. 43 f., and Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 174 ff. [E. tr. p. 189 ff.]), have again sufficiently demonstrated in reply to Hofmann's rejoinder in the second edition of the *Schriftbew.* ii. p. 263 f. This circumstance is decisive, that "the whole portion, iv. 1–5, 13, contains only the beginning of the formula, 'and the Lord spake to Moses and said' (iv. 1), while that which follows, v. 14 ff., announces itself all at once as something new, that formula of initiation being here found again," Kurtz, p. 230 [E. tr. pp. 208, 210]. In addition to this, "when (in v. 1–13) the sacrifice is *expressly* designated according to its purpose, it is named חַטָּאת; comp. v. 6, 7, 8, and especially v. 9, 11, 12" (Riehm). Therefore we may not translate the formula: וְהֵבִיא אֶת־אֲשָׁמוֹ, "he shall bring his trespass-offering," but "he shall bring as his debt"—"for his sin which he has sinned" (ver. 6), or "which he sinned" (ver. 7).

[4] To this category belongs also the priests' sins in the time of Ezra, who had married foreign women whom they were obliged to dismiss, and to bring trespass-offerings for them (Ezra x. 9 ff.). These sins, however, cannot, with Bähr (ii. p. 406), be ranked with Lev. xix. 20 ff., but were מַעַל בַּיהוָה, like those mentioned in Lev. v. 14 ff.

[5] When, on the other hand, Oehler (*PRE.* x. p. 644) and, following him, Kurtz (*d. Opferc.* p. 171 f. [E. tr. p. 189 f.]), assert that in these cases also the trespass-offering is to be viewed as a kind of *mulcta*, as a contribution by way of satisfaction for a violation of law that has been committed, that "the leper, because he had been so long excluded from the community, during which time his theocratic duties as a citizen had not been discharged, and Jehovah had thus been prejudiced; that the Nazarite, by the breach of his vow to Jehovah, had taken away from Jehovah the time dedicated to Him, and had thus by so much the longer a time kept back the paying of his vow,"—all this proves nothing whatever as regards the leprous person. For if the presentation of a trespass-offering—which was imposed upon him—had the signification of a *mulcta* for the fulfilment of his religious duties, neglected during his sickness, then the legislator would have been obliged to lay upon him who suffered from a continuous and sick flow of his seed a trespass-offering

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after his recovery; because the latter, in like manner, during the duration of his uncleanness, had not fulfilled his religious duties, and thus had done an injury to Jehovah (comp. Scholz, *heilig. Alterth.* ii. p. 160). But neither the man afflicted with the sick flow of seed, nor the woman suffering from a flow of blood, had to bring any trespass-offering after their recovery, but both could enter again into communion with Jehovah by means of a simple sin- and burnt-offering, without anything else (Lev. xv. 14 f., 29 f.).—Just as little has the trespass-offering of the Nazarite the signification of a *mulcta*. On *account* of the impurity, which he had suddenly contracted from a sudden death occurring in his neighbourhood, the priest, according to Num. vi. 11, is to make an atonement for him by a sin- and burnt-offering, and hallow his head. If, now, after this had been done, it is further prescribed: "And he shall consecrate to the Lord the days of his separation, and shall bring a lamb of a year old as a trespass-offering, and the days that were before shall fall (*i.e.* be *regarded* as fallen (lost)), because his separation was defiled," we are taught by the position of these three sentences, viz. the mention of the trespass-offering between the consecration of the days of his separation and the falling away of the former days, that this trespass-offering cannot be regarded as a *mulcta* for his having, by the breach of his vow to Jehovah, taken away from Him the time consecrated to Him. To lay on him, who by a sin-offering had been already purified, and by a burnt-offering again restored to a position to sanctify his life to the Lord, in addition a penance as a punishment, is a representation for which no point of support is found, not merely in the theocratic law, but generally in the sphere of divine and human law. And there can be no question at all of a longer keeping back of the *payment* of the vow, because the vow of the Nazarite consisted only in the stopping of the previously defined days of the consecration; and the offering to be brought after these had run their course had no other object than the course of life, always obligatory on all the members of the covenant who had undergone unconsecration, and had again entered upon [theocratic life]; comp. my comment. on Num. vi. 12 ff. The conception of the *paying* of the vow has been inappropriately transferred from other vows to that of the Nazarite. In the law the expression שִׁלֵּם נִדְרוֹ does not occur of the Nazarite.

[6] We may not say, then, with Bähr (ii. p. 408 f.), Kurtz (*Opfercult.* p. 173 [E. tr. p. 206 f.]), and others, that the "trespass-offerings, as atoning offerings, stand far behind the sin-offerings in value and importance, that as opposed to the other three kinds of sacrifices they are not of an independent sort, but only

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a side kind of sin-offerings;" although the number of the cases into which trespass-offerings had to enter was much more limited than the cycle of sin-offerings. For, on the one side, the suffering of leprosy and the impurity of the Nazarite, although occurring in many ways, yet affected only single individuals; while, on the other hand, in all transgressions of divine commands, where there was no prejudice to the property of the theocratic King, or of one's neighbour, the point of view of satisfaction or punishment by way of penance retired into the background, the sin-offering being enough for the expiation of the guilt. According to this view, the trespass-offerings also could not naturally belong to the standing festal sacrifices.

[7] Rinck, *loc. cit.*, had already determined the distinction thus: The trespass-offering is related to the sin-offering as *satisfactio* to *expiatio:* he has only erred in this, that on the idea of satisfaction impressed on the trespass-offering he gave a distorted position to the sacrifice, in designating the same as one to be contributed *along with* the sacrifice or *through* it. Against this Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 160) has objected: "The satisfaction, rather, only is made where it actually took place (and it *must*, of course, always take place where that was possible), *along with* the sacrifice, never *through* the sacrifice. The sacrifice, as such, and also the trespass-offering, has first always expiation as its object; as is also expressly stated of the trespass-offering in Lev. v. 16, 18, xiv. 18, 21, etc., that it was לְכַפֵּר עָלָיו." Further, p. 161, "besides this, it is certainly a perversion to say that the satisfaction is to be set forth *either along with* or *through* the same: *only the one* or the *other* can be the case. If *satisfactio* takes place along with the sacrifice, then must the sacrifice still have a purpose in itself along with and beyond the satisfaction, and that can only be the *expiatio*, the כִּפֻּרֶת." This objection contains not only much that is obscure, but in general more error than truth. What is true and correct is only the rejection of the statement "either *along with* the sacrifice or *through* the same;" false, on the other hand, is the assertion that the satisfaction, where it was made, was always furnished along with the sacrifice, never through the same. For which purpose in most cases the sacrificial ram was subjected to a valuation by the priest, and thereby raised to be a symbolical equivalent of the satisfaction to be furnished, if the satisfaction were made only along with the sacrifice by means of compensation for the material injury, and before the act of sacrifice was performed. Kurtz has here restricted the conception of satisfaction to the *material* substitution for the *material* loss caused by the sin, for this only was or ought to be furnished *along* with the sacrifice. Not less indistinct is the deduction drawn from the לְכַפֵּר עָלָיו,

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predicated also of the trespass-offering, that the trespass-offering also has, *first of all*, always expiation for its object. If the sacrifice has *first of all* expiation for its object, it can still have a further aim, which in the trespass-offering may be a different one from that of the sin-offering. The principal weakness of this objection lies, however, in this, that Kurtz not only takes the conception of the expiation more narrowly than the בִּפֻּרִים is defined in the sacrificial law, but also so overstrains the relation of the *expiatio* to the *satisfactio*, that he brings these two conceptions into a contradictory antithesis, which completely exclude each other; or, to express it briefly, that he operates with the word כִּפֶּר and expiatio, without defining more precisely their biblical and dogmatic meaning.

§ 45. *The Sin-Offering. Its Materials and Ritual.*

The sin-offering (חַטָּאת) was of a somewhat varied character. As regards its *material*, the choice of the victim was regulated by the theocratic position of the person in whose behalf it was to be offered, and partly, too, by the more or less heinous nature of the offence for which an atonement was to be made. —The law directed (1) that a *young bullock* (פַּר בֶּן־בָּקָר) should be offered (*a*) on the occasion of the consecration of the priests and Levites to their office (Ex. xxix. 10, 14, 36; Num. viii. 8), (*b*) for the high priest on the great day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 3), and (*c*) in cases where the high priest had been personally guilty of an offence, and had involved the whole congregation in his guilt (לְאַשְׁמַת הָעָם, Lev. iv. 3), or where the whole congregation itself (כָּל־עֲדַת יִשְׂרָאֵל, Lev. iv. 13) had sinned; (2) a *he-goat* (שְׂעִיר עִזִּים) as a sin-offering for the people (*a*) on the new-moons and at the annual festivals (Num. xxviii. 15, 22, 30, xxix. 5, 11 [comp. Lev. xvi. 5], 16, 19, 22, 25, 28, 31, 33, 38), (*b*) at the dedication of the tabernacle and the temple (Num. vii. 16, 22; Ezra vi. 17, comp. viii. 35), (*c*) on the occasion of a prince's (נָשִׂיא, Lev. iv. 23) having sinned; (3) a *she-goat* (שְׂעִירַת עִזִּים, Lev. iv. 28) or a *she-lamb* (*a*) for a sin committed by any one of the common people (Lev. iv. 28, 32, v. 6), (*b*) a *she-lamb of a year old* (*a*) on the occasion of a Nazarite being released from his vow (Num. vi. 14), (*β*) of a leper being cleansed (Lev. xiv. 10, 19); (4) a *turtle dove* or *young pigeon*, (*a*) for the purifying (*a*) of a woman after child-

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birth (Lev. xii. 6), (β) of a man in his issues (Lev. xv. 14), (γ) of a woman who had had a protracted issue of blood (Lev. xv. 29), (δ) of a Nazarite who had defiled himself by contact with a dead body (Num. vi. 10); (*b*) as a substitute for the lamb in the case of those who, from their poverty, could not afford this latter, (*a*) on the occasion of an ordinary offence (Lev. v. 7), (β) for the purification of a leper (Lev. xiv. 22); and lastly, (5) the *tenth of an ephah of fine flour* as a substitute for the pigeon in the case of a person who was so absolutely poor as not to be able to afford even this latter, and that on the occasion of any ordinary offence.[1]

Then as regards the *ritual* of the sin-offering, again, or the mode of presenting it, the following was the order of proceeding. After the animal had been brought forward, and the hand duly laid upon it, it was slaughtered, and, in those cases in which the victim was a bullock offered for offences on the part of the high priest, or of the whole congregation, the blood of it was taken to the holy place, and there sprinkled seven times towards the (inner) veil, then upon the horns of the altar of incense, after which the remainder was poured out at the foot of the altar of burnt-offering (Lev. iv. 5 ff., 16 ff.).[2] In those cases, again, where the victim happened to be a ram, a she-goat, or a lamb, the blood was merely put upon the horns of the altar of burnt-offering, the remainder being poured out at the foot of the latter (Lev. iv. 25, 30, 34).[3] The next step, after the sprinkling of the blood, was, in the case of all sin-offerings alike (pigeons alone excepted), to separate the fatty portions (הַחֵלֶב) from the rest of the animal, viz. the fat covering the intestines, and such as was upon them, the two kidneys and the fat that was upon them, and upon the flanks, the caul, and, in the case of a certain kind of sheep, the fat of the tail,[4] and then burn them upon the altar (Lev. iv. 8–10, 19, 26, 31, 35). In those cases in which the blood was taken and sprinkled in the holy place, or the holy of holies,[5] the flesh along with the skin, head, bones, intestines, and dung was carried without the camp (the city) to a clean place where the ashes of the sacrifices were usually emptied, and there consumed by fire (Lev. iv. 11 ff., 20 f., vi. 23, xvi. 27); while, in the case of the other sin-offerings, the blood of which was not applied in the manner

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described above, the flesh had to be eaten by the priests (the males exclusively) in the holy place. The vessels in which the flesh was cooked, if of earthenware, required to be broken after being so used, or if they happened to be made of brass or copper, they were to be scoured and rinsed as thoroughly as possible; and if any of the priests chanced to get his garment stained with blood, he was required to wash out the stain in the holy place (Lev. vii. 17–23).—The mode of proceeding in those cases in which pigeons were offered was this. The priest wrung off the head behind the nape, without entirely separating it from the body, and, taking some of the blood, he sprinkled it on the side of the altar, the rest being discharged at the foot of it (Lev. v. 8 f.).[6] This being done, and the crop and dung being removed and thrown among the ashes, then probably, as in the case of the burnt-offering, the whole animal was burnt upon the altar. Lastly, in cases where the sin-offering consisted of flour as a substitute for an animal, the priest took a handful of the flour and burnt it upon the altar (Lev. v. 17), the rest probably falling to himself by way of perquisite.

[1] For a fuller account of the sin-offering in the case of a red heifer being the victim (Num. xix.), as well as of that where birds were offered for the purifying of individuals and dwellings from leprosy, see further on under its proper head.

[2] In the case of the sin-offering that was offered on the great day of atonement, some of the blood was likewise sprinkled upon the Capporet in the holy of holies, while on the occasion of the consecration of the priests, and probably of the Levites as well, it was merely put upon the horns of the altar of burnt-offering, the remainder being poured out at the foot of it; for further information on which point the reader is referred to the chapter on "dedication-offerings" below.

[3] With the exception of the he-goat offered in behalf of the congregation on the great day of atonement, the blood of which was disposed of precisely in the same way as that of the bullock, which on this same occasion was offered for the high priest (Lev. xvi. 15, 18).

[4] Comp. the philological discussion regarding those different parts of the victim in Bochart's *Hieroz.* lib. ii. cap. xlv. (vol. i. p. 560 ff., ed. Rosenm.); Iken, *Dissertatt. phil. theol.* vol. ii., ed. Schacht: *De ablegminibus sacrificiorum Deo in altari offerri solitis*, p. 139 ff.; Bähr, ii. p. 353 ff., and the author's comm. on Lev. iii. 3 f.

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[5] So also in the case of the bullock sacrifice as a sin-offering at the consecration of the priests (Ex. xxix. 14).

[6] Therefore in the case of the pigeons also the mode of disposing of the blood was different from that which was observed in the case of a burnt-offering of pigeons, and rather more in accordance with the idea which the sin-offering was understood to embody.

§ 46. *Object and Meaning of the Sin-Offerings.*

Sin-offerings were instituted for the purpose of putting an end to the separation between God and man that had been created by sin, of procuring for sinners or transgressors of the divine commandments the forgiveness of their sin, and of restoring them again to the unimpaired enjoyment of the benefits of God's covenant of mercy and salvation. But those sacrifices were not to be understood as referring to original sin, or to the native sinful tendencies of human nature, but only to actual transgressions and to various kinds of impurity, *i.e.* either to certain states of the body in which sin had, so to speak, assumed a corporeal shape, or to sacred utensils that had contracted defilement through their being used by sinful men. Accordingly, the object and effect of the sin-offerings were declared to be partly the forgiveness of sin (Lev. iv. 20, 26, 31, 35, v. 10), and partly cleansing (ceremonial purgation) from the pollution of the filth of sin (Lev. xii. 8, xiv. 20, xvi. 19, etc.).—The presenting of a sin-offering presupposed the consciousness of his sin on the part of the person so presenting it; comp. Lev. iv. 14, נוֹדְעָה חַטָּאת; vers. 23, 28, and v. 5, הוֹדַע or הִתְוַדָּה. It was for this reason that the ceremony of the laying on of the hand was understood expressly to typify the fact that the sin for which pardon and cleansing were being sought was transferred to the victim, which thereby became sin (לְחַטָּאת, Lev. iv. 3, 14). In the act of being slaughtered, again, the victim was given up to death, which death it was understood to suffer for the sinner, as the wages of his sin, *i.e.* by it vicariously took the place of the person who offered it. But for all that, the sin was by no means so atoned for as to warrant the assumption that "the innocent blood was shed in order to cover, to make atonement for the blood of the guilty offender," and that "just as the

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sin was imputed to the victim, so was the satisfaction effected through its death imputed to the sinner."[1] For although the sinner may have deserved death, and although it may have been necessary that the victim which became his substitute should suffer in his stead, inasmuch as the divine mercy neither could nor would consent to the holiness of the law being set aside or even in the least degree relaxed, and although it was in consequence understood that the sinner would see in the death of the sin-offering what he himself would have had to expect if God had dealt with him strictly according to His righteousness; yet it is nowhere said in the law, or even in any part of Scripture, either directly or indirectly, that the sin-offering as such had an expiatory significance, and that through the putting to death at the altar of the victim laden with the sin of the offerer, the sin was supposed, even in a symbolical sense, to be paid for, and that in consideration of such payment it was entirely blotted out.[2] The law ascribes an atoning significance only to *that* portion of the blood of the victim which was sprinkled upon the altar, because—as we have already pointed out in § 43—the soul of the man confessing his sin being represented by the blood, was, through the sprinkling of the latter, brought into the fellowship with or within the sphere of operation of the divine grace, which out of pure mercy forgives the sin and blots it out as well, thus not only justifying, but also at the same time sanctifying the sinner, who by faith lays hold of the means of grace presented to him in the act of sacrifice. But of those two factors in the sacrificial atonement, it is only the former that is represented by the sprinkling of the blood, that of the forgiveness of sin or justification.

But the sprinkling of the blood in the case of the sin-offering differed from that which took place in connection with all other sacrifices in this respect, that the blood was not merely sprinkled upon the altar or on its sides all round, but the horns of the altar of burnt-offering were also smeared with it, or it was even taken within the holy place and there sprinkled in different places and on several of the sacred utensils, while it was only the blood that remained after this ceremony was finished, which was poured out at the bottom of the altar of burnt-offering.—The horns of the altar were

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not regarded merely as its most elevated part, nor was it in consequence of their being so regarded that, in sprinkling the blood of the atoning victim upon them, that blood was supposed to be in this way lifted nearer to God;[3] but the idea was, that in the horns, as symbols of power and might there was concentrated the whole of that saving efficacy which resided in the altar as being the point where God revealed Himself in mercy and love. By the sprinkling, or, to speak more correctly, by the smearing of the blood upon the horns of the altar, the soul was symbolically brought within the range of the full force and efficacy of that divine grace in which it required to participate in order that its sin might be duly atoned for. This act has sometimes been characterized as a higher kind of atonement, of which, as has also been supposed, there were different degrees corresponding to the different places on which the blood of the sin-offering was sprinkled;[4] but that it was not sin as being a thing of different degrees, nor transgressions graduated according as they happened to be of a more or less heinous character, that were in this way atoned for, is evident from the simple fact that all sins, all expiable sins, whether of the people or of the ordinary Israelite, of the prince or the beggar, were expiated on the horns of the altar of burnt-offering. As regards the taking of the blood into the holy place and sprinkling it there, this took place only when the transgression or sin to be atoned for was that of the whole congregation, *i.e.* of the people and the priests together, or that of the "anointed priests" (Lev. iv. 3), *i.e.* of the high priest as being the head and representative of the whole priesthood. The reason of the mode of proceeding being different in this instance is to be found in the different degrees of importance that attached to the various divisions of the tabernacle or the temple, or in the different relations in which, under the theocracy, the people and the priests respectively were supposed to stand to Jehovah the covenant God. As the people—the ruler as well as the humblest subject—were debarred, in consequence of their position under the law, from entering into any closer relation with the Lord than that of the fellowship implied in their being allowed to appear before Him in the court, the consequence was that their sins could

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be expiated only at the altar that stood in the court. But as the priests, on the other hand, were admitted, in virtue of their being the official and consecrated mediators between the people and the Lord, into closer relations with the covenant God, and so were at liberty to enter His dwelling place and there enjoy the fellowship of His grace, the consequence here again was that the sins, not only of the "anointed priest," but also of the whole congregation, as being a priestly nation (Ex. xix. 6), were allowed to be expiated in the dwelling place, and that at the altar of incense in the holy place, even the place where the Lord in His grace vouchsafed to reveal Himself to the congregation and to the priesthood because He had called them to be His own, the place where He imparted to them both justification and sanctification, although there was still the veil in the dwelling place forming a partition between the holy God and unholy men, a partition that was only withdrawn once in the year, viz. on the great day of atonement, in prophetic anticipation of that period of final fulfilment when God's people would be perfectly reconciled to and completely united with Himself (see below, § 84). But in those cases in which the blood was taken within the dwelling place the sprinkling was of a twofold character, first, towards the inner veil, which was repeated seven times, and then upon the horns of the altar of burnt-offering.[5] Now, if in the act of the smearing of the horns of the altar with the blood, the soul of the person or persons in whose behalf the victim was offered was to be understood thereby as brought within the sphere of God's efficacious grace, then the *preceding* sprinkling seven times "before Jehovah, towards the veil" (Lev. iv. 6, 17), could only have been intended to point to the ultimate restoration of the covenant relation that had been broken by sin, could only have been intended to signify the coming reunion with the Lord, seeing that in the act in question the soul was by a symbolical act brought nigh once more to the loving presence of God. This was pointed at not only in the circumstance of the sprinkling being repeated *seven* times, and in the fact that this number seven was the sign of the divine working in the economy of salvation, but in the further circumstance that it was not done upon the altar itself, the real centre of the divine presence, but before

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Jehovah and toward the veil behind which the Lord was understood to be enthroned. Then, finally, if it be asked why it was that, as only a small quantity of the blood was used for sprinkling purposes in the case of a sin-offering, the rest was poured out at the foot of the altar, we can only say that it was simply for the purpose of conveying the holy sacrificial blood underground on that sacred spot where the altar itself was standing.

Just as with the sprinkling of the blood the first stage in the act of expiation, viz. the forgiveness of sin and the justification of the sinner, was understood to be completed; so, on the other hand, was the second, viz. the blotting out of the sin and the sanctification of the sinner, understood to be represented by the way in which the flesh of the sin-offering was next disposed of. For, in the sacrificing of a sin-offering, it was a question not merely of the forgiveness of sin, but also of the blotting out or removal of it. This is evident beyond all question from the purification sacrifices which were undoubtedly instituted with a view to the complete removal of whatever stain of sin might happen to adhere to individuals, or any of the sacred utensils. It is true that through the death which the victim suffered, instead of and in behalf of the sinner, the divine righteousness was so far satisfied that in the sprinkling of the atoning blood upon the altar, God in His mercy received the soul of the sinner into His favour; but the sin itself was not there and then done away with. Death no doubt puts an end to what is sinful, but it cannot make anything or any one pure and free from sin. As little, therefore, can we attribute any effect of this sort to the vicarious death of the sin-offering. The eradication of the sin, *i.e.* the delivering of the person, pardoned and justified, from his sin, was symbolized in what was done with the flesh of the victim, in so far as the body of the animal was cut up, and the fat of the intestines, along with the kidneys and all the fat parts generally, was separated from the flesh and then burnt upon the altar as being the choicest portions of the victim. The separation of the fat from the flesh was to be understood as bearing some resemblance to that separation between the old and the new man, the ἔξω ἡμῶν ἄνθρωπος and the ἔσωθεν or ἔσω ἄνθρωπος (2 Cor. iv.

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16; Eph. iii. 16), which is brought about in the life of the justified as the result of that operation of the Holy Spirit which begins with the new birth, is carried on in the process of sanctification, and culminates in the glorified state that follows upon death and resurrection.[6] The burning of the fat of the victim upon the altar as an offering made by fire for a sweet savour unto Jehovah (Lev. iv. 31), was symbolical of the handing over of the better part of the man, the part that is susceptible of renewal, to the purifying fire of the divine holiness and love, in order that the inward man might be renewed from day to day by the spirit of the Lord, and at length be changed into the glory of the children of God.—As for the flesh of the sin-offering, on the other hand, it could not be allowed to be burnt upon the altar to ascend as a sweet savour unto Jehovah, because on it was resting the sin imputed to the sin-offering, and which as yet had not been taken away (blotted out). The arrangement for representing the idea of the taking away or extinction of the sin was this. If the sin-offering was one that was offered by an ordinary member of the community, the priests were required officially to eat the flesh with the view of their bearing in themselves the sin of the offerer of the victim, *i.e.* of their incorporating the flesh of the sin-offering with their own, so as to destroy the sin through the sanctifying power that at the time of their anointing had been imparted to them, in order to qualify them for the duties of their office.[7] But if, on the other hand, the sin-offering was one that was offered in behalf of the high priest, the spiritual head of the priesthood as well as of the people of the covenant, or if it had reference to the whole congregation which had been called to be a priestly nation, and of which the priests themselves formed an integral part, then those priests, in their character as duly authorized mediators, were no doubt empowered to perform those acts of objective atonement symbolized by the sprinkling of the blood and the burning of the fat, etc., of the victim; but seeing that, subjectively, they themselves stood in need of atonement and sanctification, they could not take upon themselves the sins of those for whom atonement was being made (could not incorporate them with their own being through eating the flesh of the victim), so as to cancel the sin and impart sancti-

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fication to the sinner. That being the case, it was necessary that the flesh, stained as it was by sin, the body of sin itself, should simply be consigned to the death of annihilation by fire. This twofold method of disposing of the flesh of the sin-offering was based upon one and the same idea. In both cases there was the annihilation of the flesh, that part of the man to which the sin was imputed;[8] in the one the sinful essence of the sin was swallowed up in the holiness of the priests, in the other was manifested the result of sin as seen in that death which is the fruit of sin. For, whatever could not possibly be expiated and sanctified through the medium of the duly ordained organs of grace in the kingdom of God, had of necessity to be given over to death. The burning of the flesh of the victim, however, could only be allowed to take place outside the camp, *i.e.* outside the kingdom of God; the reason of this being, that nothing that was hopelessly abandoned to death could be allowed to remain within the pale of the kingdom of God. But, because the flesh in question was that of a sacrifice, and, in order that that which had been set apart for a holy purpose should not be treated after the manner of an abomination, the burning was not allowed to take place on any unclean spot, such as might be used for the reception of carrion and other abominations; but in that clean place where the ashes from the altar of burnt-offering were usually laid down, those ashes that formed, so to speak, the dregs and remains of the victims that had ascended to God in the purifying flame of the altar fire.[9] Thus, in both instances, we have in the treatment of the flesh of the sin-offering a significant representation, not only of the fruits and effects of sin, but of its removal and extinction as well.

[1] As, in accordance with the forensic theory of sacrifice, is taught by Kurtz, *Das mos. Opfer*, pp. 30 ff., 83, 109, etc. To the same effect is his remark in *Opferc.* p. 78: "The laying on of the hand was to be understood as representing the consecration of the victim to a vicarious penal death, while the slaughtering was to be regarded as the actual inflicting of such penal death;" and that at p. 91: "By the act of the laying on of his hand, the person offering the sacrifice transferred to the victim his own liability to death, and left it to bear the punish-

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ment due to himself." Comp. what we have already advanced at p. 275 f. in answer to this theory.

[2] In support of his view, that in offering a sacrifice (*i.e.* in every instance of it whatever) the slaughtering of the victim was to be regarded in the light of a *pœna vicaria* and a *satisfactio vicaria*, Kurtz appeals, in the first place, to Gen. ii. 17, iii. 3, from which, as he insists, it may be inferred that every sin is deserving of death as being an act of rebellion against the will of God,—a truth which no theologian, having any regard for the authority of Scripture, has ever yet dreamt of disputing. He then goes on to argue that the view of death as a penal infliction rendered necessary by sin and indispensable to its atonement, is as far from being foreign to the Old Testament as is the view of vicarious suffering involved in its conception of the Schechita (the slaughtering of the victim), a point which he endeavours to substantiate by adducing the four following reasons: (1) Because we have an instance of the vicarious death of an animal in the room and place of a man in the תַּחַת בְּנוֹ of Gen. xxii. 13 in connection with that sacrifice of his son which Abraham had been called upon to make, a case in which, as he alleges, "it might no doubt be questioned whether the sacrifice was meant to have an atoning significance as well, and whether the slaughtering was to be viewed from the standpoint from which death is regarded as the wages of sin." But if this be an open question, and therefore somewhat doubtful, then the passage in question has no force so far as the point to be proved is concerned.—(2) Because "the ceremony prescribed in Deut. xxi. 1–9 is apparently based upon the idea of the *pœna vicaria*"—most undoubtedly; but, at the same time, "what is here in question is certainly not the covering or expiating of the sin of murder." And so, for this reason, if for no other, it is impossible to regard this ceremony as furnishing any argument in favour of the theory of sacrifice now under dispute; besides, it had nothing whatever in common with the altar sacrifices, nor was the animal, in this instance, slaughtered in the usual way, but its neck was broken.—(3) Because further evidence of the presence of the idea that an innocent person may die for one who is guilty, the latter being thereby allowed to escape the punishment of death which he himself has merited, is to be found in Ex. xxxii., in the intercession of Moses when he prays: "Now forgive them their sin; and if not, blot me out of Thy book (ver. 32)." But even supposing that, with Kurtz, we were to take those words as meaning that "Moses desired to be blotted out of the book in order to avert this fate from those who had deserved it," we are yet confronted with the fact that not only does Jehovah refuse this request by saying: "Whosoever

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hath sinned against me, him will I blot out of my book;" but though deferring so far to Moses' wish as to agree yet longer to spare the people, He also declines to cancel the punishment which He simply postpones till the day of His vengeance comes. Consequently it is no less futile to turn to this incident for evidence of the fact that an innocent person can die for a guilty one, and that on this ground the latter may be allowed to escape the punishment of death, which he himself has deserved. —(4) Because, "in the prediction regarding the servant of Jehovah, Isa. liii., this idea is undoubtedly present, seeing that in ver. 10 it is stated, and that with express reference to the sacrificial worship, that God has made his life (the life of His servant) an offering for sin. Can there be a clearer, plainer, more decisive explanation of the meaning of the slaughtering of the victim?" But the truth is, this passage does not deal in the least with the slaughtering of the victim as such, but speaks of the giving up of the life of the servant of Jehovah to death as an אָשָׁם, as a trespass-offering; so here again, all that can be said to be proved is that the death of the victim has an expiatory significance in the case of the trespass-offering. But this must not be understood as implying, in the remotest degree, that the like significance attaches to the death (the slaughtering) of the sin-offering, the burnt-offering, and the thank-offering. The πρῶτον ψεῦδος of Kurtz's theory of sacrifice lies in his regarding all bloody sacrifices alike as expiatory offerings, and that in opposition to the teaching of Scripture as well as that of the Church alike (see above, p. 275 f., and *Luth. Ztschr.* 1856, p. 614 ff.), and in applying, on the strength of this erroneous and unscriptural assumption, to the *whole* of the animal sacrifices what is true of the trespass-offering alone.

[3] So Hofmann, *Schriftbew.* ii. 1, p. 257, who in the horns of the altar sees nothing more than simply the culminating points towering high on the sacred eminence (בָּמָה); and, in conformity with this view, he explains the sprinkling of the blood in the sin-offering as follows: "Here—a thing that was done in no other instance—the atoning blood was lifted up toward God when it was put upon the horns of the altar of burnt-offering, it was taken in before Him and lifted up toward Him when it was sprinkled before the veil of the holy of holies and put upon the horns of the altar of incense, or it was taken in yet farther still, even before the throne itself, and lifted up still higher than ever, even to the very throne of Him who dwelt in the most holy place, when brought, as it was, before the ark and sprinkled upon the lid." Comp. § 20, note 13.

[4] Comp. Bähr, ii. p. 390 f., who assumes that there was a first, second, and third degree of atonement corresponding to

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the three pieces of sacred furniture on which the blood was sprinkled, while he professes to find the reason of this gradation merely in the character of the persons for whom in any given case atonement was to be made, and in the more or less heinous nature of the sins to be atoned for.

[5] It was different with regard to the atoning sacrifice offered on the great day of atonement, on which occasion the sprinkling of the blood seven times toward the veil preceded the smearing of the horns of the altar, and that because, in this instance, it had reference to the purifying of the sanctuary; see the author's *Comment. on Lev.* p. 43. For further details as to the manner of dealing with the blood peculiar to sacrifices of dedication and purification, the reader is referred to the discussion of those sacrifices, to be found in another part of this work.

[6] The comparing of the fat and the flesh of the sin-offerings to the inner and outer, the new and the old man, is, of course, not to be understood to imply—as, for the purpose of combating it, Kurtz, *Opferc.* 183 ff., has thought proper to assume—that the reason for requiring the fat to be burnt upon the altar was because this part of the victim was regarded as the symbol of the inner man. The practice of separating the fat of the victim from its flesh for the purpose of offering it to God in the altar fire, was not introduced for the first time when sin-offerings were instituted, but it is one that dates from pre-Mosaic times, and which was transferred from the Mosaic thank-offerings to the sin-offerings, as may be seen from the simple fact that, in those two species of sacrifices, it is the same portions that were burnt in the manner referred to. There can be no doubt that what led in the case of the pre-Mosaic sacrifices to those portions being specially selected for the purpose in question, was the idea of taking the fattest part of the victim, before consuming it at the sacrificial feast, and as being the choicest bit of the animal, the *flos carnis*, as Neumann (*Sacra V. Test. salutaria*, p. 35 f.) styles it, and presenting it to God as an offering by fire (fire-food). But when this practice came to be transferred to the sin-offering, it would necessarily acquire a significance commensurate with the idea embodied in that species of offering, —a significance, it is true, which is no more taught in the thora, *expressis verbis*, than is that of the other parts of the sacrificial ritual, but which emerges into view as soon as we avail ourselves of that deeper insight into the meaning of the animal sacrifices of the Old Testament that is furnished by the fulfilment of them through the sacrifice of Christ in the New Testament, as, in fact, it is there too that the distinction between the old and the new man is first brought plainly out.

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[7] This undoubtedly follows from Lev. x. 17, where Moses says to Aaron: "Wherefore have ye not eaten the sin-offering in the holy place, seeing it is most holy, and God hath given it you to bear the iniquity of the congregation, to make atonement for them before the Lord?" Precisely as in Ex. xxviii. 38, the words שְׂאֵת אֶת־עֲוֹן are here used in the sense of taking the iniquity of another upon oneself with the view of removing it. Accordingly, if the priests were required to eat the flesh of the sin-offering in order that they might thereby bear the iniquity of the congregation to make atonement for them, then the ascribing of this virtue to the official eating on the part of the priests can only be understood as implying that they were in this way to incorporate with their own personality the flesh that was stained with imputed sin, and thereby annihilate the sin through the sanctifying powers that had been conferred upon them to qualify them for their sacred functions. Thus has C. a Lapide already correctly explained it: Ut scilicet cum hostiis populi pro peccato simul etiam populi peccata in vos quasi recipiatis, ut illa expietis. Still more plainly Deyling (*Observatt. sacr.* i. c. 45, sec. 2): Hoc pacto cum ederent, *incorporabant* quasi peccatum populique reatum in se recipiebant, though without pursuing the thought further. So also Hengstenberg (*Die Opfer*, p. 15, 2nd ed.), Köhler ("Opfermahlzeit," in Herzog, x. p. 652), Philippi (*Kirchl. Glaubenslehre*, iv. 2, p. 259), and Wangemann (*Opfer*, i. p. 291 ff.), authorities that far outweigh the somewhat feeble devices of Oehler, v. Hofmann, and Kurtz to get rid of this thought. Oehler is disposed to agree with Vatablus in understanding the words of Lev. x. 17 in a declaratory sense. But he is answered by Kurtz himself (*Opfer*, p. 203), who observes as follows: "If we take the words נָתַן לָכֶם as meaning 'he has given it you to eat,' and then regard the terms לָשֵׂאת אֶת־עֲוֹן and לְכַפֵּר עֲלֵיהֶם as expressing the object and result of the eating, it is certain we would not venture to understand this latter also in a declaratory, but only in an exhibitive sense. For the terms of the text are such that the passage itself furnishes no warrant or pretext whatever for putting a declaratory construction upon purely exhibitive terms." On the other hand, Kurtz (p. 204), in common with Hofmann (p. 281), tries to dispute the alleged literal interpretation of נָתַן לָכֶם on the ground that, if that interpretation be correct, we should have expected the words of the text to have been נָתַן לָאֲכֹל. But he cannot altogether conceal from himself the somewhat doubtful character of this objection, as may be seen from the fact of his going on to remark that, "seeing, then, that it (the expression in question) is not found

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in the text, and that to supply it would not yield an appropriate sense, but one only that would be fraught with absurdity on all hands, it is certainly the most advisable course to abstain from supplying anything whatever, and to take the נתן simply as it stands." But the hesitating nature of this rejoinder is obvious at a glance. Why only "the most advisable course"? If it be true that the disputed interpretation "yields a sense fraught with absurdity on all hands," then it would be out of the question to entertain it on any terms whatever. But, after all, wherein, may we ask, does "the absurdity on all hands" of this interpretation lie? This is a point on which Kurtz fails to offer any further explanation. But, coming to the matter itself, we would observe that the object to נָתַן is אֹתָהּ, the flesh of the sin-offering, which the priests had not eaten, but burnt with fire. Consequently the point in question is not the fact of Jehovah's having given the sin-offering to the priests, but His having given them the flesh of this offering, and that to eat and not to burn it, in order that thereby they might make atonement for the sin of the congregation.—As regards the opinion entertained by the above-mentioned opponents of this view, to the effect that the eating of the flesh of the sin-offering on the part of the priests is to be viewed in precisely the same light as their eating of the flesh of the thank-offering (the wave-breast and heave-shoulder), and that it is to be regarded in the light of a sacrificial feast, we have no hesitation in saying that it is utterly foreign to the purpose. For, on this assumption, not only would the distinction existing between the sin-offering and the thank-offering be obliterated, but, what is more, we should be at a loss to account for the difference actually existing between them, inasmuch as the flesh of the sin-offering was allowed to be eaten solely by the priests (excluding even their families), and that in the holy place, whereas the wave-breast and heave-shoulder of the thank-offering might be eaten by the priests, along with their wives and children, anywhere, provided the place were a clean one.

[a] The idea of the transference of sin from the offerer himself to his victim by means of the laying on of his hand, and which Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 193, etc.) pronounces to be "an inadmissible view, dogmatically as well as exegetically," finds powerful support in the sacrifice of the red heifer, Num. xix.; not only so, but it is one that is likewise to be met with among the Greeks; comp. Oehler in Herzog, xii. p. 635. It is therefore not without reason that Philippi, as above, p. 252 ff., characterizes it as a piece of inconsistency on the part of Kurtz when, holding, as he does, the death of the victim to be a *pœna vicaria*, he yet denies the imputation of sin, merely because he considers *pœna*

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without *culpa* to be a thing inconceivable. But Philippi again finds it "absolutely inconceivable," how, with 2 Cor. v. 21 before him, a passage in which occurs, *ipsissimis verbis*, the very form of expression which he rejects, viz. that by the laying on of the hand the victim is made sin, Kurtz should venture to say, as he does at p. 77, that "the idea that, through the imputation of sin, the person to whom it is imputed should thereby be supposed to be made sin, is, moreover, in my opinion, as monstrous as it is inconceivable, presupposing, as it does, that the offerer of the sacrifice as well, previous at least to the laying on of the hand, had himself—to put it plainly, as Flacius would have done—been sin, or had been regarded as such."

[9] Nor can the most holy character of the flesh of the sin-offering (Lev. vi. 18 ff.) be alleged as forming a valid objection to this symbolical interpretation of the burning of it; for, in the first place, there is an essential difference between inherent and imputed, *i.e.* merely transferred sin; then, in the next place, the flesh in question is called "most holy," not in an ethical, but merely in a liturgical or ceremonial sense, because it is understood to subserve the most holy purpose of destroying sin, a purpose which involved the necessity of its being strictly forbidden to be used in connection with any object of a merely earthly nature. The sacred purpose in question will also serve to explain the regulations to the effect that whosoever touched the flesh would thereby become holy, and that the garment on which any of the blood had dropped was to be washed in the holy place; and, further, that the vessels in which the flesh had been cooked were to be broken, if made of earthenware, but scoured and rinsed if made of copper (Lev. xx. 6 ff.). The whole of those regulations were designed to prevent the profaning of what was regarded as most holy (comp. the author's comment. on Lev. vi. 20 ff.); even the first of them, to the effect that any one would become holy who should happen to come in contact with this flesh. For, as the circumstance of one's being holy involved the necessity of using the utmost precaution to avoid contracting defilement, people would naturally take care not to touch what was most holy, seeing that by doing so they would expose themselves to numerous inconveniences in ordinary life.

On the other hand, the assumption of Bähr (ii. p. 395), Oehler (x. p. 645), Kurtz (p. 200 f.), and others, to the effect that the burning of the flesh without the camp was not, properly speaking, a part of the sacrificial rite, but simply a means of annihilating the flesh in a pure manner, or of securing it against corruption and profanation, is at variance with Heb. xiii. 11 ff., where the burning in question is taken as a type of Christ's

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death outside the gate; a circumstance which, as the writer assumes, has the effect of imparting to that death a deeper significance in its bearing upon the idea which the sin-offering embodied. It is on this ground that Riehm, in the *Theol. Literaturbl. der Allg. KZ.* 1864, p. 10, also pronounces Kurtz's treatment of the burning without the camp to be totally unsatisfactory, adding as his reason for doing so, that just here, and here alone, was the place where, in the course of the sacrificial rite, the fiery indignation against sin found its due expression; and that, if Kurtz could have seen this, he would have done more justice to the obvious sense of the words of Lev. x. 16 ff., and would have been in a position for understanding the passage in Heb. xiii. 11 ff. better than all the modern commentators on the Epistle to the Hebrews (Kurtz with his *Comment.* not excepted) have done. Comp. besides, Wangemann, i. p. 291.

§ 47. *The Trespass-Offering.*

The trespass-offering (אָשָׁם) usually consisted of a ram, which was valued by the priest according to the shekel of the sanctuary (Lev. v. 15, 18, vi. 6, xix. 21); the only exception was when the offering was that of a leper and a Nazarite, in which case it consisted of a lamb, without anything being said about its valuation (Lev. xiv. 11 f.; Num. vi. 12). After the victim had been duly slaughtered, and that on the north side of the altar, its blood was sprinkled round about upon the latter, the fat burned upon it, and the flesh, as being most holy, eaten by the priests in the holy place (Lev. vii. 1–7), as was done in the case of the sin-offering of the ordinary Israelite (Lev. vii. 7).[1] From this it will be seen that the difference between the sin-offering and the trespass-offering consisted partly in the circumstance that, in the case of the trespass-offering, the choice of the victim was restricted to a ram or a lamb, and that the ram was valued by the priest, but mainly in the mode of disposing of the blood, which was similar to that which was observed in the case of burnt-offerings and thank-offerings.

Those points in which the trespass-offering coincided with the sin-offering, as well as those in which it differed from it, and which stamped it as a kind of expiatory sacrifice of a co-ordinate character with the sin-offering, were points that

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had more or less connection with the object of this species of sacrifice, as it has been explained in § 44. As the very designation אָשָׁם, *i.e. mulcta*, not compensation, implies, this sacrifice was intended to serve as an atonement before God for the person offering it in consequence of some transgression of which he had been guilty, the offence in the majority of cases being some act of disloyalty toward Jehovah, some unfaithfulness in the way of abstracting or keeping back something belonging to God or to one's neighbour. For the abstracting, stealing, or keeping back of the property of one's neighbour (Lev. vi. 2), if denied upon oath, assumed likewise the character of an act of disloyalty to Jehovah, which had to be atoned for by means of a sacrifice. But, in cases where there was no such denial, the matter might be settled in conformity with the existing penal laws, simply by the actual restoration of the property, or by the payment of full compensation with a fifth part of the real value added by way of fine. The trespass-offering uniformly contemplated the offence as one that had been committed against God, and as such alone, as may be seen from the fact that the material injury had to be made good by means of a material compensation, where, from the nature of the case, that was at all possible, and that this compensation had to be paid before the sacrifice could be offered. For, as the perfidious keeping back of anything sacred to Jehovah was at the same time an ethical offence against God, and as the undutiful appropriation of a neighbour's property was, when denied on oath, no less so, it was necessary, after the material compensation had been paid, that the ethical offence against God should next be wiped out. It was for this reason that the trespass-offering was valued by the priest so as to indicate thereby that it was a due equivalent—commensurate with the amount of the material injury done—for the cancelling of the ethical offence. The valuing of the ram on the part of the priest had merely a symbolical significance, and was not intended to be regarded as determining the real money value of the animal.

The idea of the cancelling of some offence or other is seen to be no less prominent in the order of procedure in offering the sacrifice. After the ram had been valued by the priest, and thus pronounced to be an equivalent for the offence to be

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atoned for, the person offering it then laid his hand upon it,[3] by way of transferring his own guilt to the victim, which latter, while it was being slaughtered, was understood to be suffering in his stead that death which, as the penalty of his offence, he himself had incurred. While in this way satisfaction was rendered to divine justice, the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar, again, was understood to have the effect of bringing the soul of the guilty individual into the fellowship of the divine grace, and of causing it to be welcomed by God into His favour. In the next stage, again, viz. that of the burning of the fat upon the altar, the inner man of the individual, now that it has been reconciled to God, was supposed to be given over to the purifying flame of the divine love to be sanctified and cleansed from sin, all which being done, the guilt imputed to the trespass-offering was then annulled, as in the case of sin-offering of the ordinary Israelite, by the eating of the flesh of the sacrifice on the part of the priests (see p. 305).—By means of this symbolical cancelling of the ethical offence, satisfaction was rendered to divine justice, while the sinner was at the same time absolved from his guilt.—This was no less so in the case of the trespass-offerings offered on the occasion of the healing of a leper and of a Nazarite's becoming unclean; only with this modification, and that a modification due to the special object for which those sacrifices were offered, that as the leper and the Nazarite had neither of them incurred guilt through committing any actual sin, but had fallen from their state of grace by being stained with sin in its physical or corporeal manifestation, so when they came to offer the prescribed sacrifices in order that they might be restored to their forfeited rights in the domain of grace, the usual valuing of the victim by the priests was omitted, and with this omission the satisfaction to be rendered to the divine justice lost the character of a penalty, and resolved itself merely into that covering over of the moral shortcoming of the offerer by means of the victim, which was necessary in order to his being fully restored again to the state of grace he had previously enjoyed.[4]

[1] For the special modes of manipulating the trespass-offering of the leper, see a subsequent portion of this work.

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[2] It is the opinion of Riehm (*Theol. Stud.* 1854, p. 118), on the other hand, that "a reckoning by imaginary quantities is foreign to the spirit of antiquity," while he understands the valuing as having had reference to the actual worth of the ram: "It was necessary that the value of the ram, which would vary according to its size, its condition as to fat, and such like, should be in proportion to the extent of the מַעַל." For a similar reason Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 207) is likewise disposed to hold that it was a question of the actual value of the ram, though he, at the same time, clings to the symbolical significance of the valuing. Wangemann (i. p. 314) declares against the notion of an imaginary valuing in much more decided terms: "For," he says, "the shekel of silver was a very tangible and definite quantity; and as for the sheep, full-fed or lean and shorn as the case may be, it might be found, if we took into account the difference of the rump and perhaps the wool, that the proportion between an animal of less and another of greater value would be that of 1 : 4, or 1 : 5.—But if it were a fact that the actual value of the ram had to be equivalent to the money estimate of the מַעַל to be atoned for, how in that case can it be supposed that only *one* ram would be demanded for every מַעַל? for surely one might expect that the money estimate of such an offence, say, as refusing to give up a deposit or stolen or found property, would often far exceed the value of a *single* ram, no matter how fat it might be or how heavy a rump it might have."

[3] Because in Lev. vii. 1–7 there happens to be no special mention of the laying on of the hand, Rinck (as above, p. 376) and Knobel (*Levit.* p. 396) have supposed that in the case of the trespass-offering it did not take place at all. But the fact has been overlooked, that neither is it mentioned in the corresponding passage relating to the sin-offering (Lev. vi. 17–23), but is noticed, in the case of this latter only, when the various occasions are enumerated on which sin-offerings were to be offered (Lev. iv. 4 ff.); and though in the case of the trespass-offering it is not mentioned even then (comp. Lev. v. 14 ff.), it is only because, in this instance, the order of proceeding in presenting this offering does not happen to be described.

[4] For the reason why trespass-offerings never came to assume the character of regular festival sacrifices, see § 44, note 6.

§ 48. II. *The Burnt-Offering.*

Material and ritual. The kind of animals that, according to the law, were allowed to be offered in burnt-offering (עֹלָה) were oxen and the smaller cattle; only they had invariably

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to be males—a young bullock (פַּר) or calf, a ram or he-lamb, and a he-goat (עַתּוּד), while instead of these the poor were at liberty to offer turtle-doves or young pigeons, altogether irrespective of sex (Lev. i. 3–17).—After the victim had been led to the altar and duly consecrated by the laying on of the hand, and then slaughtered by the person offering it, the priest took the blood which he had caught up as it flowed from the animal and sprinkled it round about upon the altar.[1] This being done, the animal was flayed, the skin falling to the priest by way of perquisite (Lev. vii. 8), the flesh was next cut up into different parts, the intestines and hind legs were washed, and then the several portions, including the head and fat, were taken and laid upon the burning wood on the altar by the priest, the whole being thus consumed by fire.—All that is necessary to be known with regard to the mode of proceeding in the case of the pigeons has already been stated in § 42, p. 266.—In those cases in which the burnt-offering consisted of an ox or some of the smaller cattle, it required to be followed by a meat- and drink-offering, varying in quantity according to the kind of victim offered,—a regulation, however, which did not apply to the case of pigeons.

[1] Comp. Lev. i. 5, 11, זָרַק עַל־הַמִּזְבֵּחַ סָבִיב, to pour upon the altar round the sides by shaking (זָרַק is to be distinguished from הִזָּה, to squirt, to sprinkle, which occurs in connection with the atoning sacrifices in Lev. v. 4, etc.). על המזבח does not mean "over the altar" (Winer, *Realwörtb.* i. 193), or "over the top of the altar" (Hofm. *Schriftbew.* ii. 1, p. 256), which Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 209) thus further defines: "The blood was not to be put upon the centre space on the top of the altar, where the altar fire was lighted, but was to be so poured out by jerking the vessel in the hand, that it would fall upon the inner margin of the altar all round." Such a view of the matter is simply erroneous; while it is at variance with the mode of proceeding as implied in Zech. ix. 15, and corroborated by Rabbinical tradition. According to Zech. ix. 15, the shaking out of the blood was principally directed toward the corners of the altar. This, according to Mischna, *Sebach.* v. 4 ff., and Raschi in his note on Lev. i. 5, was so managed that with two jerks of the vessel filled with the blood, the latter was emptied upon the whole four sides or walls of the altar, which was possible only on the assumption that the shaking was directed toward the corners of the altar.—In those cases in which the burnt-offering consisted of pigeons,

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the quantity of blood that escaped after the head was wrung off was too small to admit of its being applied by means of the kind of shaking just mentioned to the whole four sides of the altar, and hence it was prescribed that the blood should only be squeezed or made to run out upon the side of the altar (Lev. i. 15); while, in the case of a *sin-offering* of pigeons, some of the blood was to be sprinkled on the side and the rest wrung out at the bottom of the altar (Lev. v. 9). Cf. Delitzsch, "Brand-opfer," in Riehm's *HWB.* p. 199 ff.

Object and *meaning.* The burnt-offering (ὁλοκαύτωμα, *holocaustum*) does not owe its designation, *Olah* (עֹלָה, *ascensio*), to the circumstance of the whole of it being put upon the altar, but to the fact that the entire victim (הַכֹּל, Lev. i. 9) was understood to ascend to God in the altar flames, in contradistinction to those victims that were only partially consumed upon the altar; and hence they are also known under the designation of whole burnt-offerings (כָּלִיל, Deut. xxxiii. 10; Ps. li. 21; 1 Sam. vii. 9). It is in this distinctive peculiarity that we must also look for the object and specific meaning of the burnt-offering. As the purpose for which a sacrifice was offered on the altar was that, in the smoke of the fire ascending with a pleasing savour to Jehovah, it might symbolize the idea of the worshipper surrendering himself to the Lord with the view of his being purified by the sacred fire of divine love, so what was specially aimed at in the burnt-offering was to express complete surrender to the Lord, with a view to the renewal and sanctification of the entire man, or the consecration of the body with all its members and organs to a course of life pleasing to God.—This idea of the surrender of man with his life and aims to God did not now make its appearance for the first time, for it was one that lay at the root of the pre-Mosaic burnt-offerings as well (see p. 246). Only the difference was that, in the legal prescriptions as to the way in which this species of sacrifice was to be offered, this idea assumed greater depth and a more definite shape. The prescription which required the person offering the sacrifice to lay his hand somewhat forcibly upon the head of the victim that it might thereby become acceptable to him so as to make atonement for him (Lev. i. 4), was not designed merely to preclude the erroneous notion that the presenting of a gift from one's own property was, as such, acceptable to

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God, but principally to enforce the truth that the obligation to consecrate one's personal life and aims to Jehovah in and through the sacrifice offered, was that which constituted the very aim and end of the sacrifice. Further, the significance ascribed in Lev. xvii. 11 to the blood as applied to the altar, —the significance, namely, that as containing the soul of the victim it was to be understood as covering the soul of the person offering it,—imparted to the act of slaughtering and to the act of sprinkling this deeper significance, that the man, if he desired earnestly to devote his life to the Lord, would have to die spiritually (*i.e.* according to the old man), and that only on the ground of sin-pardoning grace could he hope to attain to life in God, or be able to walk in fellowship with Him. On the other hand, it is nowhere taught in the sacrificial thora that the burnt-offering had any reference to atonement or the forgiveness of sins. Provision was made for the latter by atoning sacrifices that had been duly prescribed. Hence it was that the blood of the burnt-offering was not poured upon part of the altar specially marked (as in the case of the sin-offering), but, as in the case of praise- and thank-offerings, was only shaken out upon the sides of the altar generally. The burnt-offering was based solely on the assumption that the people of Israel had been admitted into a covenant of grace with God, and so it could be offered only by those Israelites who retained their standing in the covenant, but not by any who, through sin and transgression, had fallen from the state of grace.[2] If any one transgressed the covenant, or, through defiling himself with sin, forfeited his covenant rights, he required, in the first instance, to be again reconciled to the Lord by means of a sin-offering, and had to take the necessary steps for being readmitted into the fellowship of God's grace before he could venture to approach the altar with burnt-offerings. No doubt there was an atoning element present in the burnt-offering as well, but only to a limited extent. For, seeing that sin was always found to adhere even to one who was in the full enjoyment of the state of grace, and seeing that without the regular forgiveness of the sin that still clung even to one who had been already justified, sanctification was impossible, it was necessary that in the burnt-offering there should be just so much of the element in question as would

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cover those defects and imperfections in the matter of sanctification.

The burnt-offering formed the expression of the inward religious dispositions which were expected at all times to animate every Israelite holding a covenant relation with the Lord. It was for this reason, and not because it was the most comprehensive sacrifice, or the one that embraced what was common to all the other different sorts,[3] that it was required to be offered on the morning and evening of every day, and also to be of a more elaborate and impressive character on the Sabbath, the new moons, and festival occasions. But at the new moons and festivals the burnt-offerings had to be preceded in the first place by a sin-offering. The reason of this was, that it was necessary in this way to make atonement, first of all, for those sins of the congregation that had been committed in the interval between one festival and another, and that remained as yet unatoned for, and which would have the effect of disturbing the gracious relations in which they stood to the Lord.—This view of the significance of the burnt-offering is one with which all the regulations as to the way in which it was to be presented will be found fully to harmonize. For the purpose of giving prominence to the idea that the act of surrender was to be of an active and energetic character, the victim required to be a male, because in this sex the members, the bones, sinews, muscles, and nerves happen to be more strongly and powerfully developed than in the female, as compared with which it is therefore the stronger and more powerful of the two sexes. Then the object of insisting on the victim being free from blemish was to remind the person offering it that he was expected to present his body as holy unto God, and to surrender it entirely to His service (Rom. xii. 1). The various special regulations as to the preparing of the victim for the altar for an offering by fire were all subordinate to this the leading object of the sacrifice, without their having any specific symbolical meaning attaching to them.[4]

[3] What is stated above is not incompatible, as Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 211) supposes, with the circumstance that in Lev. xvii. 8, 22, xviii. 25, express permission is given to strangers in Israel to offer burnt-offerings and thank-offerings. For, just as the duty

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of complying with certain fundamental requirements of the covenant was imposed no less upon strangers living in Israel, as, for example, that of abstaining from eating the blood of an animal (Lev. xvii. 10, 12), so to a certain extent they were allowed to participate in the covenant privileges of the Israelites as well. Accordingly they, too, were permitted, provided they had not been guilty of any notorious offence, to offer burnt-offerings and thank-offerings to Jehovah without their being fully (*i.e.* by circumcision) admitted into covenant with the God of Israel.

[3] As Bähr (*Symb.* ii. p. 362) has supposed. The idea of "comprehensiveness and completeness"—of "the comprehensive sacrifice as being the most general in its character, as having no special reference to one more than another of the various other sacrifices, but embracing within itself all that was common to those latter"—is not one that can be inferred either from the designation given to this sacrifice or from the circumstance of no act of worship taking place without it, or from that of its being offered every day. Not even of the pre-Mosaic burnt-offerings could it be alleged that they comprehended in themselves all that was common to other sacrifices; for as early as the time of the patriarchs instances occur of burnt-offerings being accompanied with thank-offerings, the effect of these latter being to limit the idea embodied in the burnt-offering to the special religious necessities of the occasion.

[4] As the victim was to be presented to God, the holy One, and that upon His altar, it could not with propriety be committed to the altar fires with the skin and hair, filth and dung still about it. It was necessary, in the first place, to remove the skin, to wash the hind legs and intestines, and to cut the carcase into pieces in order that it might burn away all the more readily and completely.

§ 49. III. *The Peace-Offerings. Their Material and Ritual.*

The peace-offering (זבח שלמים, Lev. iii. 1 ff.) was divided into three kinds: the *thank-offering* (זֶבַח הַתּוֹדָה, Lev. vii. 12, xxii. 29, or זֶבַח תּוֹדַת שְׁלָמִים, vii. 13, 15), the *votive-offering* (זֶבַח נֶדֶר), and the *freewill-offering* (זֶבַח נְדָבָה, Lev. vii. 16, xxii. 18, 21). The victims that were allowed to be used in those sacrifices were unblemished oxen or smaller cattle of either sex (Lev. iii. 1, 6, ix. 4, etc.), though, in the case of freewill-offerings, animals deformed in any of their members were allowable (Lev. xxii. 23). But nowhere do we find any mention of

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pigeons being used as schelamim.—The order of proceeding in presenting those offerings (Lev. iii. 2, viii. 13) was identical with that observed in the case of the burnt-offering as far on as the sprinkling of the blood (inclusive). At this stage the fat of the intestines (הַחֵלֶב)—precisely the same parts as in the case of the sin-offering—was taken from the victim and burnt upon the altar on the top of the burnt-offering (Lev. iii. 3–5, 9–11, 14–16, ix. 18 f.). This being done, the breast and the right shoulder (שׁוֹק) were separated from each other, the latter was heaved as being the portion that fell to the officiating priest, while the former was waved, *i.e.* was symbolically presented to the Lord through the ceremony of waving (תְּנוּפָה), which consisted in the priest's laying the piece in question upon the hands of the offerer of the sacrifice, and, after putting his own hands under them, moving the whole backwards and forwards. The piece was thereupon handed over to the priests as their portion, which they might eat (Lev. vii. 30 ff., x. 13 ff.) either boiled or roasted in some clean place (not exactly in the sanctuary).[1] The remainder of the flesh of the victim had to be made use of by those offering the sacrifices in the way of furnishing a sacrificial feast, in which all the members of their family that were Levitically clean were at liberty to join.[2] Only it was required that, in the case of the thank-offering, the flesh was to be consumed on the day on which the sacrifice was offered; while in the case of the freewill- and votive-offerings, on the other hand, that which remained over from the first day had to be consumed on the following morning. Whatever, again, happened not to be used up within the prescribed time, had to be burnt (but not upon the altar), Lev. vii. 15–17, xxii. 30. On the other hand, the law forbade, on pain of being cut off from the congregation, not only the eating of sacrificial flesh that had been in contact with anything unclean, and had, in consequence, become defiled, but also the eating of the pure flesh of a victim by such persons as had contracted Levitical defilement (Lev. vii. 19–21). Cf. Delitzsch, "Dankopfer," in Riehm's *HWB.* p. 256 f.

[1] Judging from Ex. xxix. 24 and Lev. viii. 27, the *waving* (תְּנוּף) consisted in a horizontal movement backwards and forwards. Not only do we find that the breast in the case

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of private thank-offerings (Lev. vii. 30), and the fat along with the breast and shoulder in the case of the thank-offerings offered at the consecration of the priests, the so-called consecration offerings (Ex. xxix. 22–26; Lev. viii. 25–29), were manipulated in this way, but also that the firstling sheaf offered on the second day of the Passover (Lev. xxiii. 11), the two lambs and the loaves of the first-fruits offered as a thank-offering at the feast of Pentecost (Lev. xxiii. 20), the lamb and the log of oil offered as a trespass-offering for the purification of the leper (Lev. xiv. 12), the thank-offering of the Nazarite (Num. vi. 20), and the jealousy-offering, were similarly treated (Num. v. 25). The Talmudists describe the waving as מוליך ומביא, comp. *Gemara Kiddusch.* xxxvi. 2; *Gemar. Succa* xxxvii. 2, and *Tosaphta Menach.*; and Maimonides, *De rat. sacrif.*, quoted by Bähr, ii. p. 355, note. The Rabbinical writers of the Middle Ages, on the other hand, conceive of the waving as a movement that was made in the direction of all the four cardinal points; so R. Bechai on Lev. viii.: Prorsum ad retrorsum illi admovet, cujus sunt quattuor mundi plagæ; Abarbanel; Levi ben Gerschom, quoted by Outram, *De sacrif.* i. cap. xv. sec. v. p. 152; and Witsius, *Miscellan. sacr.* i. p. 403,—a view of the matter which the majority of Biblical archæologists down to Bähr (ii. p. 355) also regard as probable, though they can scarcely be said to be justified in doing so.

But, in addition to this, the Rabbinical writers hold that there was a special form of this ceremony of *heaving* (הרים), or of the *heave* (תְּרוּמָה), which they describe as מעלה ומוריד, *i.e.* an upward and downward movement, while here again they are followed by the majority of Christian archæologists. But it is only the waving that is known to the Mosaic law as a special ceremony, whereas the heaving, on the other hand, is merely an inference from the use of the designation "heave-shoulder" (שׁוֹק הַתְּרוּמָה), as that shoulder of the victim was called which, in the case of an ordinary peace-offering, fell to the share of the priest who had performed the sprinkling of the blood (Lev. vii. 32), and from an erroneous interpretation of Lev. ii. 9, iv. 8–10, vi. 8 (15); comp. besides, Ex. xxix. 27. Again, it is as clear as can be, from comparing Lev. ii. 9 with ii. 2, Lev. iii. 3 with iv. 8, 31, 35 and vii. 3, that in Lev. ii. 9: "The priest shall take (הֵרִים) from the meat-offering a memorial thereof, and shall burn it upon the altar," and ver. 2: "He shall take thereof (of the meat-offering) his handful of the flour thereof, and of the oil thereof, with all the frankincense thereof; and the priest shall burn the memorial of it upon the altar to be an offering made by fire of a sweet savour unto the Lord," it is not the ceremony of heaving that is in question.

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For the same thing that in ii. 9 is denoted by the terms הֵרִים מִן is expressed in ii. 2 by קָמַץ מִן; the יָרִים מֵעִם of iv. 8 is represented by הִקְרִיב מִמֶּנּוּ (same as in vii. 3) in iii. 3, and lastly, for בַּאֲשֶׁר יוּרַם מִשּׁוֹר זֶבַח הַשְּׁ׳, in iv. 10, we have בַּאֲשֶׁר חוּסַר חֵלֶב מִשּׁוֹר זֶבַח הַשְּׁ׳ in vers. 31 and 35, showing conclusively that הֵרִים מִן is not intended to denote any special ceremony, but merely the heaving away (the taking away) of those portions of the meat-offering, thank-offering, sin-offering, and trespass-offering that were to be burnt upon the altar. This has also already been correctly recognised by Bähr (ii. p. 357). Kurtz, on the other hand (*Opferc.* pp. 228–235), has undertaken to prove, in the course of a demonstration extending over six pages, that the *heaving* was a ceremony of solemn elevation correlative to that of the waving; but he has failed to advance a single valid argument in favour of his contention. The exception taken to the validity of the passages quoted above, on the ground that, according to the laws of logic everywhere, two ideas that are applicable to the same object are not, for that reason, to be regarded as absolutely compatible with one another, rather overshoots the mark and misses its aim. Kurtz himself seems to have had some idea of this, for at p. 234 he concedes that, in the case of the offerings that were set apart to be burnt on the altar, הֵרִים does not denote a special and independent ceremony of heaving them upwards, but only the act of "heaving them on to the altar." But, then, are we at liberty to understand הֵרִים מִן in the sense of *heaving upon?* Further, he finds himself compelled to admit that, within the whole compass of the sacrificial thora, there is not a syllable about an independent rite of elevation, and yet he thinks we are bound to infer something of the sort from such a collocation as "the breast of the wave-offering and the shoulder of the heave-offering" in Ex. xxix. 27, and that on the ground of its being impossible that two things of so heterogeneous a character as the solemn rite of waving and the mere meaningless act of removing a certain part from the whole mass, could have been brought into so intimate a relation with one another as they are here. He thinks that none but consecration ceremonies, resembling each other in all essential respects and differing only in non-essentials, could have been brought into such a close relation to one another. But who, it may be asked, has ever thought of asserting that the taking from the whole a portion of the offering to be offered to Jehovah was to be regarded as an act devoid of meaning?—From the words of Ex. xxix. 27: אֵת חֲזֵה הַתְּנוּפָה וְאֵת שׁוֹק הַתְּרוּמָה אֲשֶׁר הוּנַף וַאֲשֶׁר הוּרַם, "Sanctify the breast of the wave-offering and the shoulder of the heave-offering, which is

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waved, and which is heaved up of the ram of the consecration," the Talmudists have inferred that הֵרִים must have been a solemn lifting up and down (מעלה ומוריד); comp. Mischna, *Menach.* v. 6. But the sense of the passage in question can only be determined by the context. Now it is to be observed with regard to the fragment of the ram of the consecration-offering, of which הוּנַף is predicated, that Moses had waved it (הֵנִיף), ver. 24; but neither in Ex. xxix. nor in the account of the consecration of the priests is it stated with reference to the shoulder taken from the consecration-offering that the act of removing it assumed the character of a solemn elevation of it for Jehovah. Again, in the ritual prescribed for the ordinary schelamim (Lev. vii. 11–36), there is no mention whatever of the ceremony in question. Whereas in vii. 30 there is a regulation to the effect that "the person offering the sacrifice is to bring the breast and wave it for a wave-offering before the Lord;" in ver. 32, again, it is merely said: "Give the right shoulder unto the priest for a heave-offering." From the precise and explicit terms here used, the less definite statement of Lev. x. 15: "The heave shoulder and the wave breast shall they bring with the offerings made by fire of the fat, *to wave it for a wave-offering before the Lord*," cannot be understood otherwise than as meaning that it was merely the fragment of the offering that was waved. The law knows nothing whatever of a solemn elevation of the shoulder when taken away from the rest of the offering. The designation "heave shoulder" owes its origin simply to the circumstance that in the schelamim the shoulder was heaved away from the rest of the flesh of the victim, was separated from it, as falling to the officiating priest as his portion. When, on the other hand, Kurtz asserts that the ceremony of heaving originated in the use of the designation "heave shoulder," he asserts what is undoubtedly correct, so far as the Talmudic view is concerned; but he has brought forward no evidence whatever to show that the tradition in question has any basis of fact on which to rest. His assertion at p. 230, to the effect that תרומה in Num. xxxi. 50 and 52 cannot have the sense of "*heaved away*," is founded upon an erroneous interpretation of those verses. We should rather say that *the heave* or *heave-offering* (תְּרוּמָה) is to be understood as meaning "everything which the Israelites voluntarily (Ex. xxv. 2 ff., xxxv. 24, xxxvi. 3), or in compliance with a legal prescription (Ex. xxx. 15; Lev. vii. 14; Num. xv. 19 ff., xviii. 27 ff., xxxi. 29 ff.; comp. Ezek. xlv. 13), took and separated from what belonged to them and presented (Ex. xxix. 28; Num. xviii. 8 ff., v. 9) to Jehovah, (not as a sacrifice, but) as an offering (Isa. xl. 20) by

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way of contribution for religious purposes, *i.e.* for the erection and upholding of the sanctuary (Ex. xxv. 2 ff., xxx. 13 ff., xxxv. 5 ff., 21, 24, xxxvi. 3, 6; Ezra viii. 25, etc.), or for the maintenance of the priests,"—however, "only such contributions as were devoted to the sanctuary or the priests; for this was considered to be much the same as though Jehovah Himself had received them" (Winer, *Realwörtb.* i. p. 470). Seeing, then, that those portions also of the offerings which were waved were regarded as gifts to Jehovah, which He was understood to hand over to the priests, every heave-offering could likewise be regarded as a wave-offering; and as, for example, the contributions toward the building of the tabernacle, in Ex. xxxvi. 6, be looked upon as תְּרוּמָה, in Ex. xxxviii. 24, on the other hand, as תְּנוּפָה. For as little were the תְּנוּפָה of the peace-offering taken to the altar to be burnt, except in the case of the consecration-offering and it alone—seeing that, in Ex. xxix. 22, we find it added, by way of explaining this exception to the rule: "for it is a ram of consecration."

[2] It was only the two-year-old lambs offered on pentecost, as a peace-offering along with the firstling loaves, that were in their entirety to fall to the priest (Lev. xxxiii. 20). Winer's view, on the other hand (*Realwörtb.* i. p. 248), to the effect that, in the case of all the other public thank-offerings, the flesh belonged entirely to the priests, is erroneous and at variance with Deut. xxvii. 7, where the *people* are commanded, on the occasion of the solemn setting up of the stones of the law upon Mount Ebal, to offer thank-offerings and rejoice before Jehovah, *i.e.* to hold a solemn sacrificial feast at which those offerings were to be consumed. Again, at the dedication of Solomon's temple, when the king offered 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep as a thank-offering (1 Kings viii. 63), it was impossible that the flesh of all those animals could have fallen to the priests, but can only have been used for the purpose of providing sacrificial feasts for the whole assemblage of people. As for the rest, no thank-offerings were prescribed (comp. Num. xxviii. and xxix.) for the regular weekly and annual festivals (with the exception of the pentecost-offering already mentioned), so that the sacrifices offered on festival occasions (Lev. xxiii. 37) must be referred to the category of freewill-offerings.

§ 50. *Idea and Object of the Peace-Offerings.*

The idea and object of this species of offering cannot be gathered, without further ado, merely from its designation:

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זֶבַח הַשְּׁלָמִים, for the simple reason that the meaning of שְׁלָמִים is somewhat uncertain: שָׁלֵם denotes the state of שָׁלֵם, the state of being whole, complete, sound, therefore the state of completeness bodily and mentally, that condition of well-being on which the peace and felicity of man may be said to depend. Accordingly, the plural שלמים, which—except in Amos v. 22—is universally employed to designate those offerings, denotes the sum-total of those various blessings which constitute the well-being or the soundness of man in his relation to God, *i.e.* his felicity.[1] The peace-offerings have their root in the state of grace, with its theocratic fellowship with God, and find their culminating point in the sacrificial feast. The purpose they were intended to serve was to establish the Israelite yet more firmly than ever in the fellowship of the divine grace, in order that, not only when in the actual possession and enjoyment of the divine mercies, he might be constantly mindful of Him who bestowed them, but that also, when adversity and suffering threatened to obscure his feeling and consciousness of God's nearness and mercy, he might be enabled, through the means placed at his disposal in the schelamim, to maintain this feeling and consciousness, and quicken them afresh. But if, in the midst of his prosperity and success, a man is mindful of the Giver of all good, he will feel himself moved and impelled to acknowledge the favour vouchsafed to him, to praise his God, to thank Him for His benefits, and to express his gratitude not merely in words, but also to embody it in act by means of sacrifice. Similarly, in his time of distress and affliction, the believer will not fail to implore the help and favour of God, to pray for deliverance from his distress, to beseech God for support to enable him to bear the sufferings that have been laid upon him, and to ask that his threatened prosperity might be again restored, and will eagerly take advantage of the means, furnished by offerings, for giving outward tangible expression to his prayers and the desires of his heart. From this it follows, no less plainly than necessarily, that the schelamim must embrace thank-offerings and supplicatory-offerings at once;[2] while the only point about which any question can arise is as to the relation in which thanksgiving and prayer may be supposed to stand to the three classes

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into which the peace-offerings were divided. That gratitude for mercies already received found its expression in the sacrifice of thanksgiving, can be as little open to reasonable doubt as the truth that it was in times of trouble and distress that vows were made with the view of invoking strength and aid to support the sufferer under the load of his affliction. But, besides this, should any one happen to regard the possession of some blessing or other, which as yet had not fallen to his lot, to be desirable for the consummation of his happiness, he might also endeavour by means of a vow to prevail upon God to bestow it. Be that as it may, the votive-offering will always fall under the category of supplicatory offerings. What would seem to be rather a more difficult matter is, to define the idea and object of the freewill-offering. The votive-offering shared the character of the freewill-offering only in so far as the vow was a matter of purely spontaneous resolution, although, when once uttered, it assumed the character of a sacred obligation which one was bound to discharge. In contradistinction to this we can only describe the freewill-offering as one which might be omitted as well as offered without one's being guilty of any dereliction of religious duty. Accordingly, the motive impelling one to this latter kind of offering would seem to have centred in the desire, not only to thank God for the enjoyment of His bounties, but likewise to be assured of their continuance in time to come. That being so, the freewill-offering seems to have been co-ordinate with the sacrifices of thanksgiving and the votive-offerings, combining in itself thanksgiving and prayer, and being distinguishable from the other two classes only in so far as there was no legal obligation requiring it to be offered. This latter being the case, we can hardly be at a loss to account for the fact that, as regards the selection of the victim for this kind of offering, the regulation requiring the animal to be free from blemish was in this instance modified to the extent of not forbidding such animals to be offered as happened to be deformed in any of their members. In any case, the freewill-offering, in common with the other two kinds of schelamim, was intended to serve the purpose of sustaining and invigorating the life of the man in fellowship with the divine grace.[3]

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[1] Comp. Neumann, זבח שלמים, *Sacra Vet. Testamenti salutaria.* Lps. 1854, who at p. 22 defines שָׁלֵם thus: *integritas completa, pacifica, beata,* with which the Septuagint rendering: *θυσία σωτηρίου,* coincides. This rendering, so far from being, as Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 212) erroneously alleges, "another somewhat unfrequent rendering," is the one uniformly met with in the Pentateuch, Joshua, Chronicles, Ezekiel, and Amos v. 22. It is only in the Books of Samuel and Kings, and also in Prov. vii. 14, that we find it replaced by *θυσία εἰρηνική,* and in Judg. xx. 26 and xxi. 4 by *τελείαι.* The meaning of שָׁלֵם is derived from the Kal שָׁלַם, as the phrase שָׁלֵם עִם יְהוָה, 1 Kings viii. 61, xi. 4, xv. 3, 14, may serve to show; comp. also שְׁלֻמִי, my friend = he who lives on terms of friendship with me, Ps. xli. 10. It is rather too far-fetched to derive the word from the Piel שִׁלֵּם, to make full, complete, on which some have based such definitions of the offerings in question as: thank-offerings, retributive- or restitution-offerings, not one of which definitions is applicable to any of the three kinds of schelamim. Luther's rendering: "thank-offering," savours of the *χαριστήριος θυσία* (Joseph. *Antt.* iii. 9. 1); while that of the Vulgate: *victima* or *hostia pacifica,* re-echoes the Septuagint rendering of the Books of Samuel and Kings.—Bähr's view (ii. p. 370), to the effect that by שלמים we are to understand those offerings "through the medium of which man gives to God that which he owes Him, fills up, as it were, completes, makes up for whatever has been wanting on his part in his relations with God," is applicable neither to the votive- nor the freewill-offering. No less untenable is the opinion of Hofmann (*Schriftbew.* ii. p. 227), to the effect that "שָׁלֵם is synonymous with its derivative שְׁלֻמוֹן, which, again, is interchangeable with שְׁלֻמִים. That which was given to a judge to induce him to pronounce a favourable decision, is called at one time שְׁלֻמוֹן (Isa. i. 23), at another שְׁלֻמִים (Micah vii. 3). No matter whether the present was given before or after the decision, it was understood to be bestowed in consideration of getting one of a favourable character," from which he then goes on to infer that: "Consequently the שְׁלָמִים are those gifts by means of which man acknowledges that for all the blessings he enjoys he is indebted to the favour of God, and that for whatever good things he may stand in need of, he must look again to the same source, in a word, that they are *χαριστήρια.*" For it is simply impossible that the idea embodied in the sacrifice of praise and the votive-offering should ever be derived from such a conception as שְׁלֻמוֹן, *bribery,* and שְׁלֻמִים, *retribution.* Kurtz (p. 214) justly characterizes it as an arbitrary proceeding, as incon-

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sistent alike with grammar and fact, to include what one owes to the favour of God, as well as what one is as yet only trying to obtain from Him by prayer, under one and the same category of χαριστήριον; and, what is surely strange enough, to describe as *thanksgiving* not only the gratitude felt for benefits received, but also the prayer offered for those that as yet are only being asked for.

[2] The grounds are utterly futile on which Bähr (ii. p. 383 ff.), Kliefoth (*Liturg. Abhdll.* iv. p. 79), and Philippi (as above, p. 324) refuse a place to supplicatory offerings in the Mosaic system, their presence in it being placed beyond a doubt by the fact that שְׁלָמִים were sometimes offered with the view of averting calamities (Judg. xx. 26, xxi. 4; 1 Sam. xiii. 9; 2 Sam. xxiv. 25). To say that there is no reason why prayer may not also have taken the form of thanksgiving, is to say what is no doubt true enough; at the same time, it does not prove that it did actually assume this form in the case of those שלמים which the Israelites offered in times of distress. Nor is it enough to point to the fact that supplication properly so called was symbolized by the incense-offering (Philippi), by way of disproving the existence of supplicatory offerings. For the incense-offering was a regular part of the prescribed worship, and was not left to be offered at pleasure according as the special necessities of the community at large, or of individual Israelites, might seem to require.

[3] That the schelamim were offered with a view to securing the greater well-being of those who presented them has been acknowledged and taught by Philo, by the Rabbinical writers, and by the majority of Christian archæologists. Accordingly Outram, for example, *De sacrif.* p. 107, observes as follows: Sacrificia salutaria, in sacris letteris שלמים dicta, ut quæ semper de rebus prosperis fieri solerent, impetratis utique aut impetrandis; while, among modern writers, Hengstenberg (*Beitr.* iii. p. 86) remarks that: "*Well-being* was in every case the object in view in offering the schelamim, although they were offered just as occasion might require, either as embodying *gratitude* for something already bestowed, or as embodying a *prayer* for something sought to be obtained." Comp. with this *Ev. KZ.* 1852, p. 134 ff. Only from this we must not infer, with Hengstenberg (as above), that the law itself knows of but two classes of שלמים, and that in Lev. vii. 11 ff. זֶבַח הַתּוֹדָה, "thank-offering," is a common designation for votive- and freewill-offerings alike. On the contrary, in that passage the thank-offering (ver. 12) is co-ordinated with the freewill-offering (ver. 16), while in Lev. xxii. 18 ff. there is a distinction made between the votive- and the freewill-offering.

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§ 51. *The Meaning of the Ritual of the Peace-Offerings.*

In order that we may be in a position to apprehend correctly as well as interpret symbolically the idea running through the various regulations of the law regarding the peace-offering and the mode of presenting it, we must bear in mind, first, that the offerings that culminated in sacrificial feasts date from pre-Mosaic times; and, in the next place, that under the Mosaic law and in virtue of that prescription,—peculiar to the schelamim,—to the effect that the fat of those offerings was to be consumed on the top of the burnt-offering "which is upon the wood that is on the fire, as an offering made by fire of a sweet savour unto the Lord" (Lev. iii. 4),—the burnt-offering became the substratum on which the peace-offerings were understood to rest—a circumstance which may serve to explain at once how it happens that nowhere does the phrase לְכַפֵּר עָלָיו occur in connection with the schelamim. Offered, as it was, upon the top of the burnt-offering, the peace-offering presupposed the previous reconciliation of the offerer with God, and assumed the sanctification of his life as the basis upon which there was realized, in the sacrificial feast, the idea embodied in the peace-offering, the idea, namely, of admission into fellowship of life with God. In virtue of the object thus aimed at in the peace-offerings, the various acts of laying on of the hand, of slaughtering, sprinkling the blood, and burning of the fat upon the altar, acquired a modification of meaning in keeping with the special purpose for which this species of sacrifice was offered. As the victim to be sacrificed was not presented with the view of its being wholly given over to the Lord, whether in the way of being entirely consumed upon the altar, or of the parts not meant for the altar being used for purposes of expiation and absolution, but was intended to serve as material for holding a sacrificial feast before God, consequently in this instance the act of the laying on of the hand, equivalent to saying that in offering this gift, the materials of which served to nourish and strengthen his life, the owner of the sacrifice was offering the substance of his own life to the Lord, that by so doing that life with all its aims and pursuits might be strengthened and blessed by Jehovah. Accordingly, the victim was slaughtered, the blood

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jerked upon the sides of the altar, and the fat, as being the choicest part of the animal, committed to the altar fire for the purpose of representing thereby the personal surrender of the offerer to the Lord,—a surrender which duly qualified him for the concluding part of the rite, which was to take the flesh and consume it in a sacrificial meal, as being a meal specially prepared for him by the Lord. As he partook of this meal, the material food was transformed into a symbol of his being spiritually fed with the mercies of the kingdom of God, of his being satisfied with fulness of joy in the presence of the Lord (Ps. xvi. 11).[1]

With regard to the *sacrificial feast*, the question arises whether it is to be conceived of as a feast which God was supposed to provide, and the partakers of which He was understood to regard as His guests, while entertaining them with what belonged to Himself, or simply as a sacred meal in which God took part, in so far as He not only accepted for Himself a portion of the food set aside for it and transferred it to the ministers of His sanctuary to be eaten by them, but at the same time granted to the owner of the sacrifice the privilege of taking what was left and enjoying it along with his family before God, in His immediate presence. There can be no doubt that the pre-Mosaic offerings were based upon this latter notion. The separation of the fat from the flesh of the victim, and then burning it upon the altar, was intended to represent the portion that was handed over to God as an offering by fire, in order that thereby the offerer might be allowed the privilege of taking the flesh and feasting upon it before God, and of thus enjoying a real pledge of his covenant fellowship with the Lord.[2] In the case of the pre-Mosaic sacrifices here in question, the portion of the victim which was assigned to God consisted of the fat which was understood to be given over to Him when it was taken and burnt upon the altar and so made holy, while the whole of the flesh went to furnish a feast in which the person offering and his family were to join. But the Mosaic legislation, by giving the significance it did to the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar, imparted at the same time to the burning of the fat upon the altar fires a deeper significance than it had before, that, namely, of the symbolical surrender of the offerer to the

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sanctifying fire of divine love,—a significance which must be insisted upon as attaching to the schelamim as well. But, in order that God might obtain a share of the flesh intended for the sacrificial feast, the law prescribed that His portion of the victim should be allotted to Him through the ceremony of waving, and that the officiating priest again should receive the right shoulder, after being heaved, from the victim as the portion that fell to him (Lev. vii. 30–32). This waving being, as it was, a moving backward and forward toward the altar, and that by the hand of the priest of a portion of the victim as laid by him upon the hands of the offerer, was intended to be regarded as a symbol of the allotting of the portion in question to the Lord, so that He could in turn hand over to His servants (the priests) what was thus assigned to Himself, to be eaten by them.[3] Through this act of symbolically giving up the choicest part of the flesh to Jehovah, the whole flesh of the victim was understood to be consecrated to the Lord, though not given over, be it observed, as something that belonged to Him,[4] but only as consecrated to a holy use, *i.e.* to serve to furnish the sacrificial feast. Such, too, is the light in which the matter is regarded by the law itself; for in Lev. vii. 29–31 there is a regulation to the effect that the person offering a peace-offering was to bring his oblation to Jehovah, and, with his own hands, present to Him the offerings made by fire, namely, the fat together with the breast; the breast to be waved as a wave-offering before Jehovah, and the fat to be burnt upon the altar by the priest; the breast, however, to belong to Aaron and his sons. Here, most undoubtedly, it is only the fat and the breast of the victim that are mentioned as belonging to Jehovah. But it may be affirmed as a general principle, that whatever was wholly *destined* for the Lord, or whatever was *meant* to be *entirely* His, would consequently have to be actually given over to Him in all its entirety. This was a case in which a part, were it even the choicest part, could never be supposed to stand for the whole. —In consequence of the consecrated character imparted to the whole victim by assigning the choicest portions of the flesh to the Lord and the officiating priest, the sacrificial feast was transformed into a covenant feast, a feast of love and joy, which symbolized the privilege of dwelling in the house and

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family of the Lord, and so shadowed forth the rejoicing of His people before Him (Deut. xii. 12, 18), and the blessedness of eating and drinking in the kingdom of God (Luke xiv. 15, xxii. 30). It is only in this sense that, in the sacrificial feasts, Jehovah can be said to have provided festivals of peace and joy for His people; but not in the sense that, as host, He entertained at His table those who offered the sacrifices, and that with those portions of the flesh that had been allotted to Him as His own.[5]

The religious significance with which the sacrificial feast was thus invested will also serve to explain the regulations which required that the feast should be celebrated in a clean place, and which prohibited all such as were Levitically unclean from taking part in it. For, seeing that the flesh and the bread that were used at it had been consecrated to the Lord for sacred use, it would, of course, be necessary to take every precaution to prevent them from being desecrated, whether by the nature of the place in which the feast was held, or by the character of the guests who took part in it. It was for a similar reason that the feast was ordered to be held on the same day as that on which the sacrifice was offered, that in the case of the thank-offering none of the flesh was to be left over till the next morning, or in the case of votive and freewill-offerings beyond the next morning, and that whatever was not eaten by the first and second day respectively was to be burnt, for the reason, namely, that on the third day the flesh was regarded as an abomination (פִּגּוּל), Lev. vii. 18. For by that time it would probably be beginning to turn putrid. Now anything that was in process of becoming corrupt, and was getting decomposed, was regarded as unclean, and as defiling those who might touch it. Consequently, to eat such flesh before the Lord would have been to deny, in the very act of eating it, the holiness of God itself; and hence the eating of impure sacrificial flesh, or even the eating of pure flesh by one ceremonially unclean, was punished with death. But the distinction that was made between the flesh of the thank-offering and that of the other two kinds of schelamim, with regard to the time within which they had to be eaten, finds its explanation in the fact that the thank-offering formed one of the ordinary religious duties of an

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Israelite, that to offer it was simply to comply with one of the ordinary requirements of the divine law, while to omit it would have argued base ingratitude toward God the Lord. The votive-offerings, on the other hand, could not be said to be offered in compliance with a divine command, inasmuch as vows are nowhere prescribed in the law, but, like the freewill-offerings, they originated in free choice, in a spontaneous resolution. Consequently those who offered sacrifices of the latter description were allowed more time for the eating of the flesh than was allowed to those whose offering was a thank-offering. But there was one respect, again, in which the votive- differed from the freewill-offering, and partook more of the character of the thank-offering; and it was this, that when once the vow was made, the offering of the corresponding sacrifice became a matter of religious obligation, the non-fulfilment of which was a punishable offence. Hence it was precisely that, as in the case of all legally prescribed sacrifices, so also in that of the votive-offering, the law strictly required that the victim should be free from blemish, whereas in the case of freewill-offerings again, it did not forbid the sacrificing of animals with a deformed member, should any one think proper to do so. For, seeing that this latter species of offering was prompted by an absolutely spontaneous impulse, the fact of its being the result of free determination was calculated to make up for any defect that might adhere to the gift, provided it was not a defect incompatible with the object and meaning of the sacrifice itself, for surely every one whose heart impelled him to sacrifice an offering not commanded by the law would take care to select for such a purpose the choicest animal he could command.

[1] The restricting of the meaning of the peace-offering, representing the person of the offerer, to the slaughtering, the sprinkling of the blood, and the burning upon the altar, and the conceiving of the sacrificial flesh merely as *victus*, cannot be said to introduce a twofold character into the sacrificial rite, for from the earliest times this offering was presented with the view of a feast being made of the flesh, so that the victim could only be supposed to represent the person of the offerer in so far as it was to be brought to the altar, or was intended for the altar.

[2] Sacrifices accompanied with feasts are mentioned as occur-

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ring previous to Mosaic times in Gen. xxxi. 54, where Jacob, after his reconciliation with Laban, offered a sacrifice upon Mount Gilead, and invited his brethren to come and eat, *i.e.* to join in the sacrificial feast for the purpose of ratifying by means of that feast the covenant he had made with Laban; again, in Gen. xlvi. 1, where, on the occasion of his going to settle in Egypt, Jacob offered a sacrifice to the God of his father Isaac at Beersheba, on the borders of Canaan, for the purpose of assuring himself, through the sacrificial feast, of that continuation of covenant fellowship with the God of his father, which, in a vision, in the course of the following night, the Lord promised to grant; and lastly, in Ex. xviii. 12, where Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, offered a burnt-offering and sacrifices to God and held a sacrificial feast, in which Moses and Aaron and all the elders were invited to take part, for the purpose of giving substantial expression to his gratitude to God for what He had done for Israel, and of establishing an enduring friendship between himself and that people.

[3] That this was the meaning of the *waving* is plainly to be inferred from this ceremony being correctly conceived of as a moving of the portion of the victim in question backward and forward toward the altar, *i.e.* toward God, as it is also the meaning which Raschi himself correctly ascribes to it in his note on Lev. vii. 34: *ducebat et reducebat;* while Breithaupt, in a note in his Latin translation of this commentary, imports into those words the latter notion of a movement in the direction of the four cardinal points. But with such a notion it is simply impossible to connect any appropriate sense. Bähr (ii. p. 377) remarks, *apropos* of Sykes' taking the ceremony to be a way of acknowledging the omnipresence of God, that "one is at a loss to see exactly what the omnipotence of God has to do with the sacrifices in question;" and this remark we may regard as equally applicable to the Rabbinical interpretation, according to which it is supposed to have been intended to point to Him to whom the whole world belongs, even to Him who holds within His embrace all the ends of the earth.

[4] As Bähr affirms when he says (ii. 347): "Because what is used in furnishing the feast, strictly speaking, belongs to Jehovah; for in the act of presenting the sacrifice it is to be understood as wholly given over to Him." Similarly Kliefoth, (*Liturg. Abhdll.* iv. p. 65), Köhler (in Herzog, x. p. 653), and Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 134 ff.).

[5] The notion of Bähr, Kliefoth, Köhler, and Kurtz, that God is supposed to take the portion of the victim allotted to Himself, and in the character of host entertaining at His table the offerer of the sacrifice along with his family and friends, is

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based on the assumption that in allotting a part, and that the choicest part, of the animal to God, the whole was thereby given to Him. But this assumption is erroneous, inasmuch as it has no foundation whatever in Scripture, nor is it rendered more true by asserting that "in and through the act of presenting it the entire victim was given over to God, and that from that moment it was to be regarded as *His* and as no longer belonging to the person who offered it" (Kurtz, p. 136), for this assertion itself is as erroneous as it is incapable of proof. "In the act of presenting it"—as Hofmann (ii. 1, p. 229) has pertinently observed in reply—"the victim no doubt became the property of God, in so far as from that moment the whole of it, strictly speaking, belonged to the altar; but seeing that it was intended as a thank-offering, it followed, as matter of course, that only so much of it would be put upon the altar as was demanded by the nature of the object for which it was offered. Whatever was not meant to be consumed upon the altar as לֶחֶם אִשֶּׁה לַיהוָה was required to be eaten partly by the priests and partly by the owner of the sacrifice and his guests. . . . It might truly enough be said of the priest that he ate from the altar or from the table of God, seeing that the law withheld the breast and shoulder from the owner of the sacrifice and assigned them to the priest, and so it was for this reason that those portions were heaved and waved, *i.e.* were formally handed over to God. But whatever had not been reserved in this was meant from the first to be consumed in sacred festivity, and so was not to be regarded as having been taken and handed back by God with a view to this."—Kurtz has not succeeded in substantially weakening the force of this reply. What he has advanced by way of rejoinder may be reduced to the two following assertions: (1) "That the ceremony of waving the portion of the victim falling to Jehovah stamped it with the character of an offering for or before Jehovah, and that from the circumstance of His accepting it, it became His property,"—which nobody would think of disputing, though, at the same time, it does not prove that the *whole* of the flesh of the victim thereby became the property of God; (2) "that, judging from Lev. xxi. 22, where every portion of a victim falling to the priest, and that not merely the flesh of the peace-offering, which was of ordinary sacredness, but also the most holy flesh of the sin-offering, is described as לֶחֶם אֱלֹהָיו, it is evident that the sin-, the trespass-, and the peace-offerings as well, of which, however, as matter of fact, only the fat was supposed to be partaken of by Jehovah as אִשֵּׁי רֵיחַ לַיהוָה, should, strictly speaking, have been entirely committed to the altar fire,"—an argument which contains as many errors as propositions, while it is deprived of

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any force it might otherwise have by the simple fact that, as Riehm (in the *Theol. Litbl. der Allg. KZ.*) has already observed, there is no evidence to show that Lev. xxi. 22 refers to the *whole* of the flesh of the peace-offering. But Kurtz appeals still further to the analogy of the Passover feast, and to the authority of the Apostle Paul in 1 Cor. x. 18 and 21. But this appeal fails to prove what it was supposed to prove, for the simple reason that the notion that at the Passover feast God Himself was understood to be entertaining with food those who took part in that feast, is an ambiguous one, and as yet open to serious question; while, as regards Paul's statement, to the effect that the Israelites who ate of the sacrifices were κοινωνοὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου (1 Cor. x. 18), it is one that throws no light whatever on the point at issue. It is quite true, no doubt, that when he goes on subsequently to remark, as he does in ver. 21, that those who took part in the Lord's Supper were partakers of the table of the Lord (τραπέζης κυρίου μετέχειν), he means to describe that ordinance as the table of the Lord; at the same time, we nowhere find this designation made use of in speaking of the sacrificial feasts of the Israelites. However true it may be that the Old Testament sacrificial feasts are fulfilled in the New, we must not, on that account, jump to the conclusion that the Old Testament types bore upon them the distinct impress of their being designed with a view to such ultimate fulfilment. However, the apostle himself distinguishes between the two, in so far as he describes the Israelites, in eating of the sacrifices, merely as being κοινωνοὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου; the Christians, on the other hand, in partaking of the Lord's Supper, being spoken of as τραπέζης κυρίου μετέχοντες.—After all, then, not a single valid argument has been advanced in favour of the notion that at the sacrificial feast Jehovah was to be understood as acting the part of host, and entertaining those present with the portion of the victim that belonged to Himself.

§ 52. IV. *The Meat-Offering and the Drink-Offering.*

Material and *Ritual.* The material of the meat-offering (מִנְחָה) consisted either of grain—which was offered partly unground, in the shape of roasted ears, and partly fine flour, in both instances oil being poured on and incense added—or of cakes, which, being prepared in three different ways with oil, though without any leaven, were baked in the oven or fried in a pan (see § 41, p. 257). Both kinds of meat-offering required to be seasoned with salt (Lev. ii.).—The *drink-offering*

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(נֶסֶךְ) consisted in every instance of wine.—All the different sorts of meat-offerings were sometimes presented merely by themselves as independent offerings, and sometimes along with burnt-offerings and sacrifices, *i.e.* as subsidiary to those offered in connection with the ordinary public services of the sanctuary on week-days, Sabbath-days, and festival occasions, as well as to the burnt-offerings and sacrifices offered in obedience to a spontaneous impulse, or in fulfilment of a vow (Num. xv. 1–12. Comp. xxviii. and xxix.). In those cases where the offerings were of this subsidiary character, the quantity of flour and oil for the meat-offering and of wine for the drink-offering required to be regulated by the kind of victim that might happen to be made use of as a burnt-offering or sacrifice. For a lamb there was to be a tenth of an ephah of flour, a quarter of a hin of oil, and a quarter of a hin of wine; for a ram or a he-goat, two-tenths of an ephah of flour, a third of a hin of oil, and a third of a hin of wine; for an ox, three-tenths of an ephah of flour, a half hin of oil, and a half hin of wine, and, where there were more victims than one, each was to have its given quantity (Num. xv. 4–12). From this it might seem as though all the meat-offerings offered in combination with burnt-offerings and sacrifices had consisted merely of flour, and oil, and incense. But we learn from the prescriptions in Lev. vii. 11 ff. regarding the thank-offering, that its accompanying meat-offering consisted of three different sorts of *cakes* mingled with oil and baked in the oven. Again, the daily meat-offering of the priests consisted of pieces of cakes that had been baked (Lev. vi. 13 f.). Now, what was true of the thank-offering, we may venture, without hesitation, to regard as equally applicable to the votive- and freewill-offerings. Consequently, the regulation contained in Num. xv., xxviii., and xxix. is only to be regarded as defining what proportion the materials of the meat- and drink-offerings was to bear to their corresponding victims, nothing whatever being said about the mode of preparing the flour and oil for the offering, as this had been already settled, partly by established usage and partly by previous enactments. Probably it was only in the case of the meat-offerings accompanying burnt-offerings that the prescribed quantity of flour and oil was offered *in natura, i.e.* with the oil poured over the flour in the manner described in Lev. ii. 1 ff.,—as may be

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inferred from Lev. ix. 7 compared with ver. 4,—while in the case of the offerings subsidiary to the schelamim, on the other hand, the material of the meat-offering took the form of baked cakes, in accordance with the regulation in Lev. vii. 11 ff.[1]

As regards the way in which the material of the meat-offering was to be dealt with in the course of its being offered, it was prescribed in Lev. ii. 2 f., 9 f., 15 f., vi. 7–11, and vii. 9 f., that the officiating priest was to take a handful of the flour drenched with oil along with the whole of the incense, and also one from each of the different kinds of cakes, and then to take the whole as an *ascara* (אַזְכָּרָה), and burn it upon the altar, for an offering made by fire of a sweet savour unto the Lord. As for the rest of the material, it fell to the priests as "a thing most holy of the offerings of the Lord made by fire," while the flour drenched with the oil was to be baked without any leaven being added, and then eaten by them in the court (Lev. vi. 9 f.). And this prescription is to be held as strictly applicable, not only to all meat-offerings offered by themselves, but, according to Lev. ix. 17, to all those accompanying burnt-offerings as well. The only exception was when the meat-offering was that offered by a priest, on which occasion the entire mincha was consumed upon the altar, none of it being allowed to be eaten (Lev. vi. 15 f.). With regard to those meat-offerings, on the other hand, that were conjoined with the schelamim, the prescription of Lev. vii. 14, to the effect that: A cake of each sort was to be taken from the whole corban for the priest who sprinkled the blood, would seem to warrant us in inferring, with great probability, that the rest of the cakes were to remain with the person offering the sacrifice for use at the sacrificial feast. This view would appear to be still further borne out by the analogous procedure observed in disposing of the flesh and cakes of the offering presented at the consecration of the priests, on which occasion also whatever was not burnt upon the altar, but assigned to Aaron as the officiating priest, was taken and used at the sacrificial feast (Lev. viii. 31).—The law contains no regulation whatever as to the mode in which the drink-offering was to be presented, or as to the way in which the wine was to be disposed of.[2]

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[1] Otherwise Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 264 ff.), who agrees with Thalhofer in maintaining that, in accordance with the regulations in Num. xv. and xxviii. f., a flour mincha with oil and salt added had to be offered along with every burnt-offering and every peace-offering as well, though, in the case of the latter, besides this flour mincha, there was specially added a quantity of unleavened cakes, flat and otherwise, along with some leavened bread, a portion of this falling to the officiating priest by way of heave, while the rest was made use of at the sacrificial feast. But this special addition of cakes and bread, which forms the subject of Lev. vii. 12–20, was not meant by any means to be regarded in the same light as the meat-offering properly so called, was not to be spoken of as a מִנְחָה, but only as קָרְבָּן, nor was any of it to be burnt upon the altar as an ascara.—We cannot see our way to accept this as a well-founded or accurate view of the matter, for the twofold supplementary offerings here in question are nowhere mentioned in the whole of the Old Testament, with the solitary exception of Num. vi. 17; comp. ver. 15 with reference to the offering of the Nazarite offered on the occasion of the period of his vow having expired. But this offering bore so much of a *sui generis* character, that we must not suppose that what applied to it is to be made a rule for the whole of the Schelamim-offerings. We are taught as much by the very nature of the offering at the consecration of the priests, and the ritual of which is circumstantially and minutely described twice over; first in Ex. xxix. 1–3 and 19–28, where we have the legal prescription, and then in Lev. viii. 2 and 22–32, where we have the actual observance. In neither case, however, is there a syllable about an offering of flour, but the mincha consists exclusively of the basket with the unleavened cakes, flat and otherwise. — What Kurtz further advances in favour of his theory resolves itself into a copious use of *argumenta e silentio* and various erroneous assertions of one kind or another; as, for instance, that the baked meat mentioned in Ex. xxix., comp. Lev. viii., and in Lev. vii. ff., is not expressly spoken of as a מִנְחָה, that it was not a mincha at all, but a corban, a statement which will be sufficiently refuted by simply referring to the קָרְבַּן מִנְחָה of Lev. ii. 1, 4. Cf., besides, Delitzsch, "Speisopfer," in Riehm's *HWB.* p. 1517 ff.

[2] According to Gen. xxxv. 14, the libation of wine was a primitive practice. The only mention of a drink-offering of wine in the thora is in the prescription regarding the morning and evening sacrifice, Ex. xxix. 40 f., and in the regulations in Lev. xxiii. 13 ff., Num. xv. and xxviii. f., which are introduced with the formula: "When ye come into the land which I will

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give you" (Lev. xxiii. 10; Num. xv. 1), from which we may naturally conjecture that the libation of wine did not assume the character of a regular sacrificial observance till after the Israelites settled in Canaan. According to Josephus, *Antt.* iii. 9. 4, the wine was poured περὶ τὸν βῶμον; in the poetical account of the ministry of Simon the high priest in Sir. l. 15, we read: ἐξέχεεν εἰς θεμέλια θυσιαστηρίου; according to a Talmudic regulation, it had to be poured into a can attached to the south-west corner of the altar of burnt-offering, and that, through the pierced bottom of this can, it flowed down to the bottom of the altar, and, mingling with the blood of the victims, was conveyed by means of a conduit into the Brook Kidron (see Lundius, *Jud. Heiligth.* ii. 16. 69).—Kurtz (p. 259) is of opinion that it was poured over the flesh of the victim as it lay upon the altar, a small portion of it thus evaporating in the flames, while the most of it sank into the earth that filled up the framework of the altar,—in a way somewhat analogous to the libations offered in connection with heathen sacrifices; comp. Lasaulx, *Sühnopfer*, p. 23.

Object and *meaning.* As the principal elements of the meat- and drink-offering, viz. flour, or bread and wine, are regarded by Scripture as types of human food, the meat- and drink-offering can only have been meant to indicate that food which, through this medium, Israel offered to God, can only have been a symbol of the spiritual food which it has been striving after as the fruit of its spiritual labour in the field of God's kingdom, in the spiritual vineyard of the Lord, or may have been designed to shadow forth those fruits of the sanctification of the life, *i.e.* those good works in which the sanctification must necessarily embody itself if it is to be sanctification of the right stamp. But this fruit had a twofold meaning for the man, according as he regarded it, on the one hand, only as the necessary evidence of his having been justified and sanctified by the divine grace; or, on the other, according as he regarded it at the same time in the light of the blessed and saving results which it was calculated to secure for him. This twofold meaning lies plainly before us in the meat- and the drink-offerings, which, according as they happened to be associated with a burnt-offering or a slain sacrifice, *i.e.* a peace-offering, would of necessity have to be in keeping with or analogous to the object and the idea of the burnt-offering or peace-offering that preceded it. If it

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happened to be conjoined with a burnt-offering, then the fruit of sanctification represented by it could only be meant to be symbolical of those good works which, on the ground of their reconciliation with himself, the Lord required of those who claimed to be the subjects of His kingdom. In the case of peace-offerings, on the other hand, the aim of which was the realizing of that blessedness which resides in the enjoyment of the gracious benefits of the kingdom of God, the supplementary meat- and drink-offerings can only have been meant to symbolize those results which sanctification secures for the man, or to shadow forth those fruits of well-being and felicity which spring from the diligent practice of good works, and the enjoyment of which is a sure and certain foretaste of eternal joy and felicity with the Lord.

The regulations as to the way in which those offerings were to be presented are also in harmony with this view of the matter. The meaning of the act of heaving away (separating) a portion from every meat-offering for the purpose of burning it upon the altar is plainly intimated in the designation אַזְכָּרָה, μνημόσυνον, *memoriale*, under which the part to be so burnt upon the altar is known.[8] In the ascara the fruit of his diligence in the practice of good works was understood to be brought by the person sacrificing, and given over to the Lord, in order that He might accept them with approval, be mindful of the offerer of them, and reward them with His blessing. The remainder the Lord took and assigned to the ministers of His house, the priests, by way of *honorarium*, that by partaking of it they might be refreshed and invigorated. But because the gift was holy, inasmuch as it was the fruit of sanctification of life, it was only to be enjoyed by the consecrated ministers of the Lord, and eaten exclusively in the holy place as a guarantee that none of it would be made use of for purposes that were not strictly sacred. This was what took place in the case of meat-offerings that accompanied burnt-offerings, or of such of them as were offered by themselves, provided they consisted of flour drenched with oil, and roasted grain, or were dry, *i.e.* without oil, like those mentioned in Lev. v. 12 and Num. v. 15 (comp. Lev. vi. 9, vii. 10). But if they happened to consist of baked meat, then, with the exception of what was meant for burning upon the altar (Lev. ii. 9), the whole fell to

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the officiating priest (Lev. vii. 9).[4]—It was different with the meat-offerings that accompanied schelamim, and which consisted of cakes, flat and otherwise. In those cases it was required that, besides the part intended for the altar (according to Lev. ii. 9),[5] a cake or a part of one should be taken from each of the different sorts, and, as a heave (תְּרוּמָה) for Jehovah, should be assigned to the officiating priest (Lev. vii. 14), the remainder being left to the persons offering the sacrifice, to be used at the sacrificial feast.

[3] This sense of אַזְכָּרָה, besides being that conveyed by the Septuagint and Vulgate renderings, is placed beyond a doubt by Num. v. 25 and 26, where the אזכרה of the jealousy offering is explained to be מִנְחַת זִכָּרוֹן מַזְכֶּרֶת עָוֹן. All other interpretations of the word are untenable on grounds of grammar and fact alike; see the author's comment. on Lev. ii. 2.

[4] The reason for the distinction thus made in Lev. vii. 10 and 9 is not very clear. Probably it is to be explained by the fact that the mincha, offered as it was by itself, and that only in occasional instances, consisted of cakes or baked meat, and only in a small quantity.

[5] Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 264) erroneously asserts that because, in Lev. vii. 12 ff., there is no actual mention of an ascara, but only of a תְּרוּמָה, we are not at liberty to assume that an ascara was offered as well. His statement, that "instead of the ascara it is a תְּרוּמָה that is in question," is of a piece with his erroneous theory (noticed above, p. 322 f.) regarding the תְּרוּמָה; and the *argumentum e silentio* recoils upon himself; for, at p. 256, he takes the ascara for granted in the instances mentioned in Lev. vi. 9 and vii. 9, 10, although it is not mentioned there either. Again, at p. 266, he observes quite correctly that: "In Lev. vii. 12–20, what the lawgiver is concerned with is to lay down *those* rules which the person presenting a peace-offering was to observe with regard to that portion of the offering that was reserved for himself, and that for the purpose of being used at the sacrificial feast." But *those* rules were not meant in the least to apply to the case of the ascara.

§ 53. *The Typical Character of the Four Kinds of Sacrifices.*

We have already pointed out in § 43, p. 275 f., how, in the divine sanction given to the legal sacrifices of the Old Testament, there lay the germ of their typical meaning, seeing that it can only have been in view of the perfect sacrifice

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which Christ, the Son of God and Son of man, was one day to offer by the eternal Spirit, that God ascribed to the blood of the victims when sprinkled upon the altar such an important significance as that of covering the souls of men. Consequently the only thing that remains for us at present is to point out how much this typical character has been noticed and alluded to by writers of so early a date as the prophets, and how the redemption of the human race from sin, and its reconciliation with God, as prefigured in the material sacrifices and meat-offerings of the Mosaic law, have been realized in the life, the sufferings, and the death of Christ.[1]—The important truth, that God has no delight in sacrifices and meat-offerings, burnt-offerings and sin-offerings, but rather in the obedience rendered to His commandments, and, consequently, that man is not justified on the ground of the victim he offers, but only through the surrender of his own person in willing obedience to God, is one that has already found expression in what Samuel says to Saul, 1 Sam. xv. 22, and still more plainly in the words of David in Ps. xl. 7 ff. Again, the truth that the sacrificial system of the Old Testament possessed no inherent power to bring about the reconciliation of the sinner with God, is one that is taught by Jeremiah in his prediction in xxxi. 31–34 regarding the new covenant which God was to establish on the basis of the forgiveness of sins, with the view of making of Israel the true people of God. Not only so, but the truth, that the forgiveness of sins is brought about by the righteousness of the Mediator of the new covenant as manifested in all that He did and in all that He suffered, even unto death, is one to which Isaiah also bears testimony in announcing, chap. liii., the advent of the Servant of Jehovah, who, as Mediator and Saviour, was to give His soul as a trespass-offering to bear the sin of the people, and, as the righteous One, to justify many (vv. 4–11).

It was in consequence of these predictions, and upon the strength of them, that the angel said to Joseph, in announcing to him the fact that Mary was to give birth to the promised Redeemer: "Thou shalt call His name *Jesus:* for He shall save His people from their sins" (Matt. i. 21). Further, no sooner had Jesus entered upon His public ministry after His baptism,

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than John the Baptist bore witness of Him before his (John's) own disciples and the people by pointing to Him, and exclaiming: "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sin of the world" (John i. 29, 36). Then again when, in the Sermon on the Mount, Jesus announced Himself to the people as He who was come, not to destroy the law or the prophets, but to fulfil, *i.e.* to perfect them (Matt. v. 17), He thereby declared at the same time that it was He who was to fulfil and perfect that sacrificial thora which formed that nucleus of the gospel that lay in the heart of the law. And as His whole public ministry was, in what He did as well as in what He suffered, a fulfilling of the law, and consisted simply in the accomplishing of His Father's will, so it was, at the same time, a fulfilling of that reconciliation of the human race with God which was prefigured by the sacrifices of the law. He Himself intimates as much when He says: "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many" (*δοῦναι τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν*, Matt. xx. 28; Mark x. 45). In these latter words Jesus, it is true, is referring to His death; still He conceives of that death only as the consummation, the culminating point in His redemptive work. Again, the words: "to give a ransom," are not to be regarded as borrowed directly from the act of offering sacrifice, but are to be understood in accordance with Ex. xxi. 30 and Num. xxxv. 21, where it is partly permitted and partly forbidden to accept a כֹּפֶר (*λύτρον*), that any one who had committed a capital offence might thereby escape the punishment of death. We should rather say, then, that what the expression is intended to convey is that Christ gives His life in the stead or room of many for the purpose of ransoming them from death; He dies in order that they may escape the penalty of death which they themselves had incurred. Thus does Jesus ascribe to His death not only a vicarious significance, but likewise the power of rescuing sinful men from the penalty of death, although He does not expressly represent it in the light of an atoning *sacrifice*. This point of view is conspicuous, however, in the words of the institution of the Lord's Supper, Matt. xxvi. 26–28; Mark xiv. 22; Luke xxii. 19 f.: Eat the bread; it is my body, which is given for you. Drink of the

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cup; it (the wine) is my blood, the blood of the new covenant, which is shed for you (for many) for the remission of sin. Here Christ represents the giving of His body to death as a sacrificial death, and His blood, that was to be shed, as the blood of an atoning sacrifice, by means of which those who take part in the ordinance of the Supper are understood to be reconciled to God and solemnly admitted into the new covenant; while, on the other hand, partaking of the body and blood given away in death, they obtain forgiveness of sin. But Christ can only ascribe a sin-forgiving efficacy to His death on the assumption that He suffers it not merely in our behalf or for our benefit (ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν), but also in our stead, so as to bear our sin and endure its punishment.

The meaning thus ascribed to the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ forms the keynote of apostolic teaching. Passing by such passages as 1 Thess. v. 10, 2 Cor. v. 14, 15, Rom. v. 8, viii. 32, xiv. 15, 1 Pet. ii. 21, and various others, where the sufferings and death of Christ are represented, by the terms in which the matter is expressed, as having been endured for us, for our benefit, or on account of our sins (Rom. iv. 25; 1 Cor. xv. 3, etc.),—passing these by, we say, because in such short cursory references to the subject the object of the sacrificial death is not precisely defined, let us confine our attention to those apostolic utterances in which there is distinct and unmistakeable reference to the various elements in the work of reconciliation that were prefigured by the Old Testament sacrifices. Among these we would include Gal. iii. 13: "Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us." The way in which He was made a curse was by His submitting to be nailed to the cross, by His dying on the cross the death of a malefactor, for it is written: "Cursed is every one that is hanged on a tree" (Deut. xxi. 23). The curse, then, which lay upon men as transgressors of the law, fell in all its force upon Christ, the Sinless One, "in order that the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ" (Gal. iii. 14). The same thought recurs in the parallel passage, Gal. iv. 4 f.: "God sent forth His Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons." From those passages we may gather

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that, according to the apostle's train of thought, it is God who made Christ a curse (comp. 2 Cor. v. 21), and therefore that it is God who visits Him with the curse threatened in the law against transgressors, in order that these might escape. In all this the apostle plainly teaches that, in His crucifixion, Christ endured the punishment of, as well as made atonement for, our sins, and that, too, in our stead, seeing that in chap. iii. 13 prominence is given to the death *only* as being the culminating point in Christ's *obedientia passiva;* whereas in iv. 4 f. the whole of His fulfilment of the law, the *obedientia activa et passiva,* is spoken of as the *causa meritoria* of our deliverance from the curse of the law. In the above passages, then, the apostle contemplates Christ's death, not only as a vicarious bearing of the punishment due to our sins, but also as a making of such an atonement as was calculated to satisfy the just claims of the divine law.—The crucifixion of Christ is also conceived of as being of the nature of a satisfaction, *i.e.* as penal suffering making satisfaction for transgressions against the law on the part of mankind, in Col. ii. 13 f., where the following terms occur: *χαρισάμενος ἡμῖν πάντα τὰ παραπτώματα, ἐξαλείψας τὸ καθ' ἡμῶν χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασιν, ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν, καὶ αὐτὸ ἦρκεν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου, προσηλώσας αὐτὸ τῷ σταυρῷ.* Here the forgiveness of sins is represented under the figure of the cancelling of a writing that witnessed against us. This writing (*χειρόγραφον, i.e.* the written bond) was the law accepted by Israel along with the obligation to keep it; but this law not having been kept, it was therefore, properly speaking, the claim for payment of a debt which the law made upon mankind. The document, with the claim in question, God cancelled and set aside (removed it out of the way) by nailing it to the cross. But what was nailed to the cross was not the law, or the rolls on which it was written, but the body of Christ. The apostle describes the body of Christ so nailed to the cross as a bond or note of hand, because he regards it as an equivalent for our debt, and intimates that God has remitted all our transgressions, *i.e.* that He does not charge them against us as a debt, but has forgiven them in consideration of the fact that Christ, by enduring the punishment which we ourselves should have suffered, has satisfied all the demands of the law.[2]—To the same effect, too, is the

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teaching of Peter in his first Epistle, chap. ii. 21–25, where he echoes the language of the 53rd chapter of Isaiah.—In all the passages just referred to, Christ's crucifixion is contemplated in the light of a *trespass-offering*, is conceived of as a satisfaction rendered to the claims of the law as representing the divine righteousness.—This is further taught by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, when, in ii. 9 and 14 f., he says that Christ tasted death for all (*ὑπὲρ παντός*, for every one), and by His death overthrew him who had the power of death, and delivered them who, through fear of death, were all their lifetime subject to bondage. But to taste death for every man in order to deliver him from its power and terror, does not mean merely to die on his behalf, but also to suffer death in his stead, as his substitute. And that the apostle regarded this vicarious substitution as being, at the same time, an act of satisfaction, is evident from ix. 15, where he states that Christ's death took place *εἰς ἀπολύτρωσιν*, to redeem from transgressions committed under the first (the old) covenant, thus characterizing this death as a *λύτρον*, a ransom, *i.e.* as a satisfaction offered to make atonement for those transgressions.

In other passages, again, the idea to which the greatest prominence is given is that of expiation, which finds *its* symbolical expression in the Old Testament *sin-offering*. This is notably the case in 2 Cor. v. 21: "God hath made Him (Christ) to be sin for us who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him," and in Rom. viii. 3: "God sending His own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin, condemned sin in the flesh." To make the Sinless One to be sin, means: to cause Him to experience or suffer the consequences or the punishment of sin. Consequently, if God caused Christ, who was without sin, to suffer the punishment of sin in order that we, sinners, might be made the righteousness of God in Him, *i.e.* that we might obtain that righteousness which comes from God (Rom. i. 17; Phil. iii. 9), and which avails before Him, then must He be supposed to have felt called upon to punish the Sinless One in the room and stead of sinners, and to impute to that Sinless One the sin which should have been imputed to the sinners themselves, inasmuch as, being the Holy One, He (God) could not have unconditionally remitted

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the sin without compromising His own righteousness.—The apostle speaks to the same effect in Rom. viii. 3, where he states, with pregnant brevity, that God, through Christ's death, condemned (punished) sin in the flesh, *i.e.* in the sinful human nature which He had assumed.—The necessity of the sacrificial death of Christ in order to the forgiveness of our sins is also taught by the apostle in Rom. iii. 24–26, where he speaks of Christ as a ἱλαστήριον, which, with a view to our ἀπολύτρωσις by faith in His blood, God has set forth for the purpose of now declaring that righteousness of His which might seem to have been compromised in consequence of His overlooking the sins committed, under the divine forbearance, before the coming of Christ (under the old dispensation, Heb. ix. 15), so that He might be just and yet be able to justify, without the actual fulfilling of the law (χωρὶς νόμου, ver. 24), the man who believes in Christ. "As he contemplates Christ hanging upon the cross, and dying there covered over with blood, Paul finds in Him the characteristic features of the Capporet combined with those of the sacrificial victim." The Capporet (ἱλαστήριον) was the visible pledge of the divine presence in Israel. The sprinkling of the blood of the victim upon the Capporet formed the culminating point in the atoning sacrifices of the Old Testament, the point where the atoning act was consummated. Accordingly, in the words: "whom God hath set forth as a ἱλαστήριον by faith in His blood," which Paul here makes use of, he gives expression to the thought that "the shedding of the blood that took place in the case of the Crucified One was necessary in order that thereby the righteousness of grace, working efficaciously in Him who was the organ of God's merciful presence, might have the effect of securing the justification of the believer and the forgiveness of his sins."[3]—The truth that the sin-offering finds its fulfilment in the crucifixion of Christ is further confirmed by the testimony of such passages as 1 John ii. 2, iv. 10, or, we should rather say, is assumed by them as being beyond all doubt.

But in Christ the burnt-offerings and the peace-offerings have also attained their complete fulfilment. It is the *burnt-offering* and the *meat-offering* that the Apostle Paul has in view when, in Eph. v. 2, he enforces the exhortation to

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walk in love by adding the words, "as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given Himself for us an offering and a sacrifice (*παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν—προσφορὰν καὶ θυσίαν*) to God for a sweet-smelling savour." For the expression *προσφορὰ καὶ θυσία* corresponds to the Hebrew מִנְחָה וָזֶבַח, and denotes bloodless and bloody sacrifices generally, like *δῶρα καὶ θυσίαι* (Heb. ix. 9), therefore bloody sacrifices which were in conjunction with meat-offerings. Consequently, in this instance, where the devotion in question is regarded as a confirmation of love, the burnt-offering offered in conjunction with the meat-offering is to be understood as expressing the consecration of the believer's life in loving surrender to God. And for the same reason we are not at liberty to refer *παρέδωκεν ἑαυτόν* exclusively to the sacrificial *death* of Christ, but must understand it as applying to the whole of Christ's work upon earth, as being one continuous act of self-sacrificing devotion.—Lastly, as regards the *meat-offerings*, again, they may be said to have attained their typical fulfilment in the institution of the Lord's Supper, a point to which we shall have occasion to return when we come to consider the feast of the Passover, the prototype of all the other sacrificial feasts.

Further, the typical character of the Mosaic sacrifices extended to the quality of the victims prescribed by the law, as well as to the significant ceremonial that was observed in offering them.—The feature about Christ that corresponded to the *absolute freedom from blemish* required in the victims was His sinlessness; the circumstance of His not knowing sin (2 Cor. v. 21), of there being in Him no sin (1 John iii. 5), of His having offered Himself *ἄμωμον* to God (Heb. ix. 14). Under this latter expression is comprehended the whole of that official obedience according to which it was His meat to do the will of the Father (John iv. 34), and in pursuance of which He took on Him the form of a servant, and became obedient even unto death upon the cross (Phil. ii. 7, 8).—With regard to the various ceremonies observed in offering the sacrifices: the presenting of the victim before the altar, the laying of the hand upon its head, the slaughtering, the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar, and, on the great day of atonement, upon the Capporet as well, the burning of the

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flesh upon the altar, and, in the case of atoning sacrifices, of merely the fat, and the destroying of the flesh by burning it outside the camp,—we find that the first two are not expressly mentioned in the New Testament, yet they may be regarded as having received their fulfilment in the circumstance of Christ's having united in His own person the human and divine nature, and in willingness with which He surrendered His life as a sacrifice (comp. Eph. v. 2), or in the *προσφορά* of His body (Heb. x. 10). The slaughtering was fulfilled in His crucifixion. The significance of this part of the sacrificial ritual is evident, without going farther, from the way in which Christ is represented as the Lamb that was slain (*ἀρνίον ἐσφαγμένον*, Rev. v. 6, 12, xiii. 8), and still more from the stress which, throughout the whole of the New Testament, is laid upon the death of Christ in relation to our reconciliation, and upon the death as being accompanied with shedding of blood.[4] However, it is not the shedding of blood, as such, that is to be regarded as forming the characteristic feature in a legitimate act of sacrifice, but rather the pouring or sprinkling of it on the spot where God is understood to be specially present. That, in this respect also, Christ has offered a perfectly valid sacrifice, is brought out in Heb. ix. 24 by comparing it with the atoning sacrifice offered on the great day of atonement. He is represented as carrying in His own shed blood before God; while, in order to perfect His sacrifice by means of this act, He is conceived of as entering heaven itself to appear in the presence of God for us. This idea also lies at the root of that view of Christ as a *ἱλαστήριον* (Rom. iii. 25), which we have already noticed above.—Again, we find the characteristic feature of the burning of the victim upon the altar transferred by Paul to Christ in Eph. v. 2, where he says that "He gave Himself for us an offering and a sacrifice to God *for a sweet-smelling savour*" (לְרֵיחַ נִיחוֹחַ לַיהוָה). "This points to the fact that the stage in the process of death that followed upon the covering of the Crucified One with His own blood corresponds to the burning of the sacrificial victim in the sacred fire, and consequently, that, at the moment of His death, Christ's offering of Himself was, as a solemn act, brought to a formal close."[5]—It was essential to the completeness of a sin-offering offered on behalf of the congregation

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that the flesh of the victim should be burnt with fire outside the camp. The typical reference of this act to the atoning sacrifice of Christ is pointed out in Heb. xiii. 11 f., where we read: "For the bodies of those beasts, whose blood is brought into the sanctuary by the high priest for sin, are burned without the camp. *Wherefore* (διό) Jesus also, that He might sanctify the people with His own blood, suffered without the gate." The διό has already been correctly explained by Estius thus: Ut ille typus, V. T. impleretur, illa figura quæ est de carnibus extra castra comburendis. Accordingly, because the bodies of the sin-offerings, whose blood was taken into the holy place, had to be burnt with fire outside the camp, it was necessary in like manner that Christ, as the true sacrifice for our sin, should suffer and die outside the city of Jerusalem. The typical relation existing between the burning of the flesh of the sin-offering outside the camp (the city) and Christ's suffering outside the city, can only be traced to the circumstance that the two things had one and the same meaning. The reason why Christ was crucified outside Jerusalem was because the Jews had adjudged Him to be a malefactor worthy of death, and because, according to the law, such criminals as had been sentenced to death were conducted without the camp (the city gate) for the purpose of there undergoing their sentence (Lev. xxiv. 14; Num. xv. 35; Deut. xvii. 5; comp. also Josh. vii. 24). In this act there was a practical declaration of their expulsion without the pale of the people of the covenant. Accordingly, it was in conformity with this practice that the Jews thrust out Jesus also as a malefactor from among the covenant people. But just as Caiaphas, in suggesting that it was better that one man should die for the nation rather than that the whole people should perish, uttered, without knowing or intending it, a prediction regarding the nature of the death of Jesus,—for that He should die for the people was only what had already been determined upon by the divine counsel,—so, in like manner, by crucifying Christ as a malefactor outside Jerusalem, the members of the Sanhedrim were simply the unconscious instruments of bringing about the fulfilment of that type of Christ's death which was represented by the burning of the bodies of the sin-offerings in the way already referred to. For, according to the divine

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counsel, it was necessary that Jesus should suffer and die as a malefactor, if by His death He was to bear the punishment due to the sins of mankind, which He had taken upon Himself, precisely in the same way as it was necessary that the bodies of the sin-offerings should be burnt with fire outside the camp or the city, because the sin and guilt of the congregation had been laid upon them.[6] It was thus that Christ fulfilled and realized all the legal sacrifices of the Old Testament, and, by doing so, finally abolished all material sacrifices. For, in virtue of the all-sufficient sacrifice which He offered, all who live by faith in Jesus Christ thenceforth receive forgiveness of sin and power for the sanctifying of the life, so that, being reconciled to God, we walk in love, present our bodies a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God (Rom. xii. 1); while, in the partaking of His body given to death in our room, and of His blood shed for the forgiveness of our sins, we are enabled to enjoy communion with the Lord and taste the powers of eternal life.

[1] For this comp. the author's article on "Die typische Bedeutung der alttestamentl. Opfer," in the *Luther. Ztschr.* 1857, p. 442 ff., and Ritschl, "Die Aussagen über den Heilswerth des Todes Jesu im N. Testament untersucht," in the *Jahrbb. f. deutsche Theologie* (1863), v. pp. 213 ff. and 477.

[2] Ritschl (as above) is mistaken in his view of Col. ii. 13 and Gal. iii. 13 f., when he supposes that, in those passages, the apostle is not thinking of the law in so far as it is the record of the divine will, but that he has in view the ceremonial element which is ascribed to angels and not to God.—Still more erroneous is the interpretation given to Col. ii. 13 by Hofmann in *Die heil. Schrift. N. Testaments*, iv. 2, p. 80 f., to the effect that the nailing of the note of debt to the cross is by no means to be understood as simply equivalent to cancelling and invalidating it, but rather as conveying the idea that the obligation to fulfil the law is done away with by the order of things involved in the crucifixion of the Saviour, *i.e.* as denoting that what was now required was faith in the crucified Saviour, for what was meant to serve as a rule of life was now nailed to the cross (!).

[3] Comp. Ritschl, as above, pp. 243–247, who, in opposition to Hofmann, here ably defends the view which regards the ἱλαστήριον as referring to the Capporet.

[4] "Wherever in the New Testament a saving efficacy is ascribed to the blood of Christ, the idea of His death as that

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of a victim offered in sacrifice is always presupposed (1 Pet. i. 2, 19; Rev. i. 5, v. 9, vii. 14; 1 John i. 7, v. 6; 1 Cor. x. 16; Rom. iii. 25, v. 9; Col. i. 20; Eph. i. 7, ii. 13; Heb. ix. 12, 14, x. 19, 29, xii. 24, xiii. 12, 20). Lastly, because the cross was that on which the sacrificial death of Christ took place, it is spoken of as the organ through which salvation is obtained, as forming the topic of Christian preaching, and as being the object of sound faith as well as of virulent attack, and all that, no doubt, for the simple reason that the only true conception of Christ's sacrificial death is so intimately associated with the cross (1 Cor. i. 17, 18; Gal. vi. 14; Col. i. 20; Eph. ii. 16; Phil. iii. 18)." Ritschl, as above, p. 243.

[5] The words of Ritschl, as above, p. 258.

[6] It is in this sense that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews takes advantage of the circumstance of Christ's having been crucified outside Jerusalem, as was foreshadowed by the burning of the flesh of the sin-offering without the camp, for the purpose of inculcating upon the Christians to whom he wrote the duty of withdrawing from Judaism and bearing the reproach of Christ. Cf. my *Comm. on the Epistle to the Hebrews* (1885), p. 385 ff. How far those modern divines, who regard this burning of the sin-offering as an act to which no special significance attached, as one that had nothing to do with the object of the sacrifice itself, as merely offering a convenient way of getting rid of the holy flesh, have thereby made it impossible for them rightly to explain the apostle's reasoning, is strikingly illustrated by the most recent commentaries. Kurtz (*Der Brief an die Hebr. erkl.*), at p. 423, interprets the passage thus: "We Christians also have our altar of sacrifice as well as a victim that has been slaughtered at it, sprinkled with whose blood we are consecrated to, fitted for, and called to exercise the functions of the priesthood in the heavenly sanctuary (x. 19–22); *but we have not the right to eat of this altar* (as did the priests of the Old Testament from theirs), because (ver. 11) on this only one single and sufficient sacrifice has been offered once for all, and this *one* was a sin-offering offered for the sins of the whole people, and therefore belonged to that class of sin-offerings of which the Old Testament priests were likewise forbidden to eat."—But how is it possible, we would ask, to impute to the author of this Epistle anything so grossly at variance with the teaching of Christ and the apostle as would be implied in supposing that he questioned the right to take part in the Lord's Supper, or had any doubt as to the blessings that accrued to those who did so?—As little is to be said in favour of Hofmann's interpretation (*D. heil. Schr. N. Test's*, v. p. 502), to the effect that "in Heb. xiii. 9 ff.

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the subject here in question is as to the way in which we have come to obtain the atonement of our sins;" and p. 503: "To us Christians, who have no other sacrifice but that of Christ, there belongs no such right as, under the law, was enjoyed by the priests with regard to the sacrifices presented by them, that is to say, no claim for any remuneration of a worldly or temporal character." — "What we have to do is simply to appropriate to ourselves our share of that atonement for our sins which was made through the high-priestly sacrifice of Jesus, without expecting any *earthly* advantage to accrue to us from the fact of our being Christians."—Such interpretations, importing into the passage, as they do, thoughts utterly foreign to the context, simply refute themselves, and only serve to confirm the verdict of Riehm already quoted in § 46, p. 311 f.

THIRD CHAPTER.

THE COVENANT SACRIFICES AND DEDICATION OFFERINGS.

§ 54. *The Dedication Offering of the People at the Ratification of the Covenant.*

When, at Mount Sinai, the people of Israel had intimated their acceptance of the words of the covenant, and of the laws that had been read in their hearing, by unanimously declaring, "All that the Lord hath spoken we will do," Moses wrote the words of Jehovah along with this declaration in a book (the book of the covenant), then built an altar with twelve pillars placed around it, according to the twelve tribes of Israel, and instructed a number of young men to go and offer burnt-offerings, and sacrifice peace-offerings of oxen upon it. He then took half of the blood of the victims and sprinkled it upon the altar, read the book of the covenant in the hearing of the people, and after the latter had pledged themselves to yield obedience to all that had been spoken, he sprinkled the other half of the blood upon the people, saying, as he did so: "Behold the blood of the covenant which the Lord hath made with you concerning all these words." This being done, Moses, accompanied by Aaron, Nadab and Abihu, and seventy elders, the latter as representing the people, went up Mount

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Sinai where they saw God, and then ate and drank together (of the peace-offerings), Ex. xxiv. 3–11.

We see that the ratification of the covenant was preceded first of all by reciting its fundamental laws (Ex. xx.–xxiii.) in the hearing of the people, and by a declaration on the part of the latter of their willingness to obey (keep) the words of Jehovah. For the people required to know, in the first instance, what it was that the covenant into which they were about to enter with the Lord imposed upon them on the one hand, and what advantages it offered them on the other, and had also to signify beforehand their readiness to enter into this covenant.—The ceremony observed at the ratification of the covenant begins, as we have seen, with the building of an altar, as that at which the Lord specially is present to His people, and with the erection of twelve pillars (מַצֵּבוֹת), according to the twelve tribes of Israel, by way of denoting the presence there of the whole people, consisting as it did of twelve tribes. The pillars were evidently ranged round the altar, so that, with the altar in the centre, they furnished the ground and basis for the covenant relation, the altar on the one hand representing the place where God was understood to be present, and the pillars on the other being supposed to represent the presence of the people.—Upon this common ground and basis the covenant was then duly ratified by a solemn sacrificial act, Moses, as mediator of the covenant, ordering certain young men to bring forward and slaughter the victims, he himself acting the part of priest in offering them.[1] Here, too, the victims represented those who presented them; while it is to be observed that the kind of sacrifices offered were burnt-offerings and peace-offerings (שְׁלָמִים). For the people were expected to present soul and body to their God if they were to be made holy by His sanctifying grace, and made blessed through their participating in that grace. On this occasion there was no word of sin-offerings, because these were only instituted after the establishment of the covenant, and that with the view of making atonement for offences calculated to endanger the permanent stability of the covenant, in order that it might in this way be possible for any one who had fallen from his place in that covenant to be restored to it again.

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One peculiarity about this covenant sacrifice was the dividing of the blood of the victims into two halves, the one of which was sprinkled upon the altar and the other upon the people.[2] Seeing that the blood, as being that in which the soul of the victim resided, was understood to represent the soul of the owner of the sacrifice, the effect of sprinkling it upon the altar would be to introduce the people into gracious fellowship with their God, and to make atonement for their sin.—Then, in the next place, after they had pledged themselves to fulfil and obey the words of the covenant that had been read in their hearing, they were sprinkled with the remainder of the blood that had been presented to God, and in this way had the blood of the covenant applied to themselves. Through this sprinkling with the blood Israel was formally consecrated to the position of God's covenant people. What it was, however, that this consecration consisted in is only to be correctly understood by our bearing strictly in mind that the whole of the blood of a victim was intended for the altar, and that the dividing of it into two halves was necessary upon this occasion simply for this reason, that blood once sprinkled upon the altar could not be withdrawn from it again to be sprinkled upon the people.[3] Consequently we must regard the blood used to sprinkle the people with in precisely the same light in which that is to be regarded which was presented to God by being sprinkled upon the altar. This blood—inasmuch as it was sacrificed to God, and represented the soul as given up to death, as received by the sin-forgiving grace of God into fellowship with Himself, and as thereby endued with the power of leading a holy and divine life—symbolized that principle of life spiritualized throughout by the powerful influences of that divine grace with which, under the covenant, Israel was endowed. By this breaking up of the sprinkling of the blood into two distinct acts, the natural life of the people was surrendered to God through death, and the people received back again the life thus surrendered, in the shape of one duly renewed by divine grace. The blood of the covenant in this way assumed the character of a divine quickening energy, sanctifying Israel and uniting it with its God; while the consecration of Israel to the rank of His covenant people, that took place in the act of the

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sprinkling of the blood, came, on the other hand, to assume the character of an act of renewal of life, of a transplanting of Israel into the kingdom of God, where it was richly endowed with the powers of the divine spirit of grace, and consecrated to the dignity of a kingdom of priests, of a holy people of God. Furnished with such powers as these, the people of Israel were understood to be enabled, not only to dedicate and consecrate their bodies, with all their organs and members, to the Lord and His service,—which latter was symbolized by the burning of the flesh of the victim upon the altar,[1]—but likewise to attain to the vision of God, and to eat and drink, or, in other words, to celebrate the sacrificial feast in His presence, there refreshing themselves with the glorious and salutary blessings of the kingdom of God, and enjoying the invigorating influences of celestial felicity with the Lord in their midst.—In the first instance, the privilege of participating in those blessed fruits and results of the covenant fellowship was confined, no doubt, to Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abĭhu, and the seventy elders, the latter as being the nobles (אֲצִילִים) of the children of Israel, and as representing the whole people, it being, of course, impossible that every one among them could be present to participate in his own person.

[1] That the "young men of the children of Israel" were not meant to represent the people offering the sacrifice as being then in its youth, as a people that was ready to enter upon its career like a young man (Kurtz), but that they merely acted as the servants of Moses, giving him such help as he needed in offering the sacrifices in question, and performing for him the non-priestly function of slaughtering the victims, acting precisely in the same capacity as, at a subsequent period, the Levites did when they officiated as assistants to the priests,—a point that is rendered sufficiently clear, not only by the terms of the text: "And Moses sent young men, and they brought, *i.e.* he caused them to offer burnt-offerings," etc. (ver. 5), but no less so by the nature of the case itself. For "this is not a case in which the people were offering a sacrifice for themselves; before they could do so it would be necessary, in the first place, that that fellowship with God should be restored apart from which they could not venture to approach Him in sacrifice (Hofmann); besides, according to vers. 1 and 9, the people had its representatives in the seventy elders" (Oehler in Herzog, x. p. 618).—Kurtz's attempt (*Opferc.* p. 278) to

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refute those objections to his view we have already shown to be a failure in the comment. on Ex. xxiv. (p. 510 of the 2nd ed.).

[2] The discrepancy between Ex. xxiv. and the account of the dedication of the old covenant as given in Heb. ix. 19, 21, where we are told that Moses took the blood of calves and of goats, with water, and scarlet wool, and hyssop, and therewith sprinkled the book of the covenant and all the people, as also the tabernacle and all its furniture, is, for the most part, to be accounted for from the fact that the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in his eagerness to prove that neither could the old covenant (any more than the new) be dedicated without blood, mixes up the covenant dedication of the people on the one hand with that of the priests and the Levites on the other (Lev. viii. f., and Num. viii. 6 ff.), which latter was necessary to give completeness to that of the people. In thus confounding the different occasions he borrows the goats from Lev. ix. 3, the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar from Lev. viii. 15, the sprinkling of the tabernacle and its furniture from Lev. viii. 10, 11, and the water from Num. viii. 7. With regard to the other points of divergence, namely, the sprinkling of the book of the covenant with blood, etc., he was simply following, if we may judge from Joseph. *Antt.* iii. 8. 6, the traditional view of his time.

[3] Bähr's comparing of this, in *Symb.* ii. p. 421 f., with the similar heathen practice of the parties to a covenant mixing their blood together, is erroneous and misleading.

[4] The flesh of the covenant sacrifices was doubtless disposed of in accordance with established sacrificial usage, *i.e.* in the case of the burnt-offering the whole of the flesh, and in that of the peace-offering only the choicest portion of it, viz. the fat, would be burnt upon the altar, while the remainder would be used for the sacrificial feast.

§ 55. *The Sacrifice offered at the Consecration of the Priests.*

The second or concluding part of the ceremony observed at the consecration of the priests consisted of a threefold act of sacrifice (comp. above, § 36), the significance of which again culminated in the peace-offering, which in this instance assumed a form peculiar to the occasion. If the effect of sacrifice generally is to bring the worshipper into a special relation to the Divine Being, then the consecration ceremony now in question can have had no other significance than that

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of an act of installation in which those entrusted with the functions of the priesthood were duly invested with the privileges and prerogatives belonging to their office, an act in which they were brought into that closer fellowship with the Lord which they were called to enjoy within the typical kingdom of God. This idea was also distinctly traceable in the various features peculiar to each of the three different kinds of sacrifice of which the ceremony in question was made up. The first point to be noticed here is that it was not the persons who were to be consecrated that presented and slaughtered the victims, but Moses himself, the mediator of the old covenant, through whose official services, upon this occasion, Israel was consecrated to the position of the people of God on the one hand, and Aaron and his sons to the dignity of priests of God on the other.[1] And yet it was the persons that were being consecrated, and for whom the sacrifices were being offered, that laid their hands upon the victims, and that because in and through these latter they were understood to be themselves offered unto God and brought into fellowship with Him. Now, as the sacrifices were offered on the ground of the covenant relation existing between God and Israel, they, accordingly, began with a *sin-offering*, for which purpose it was a bullock, the highest species of victim, that was made choice of, so as to be in keeping not only with "the high importance of the solemnity," but likewise with the position which the priests, as being the ἐκλογή of that covenant people that had been chosen to be a nation of priests, were to occupy in the kingdom of God.—Moses took the blood of this sin-offering and put some of it upon the horns of the altar of burnt-offering with his finger, pouring the rest at the foot of the altar; the fat again he burnt upon the altar, the flesh, on the other hand, with the skin and dung of the animal, being consumed with fire outside the camp (Lev. viii. 15 ff.). Now, as previous to the act of slaughtering the bullock Aaron and his sons had laid their hands upon it, and as thereby the victim was understood to have taken their place and become their substitute, so again, in the act of slaughtering it, their sinful man was symbolically given up to death, in the sprinkling of the blood their soul was brought into fellowship with God, who was

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understood to be present at the altar, reconciling His people with Himself, in the burning of the fat upon the altar their inner man was drawn into the purifying fire of God's holy love, and in the burning of the flesh outside the camp their old man, laden with sin, was put to death, and the body of sin thus utterly destroyed.

But what, above all, stamped this sin-offering with the character of a consecration sacrifice was the circumstance that while the flesh was burnt without the camp, the blood was not brought into the holy place, as in the case of ordinary sin-offerings of this class, but put upon the altar of burnt-offering, for the purpose—as we are told in Lev. viii. 15—of purifying the altar, of sanctifying it, and of making atonement for it. The altar having been sanctified immediately before by being anointed with holy oil (ver. 11), the purifying and sanctifying that were now to be effected by means of the blood of the victim is not to be regarded as taking place with a view to any further cleansing from some impurity or other that still clung to it, or was yet inherent in it. But just as, in every instance of purifying generally, the sacred utensils had reference to and were associated with the sins of the people, by which (sins) those utensils were liable to be defiled (Lev. xvi. 16, 19), so again did the purifying of the altar, effected by means of the blood of that sin-offering on which the priests had laid their hands, refer solely to those defilements with which the priests, in consequence of the impurity of their own sinful nature, were supposed to have stained the altar when officiating thereat.[2] The object of using, for the purifying process now in question, blood taken from the sin-offering that had been slaughtered for the priests, was to indicate the intimate union that was there and then formed between them and the altar, and to impress upon them the fact that the blood by which they themselves were purified was at the same time to serve as a means of cleansing the altar from the sins that adhered to it in consequence of their having officiated thereat.

After the priests and the altar had been duly purified and sanctified by means of this sin-offering, and when in this way every ground of separation was removed, which, in consequence of the sin adhering to those who were to be consecrated, had

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existed between the Lord and the ministers of His altar, then, by means of the *burnt-offering* of the ram, substituted for them in virtue of the laying on of the hands and offered in accordance with the usual ritual, they (the priests) were presented by Moses as a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, that they might consecrate themselves with all the organs of soul and body to His holy service. Then, in the last place, came a special modification of the peace-offering in and through which the full possession and enjoyment of the privileges of the priesthood were solemnly conferred upon them.

What served to impress this *peace-offering* with the character of a consecration sacrifice was the peculiar mode of dealing with the blood and the flesh of the victim, a peculiarity which distinguished it from all other peace-offerings. For after Moses had slaughtered the ram, on which Aaron and his sons had laid their hands for the purpose of thereby making it their substitute, he took some of the blood and put it upon the tip of the right ear, and upon the thumb of the right hand, and upon the great toe of the right foot of those about to be consecrated, and then sprinkled the rest round about upon the altar. This being done, he took a quantity of the anointing oil and some of the blood that was on the altar, and having mixed them together he sprinkled the priests and their garments with the mixture. Now, as in every sacrifice the blood represented the soul as the principle of life, so here too, in the sprinkling of the blood, the life of those to whom that blood had reference was understood to be reconciled to God, brought into union with Him, and quickened anew by His sin-forgiving grace. But in the present instance the extremities of the right ear, hand, and foot, as representing the whole body, were anointed with the blood of the victim with which the altar was about to be sprinkled, the organs by which the priests were enabled to exercise the functions of their offices[3] being thereby and in a significant manner put *en rapport* with the blood of the victim, and similarly, by the sprinkling of the blood upon the altar immediately following; and owing to the fact that that blood represented the soul as the principle of life, and covered it over before the holy God, they were brought symbolically within the range of the divine life-forces that were in active play beside the altar, so as to

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become penetrated and sanctified by them, and so be duly consecrated to the faithful and willing service of the Lord. This rite of consecration was then brought to a close by the sprinkling of the priests and their garments—*i.e.* their persons as the depositaries, and their garments as the insignia of the priestly office and functions—with holy anointing oil mixed with some of the blood of the victim taken from the altar. The blood taken from the altar represented the fact of the soul's being brought into union with God through reconciliation with Him, while the holy anointing oil served as the symbol of the spirit of God as being the principle of all spiritual life in the kingdom of God. Accordingly, through the medium of this sprinkling the soul and spirit of the priests were endowed with the heavenly powers of the divine life. However, as we see, the sprinkling was not confined to their persons, but extended to their official dress as well. For it was not meant to have reference to the men merely in their personal or individual relation to the Lord, but as possessing a certain official standing, and with reference to their official ministrations among the Lord's people (or in the Church).

After being thus spiritually invested with the priestly character, the now consecrated priests were formally put in possession of the offerings which they would be called upon to offer in their official capacity. This was duly represented by *the way in which the flesh of the consecration offering was dealt with.*—The mode of proceeding was as follows: Moses took the fat of the slaughtered ram (which in the case of every other peace-offering was separated from the victim and burnt upon the altar) and its right shoulder (which in ordinary circumstances was heaved off from the animal for the officiating priest as his portion), and after adding an unleavened cake taken from the basket of unleavened bread, besides a cake of oiled bread and a flat cake, he placed the whole in the hands of the newly-consecrated priests and waved it as a wave-offering before Jehovah. This being done, he took the whole from off their hands again and burnt it upon the altar, on the top of the burnt-offering, as a *consecration sacrifice* (מִלּוּאִים, fulness) for a sweet-smelling savour, and an offering made by fire unto Jehovah. It was this filling of the hands of Aaron and his sons with the portions of the victim that were waved and

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then burnt upon the altar that specially stamped this sacrifice with the character of a consecration offering, and which also led to the victim's being known under the designation of *the ram of the filling* (אֵיל הַמִּלֻּאִים, Lev. viii. 22, 28). But this part of the ceremony is not to be understood as conveying the idea of a bestowing of gifts on the part of Jehovah, for the phrase מִלֵּא יָד לַיהוָה, "to fill the hand for Jehovah," does not mean to offer gifts to Jehovah,[4] but "to provide oneself with something to offer to God" (1 Chron. xxix. 5; 2 Chron. xxix. 31; comp. Ex. xxxii. 29).—Accordingly, when on this occasion Moses took those portions of the victim that were to be offered to God and, placing them upon the hands of the priests, symbolically offered them by means of the act of waving, before burning them upon the altar, the only light in which this proceeding could be regarded would be that of a formal putting into their hands of those offerings which, in the exercise of their functions, they would be called upon to present to the Lord, could only be looked upon as an act in which they were symbolically furnished with the gifts which, in their character as priests, they would be called upon to present to the Lord. This symbolical act was intended to be regarded as a pledge and guarantee that as priests they would never have occasion to appear before God with empty, but always with well-filled hands, or, in other words, that never would they be left without the materials necessary for sacrifice. The symbolical character of the filling of the hands will serve to explain each of the different acts of which this ceremony was composed. It will serve to explain (*a*) how it was that the priests did not actually sacrifice, *i.e.* did not burn upon the altar the sacrificial offerings that were placed upon their hands, but merely presented them symbolically by means of the significant ceremony of waving them, which was also the reason why it was upon Moses and not Aaron that the duty of burning upon the altar here devolved. Also (*b*) how it was that what was put upon their hands and then waved was not only *that* portion of the victim which, in the case of peace-offerings, was subsequently burnt upon the altar (*i.e.* the fat), but also those parts which afterwards fell to the officiating priest as his share, namely, the right shoulder and one of each of the three different kinds of cakes (Lev. vii. 14, 32 f.). For it

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was intended that the priests should be furnished, not merely with a sample of what they were to offer to the Lord by fire, but also with a sample of what they were to receive by way of remuneration for their services.[5] But, inasmuch as the latter was a prerogative granted them by the Lord, they were called upon on the occasion of their consecration to offer it, and that symbolically through the ceremony of waving it, and actually through the ceremony of burning it upon the altar. And lastly, (*c*) the peculiar circumstance that the portion of the victim which was afterwards assigned to the Lord through waving it, and which in turn was then handed over by the Lord to the priests by way of contributing toward their maintenance, was in this instance separated from the other parts of the animal, and, through the ceremony of waving, given over to the Lord, whereupon it fell to Moses as his portion, because as God's servant he officiated as priest at the consecration, is to be explained by the fact that Moses was in no sense a member of the priesthood, but was merely acting the part of priest on this particular occasion, and that by way of return he had to get a share of the peace-offering, which in this case, however, could not be the right shoulder, for that was already reserved for a different purpose, but only the breast. In the case of an ordinary peace-offering this latter belonged to the Lord, though it was only symbolically handed over to him in the act of waving, seeing that immediately thereafter he assigned it to the priests. On this occasion, however, it was given to Moses, who officiated in their stead, that as his portion he might use it for furnishing the sacrificial feast. For here, too, the solemnity was concluded with a *sacrificial feast*, which differed from subsequent feasts of this sort only in so far as no stranger, *i.e.* none of the common people (as distinguished from the priests), was allowed to take part in it (Ex. xxix. 33). The reason of this restriction was that this feast formed part of the consecration ceremony, inasmuch as in and through it Aaron and his sons, as being the persons who offered the sacrifice, were admitted into the special covenant formed between the Lord and His priests, a covenant in the benefits and blessings of which none, but consecrated priests could have any share.[6]—Lastly, the reason for those sacrificial solemnities being repeated every day for seven days

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in succession, is to be found in the fact that the number seven was a sign of the perfection of God's doings in His dealings with His people.

[1] Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 286 f.) characterizes this as "decidedly erroneous," "because, (*a*) if this assertion were correct, it would imply a radical deviation from the most fundamental principles of the sacrificial thora; (*b*) because, if the laying on of the hands places it beyond a doubt that the victims were offered for Aaron and his sons, then we are bound to assume that they were presented and slaughtered by them as well, unless we are to overturn the entire sacrificial thora; (*c*) because it would be doing violence to sense and grammar alike to take the words: וַיִּשְׁחָט וַיִּקַּח מֹשֶׁה אֶת־הַדָּם, in vv. 15, 19, as intimating that it was Moses himself who slaughtered the victims in question."—But were this rather too confident style of argument at all well founded, then the error, "so subversive of the whole sacrificial thora," is one for which, not the author of this manual, but the great lawgiver himself would be responsible. For, in Ex. xxix., Jehovah commanded Moses, in terms not to be mistaken, ver. 11 ff., saying: "Thou shalt kill the bullock . . . and thou shalt take of its blood, and put it upon the horns of the altar with thy finger," . . . then at ver. 15 ff.: "Thou shalt also take one ram; and Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the ram, and thou shalt slay the ram . . . and thou shalt cut the ram in pieces," and so on; and lastly, at ver. 19 ff.: "And thou shalt take the other ram, and Aaron and his sons shall put their hands upon the head of the ram, then shalt thou kill the ram," and so on.—Those words of Jehovah utterly demolish our antagonist's whole argument. There can hardly be a doubt that Kurtz, when discussing the subject of the consecration of the priests, either did not advert to the fundamental prescriptions of the law contained in Ex. xxix., at all, or failed to do so with sufficient care.—As for the rest, it was not those who were being consecrated that furnished the materials for those sacrifices, but Moses himself who undoubtedly did so at the expense of the whole congregation, for whose benefit the priests were being ordained.

[2] Just as the priests, notwithstanding the holiness conferred upon them in virtue of their anointing, could not be allowed to enter upon the functions of the priesthood until a sin-offering had been offered in order that both they and the people might feel that, by the anointing, the original sinful nature of the human being was not removed, but merely covered over before the holy God, and that it was still clinging to the man, and defiling all that he did; and so, in like manner, it was necessary

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that the altar upon which they were in future to offer sacrifice should be purified by the blood of the ox that was slaughtered, to make atonement for their sins, in order that it might thus be sanctified for the service of the priests, *i.e.* in order that those sins might be covered over with which they (the priests) would be certain to stain it in the course of their official ministrations.

[3] The ear, the hand, and the foot were sprinkled—those being the members that would be made use of by the priests in the exercise of their functions. The ear, in order that it might duly apprehend the law and testimony of God, and be willing and ready to listen to Jehovah; the hand, in order that it might rightly execute God's commandments, and fitly discharge the duties and perform the functions of the priesthood; the foot, with which the priest goes out and in before God (Ex. xxviii. 35), in order that it might walk uprightly in the sanctuary (comp. Hofmann, *Schriftbew.* ii. 1, p. 285). But, as we see, "the whole of those members were not sprinkled, or sprinkled *all over* (which would have been as meaningless as it would have been superfluous), but only those on the one, viz. the right, side, and that at the extreme point of each member. The simple and natural explanation of this is that the right side, as being the worthier and more important of the two, included, and therefore represented, the left, and that the extremity, as being the boundary of the member, included, and therefore represented, the whole" (Bähr, ii. p. 425).

[4] As Bähr has explained it, p. 426.

[5] The objection to this started by Hofmann (*Schriftbew.* ii. 1, p. 284), to the effect that "it was not those portions of the victim alone, neither was it all those that afterwards fell to the priest as his portion, that Moses placed in his (the priest's) hand, as would, no doubt, necessarily have been the case if *nothing further* had been meant than the mere act of assigning to him certain representative portions of the sacrifice,"—could only be regarded as well founded if the *exclusive* intention of the waving of the parts of the victim in question had been to show that the priests were thus put in possession (by anticipation) of what, at a future time, they were to receive in return for their services, and if Hofmann's assumption that "Moses places in the hands of the priest something for this latter to offer to God, so that he may not appear before Him empty-handed," could be justified.

[6] This will likewise serve to explain why it was that, contrary to Lev. vii. 13, there was, in this instance, no leavened bread along with the cakes.

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SECOND SECTION.

THE RELIGIOUS PURIFICATION.

FIRST CHAPTER.

THE SO-CALLED LEVITICAL PURIFICATIONS.

§ 56. *The Legal Prescriptions regarding Defilements and Purifications.*

With the view of impressing the mind with a profound idea of the nature of sin and its consequences, the Mosaic law treated certain states and conditions of the body as being of a defiling character, so far as the subjects of the kingdom of God were concerned, and furnished certain prescriptions for removing and getting rid of all such defilements.[1]—These were divided into three classes,—

I. The *defilement of death*, whether in connection with human beings or clean and unclean animals (Num. xix. 14–22).

1. The dead body of a human being, no matter whether he had been killed (Num. xix. 16, 18, xxxi. 19) or had died a natural death, had the effect of rendering unclean for a period of seven days the tent (or house) in which the man had died, and any open vessels that were in it, as well as the persons who lived in it or happened to enter it. It was no less defiling to touch the body of one that had died in the open air, or even to touch a dead man's bone, or even a grave. In order to remove any such defilement, the law prescribed that, on the third and seventh day after it had been contracted, the things and the persons affected by it were to be purified by sprinkling water specially prepared for the purpose, while the persons and their clothes were to be washed, and the whole body bathed in water (Num. xix. 19).—When any one contracted this defilement of death, it was not understood to be confined to the man himself, but everything that he touched, and every one that touched him, became unclean until the evening (Num. xix. 22).

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2. The *carcase* of any animal, whether *clean* or *unclean*, defiled every one who touched, carried, or ate it, until the evening, so that he required to bathe himself in water and wash his clothes before he could become clean again (Lev. xi. 24–28, 31, 36, 39, 40, xvii. 15). On the other hand, it was no more defiling to touch clean animals slaughtered by men, and unclean animals that had been killed by them, than it was to touch unclean animals while still alive. But while the carcases of clean or unclean animals defiled, as a rule, only the persons of men, there were eight kinds of animals of the smaller order (שֶׁרֶץ)[2] that also communicated their defiling influence to inanimate objects, such as vessels made of wood, clothes, sacks, every vessel in which any work was done, the baking-oven (תַּנּוּר), the pots used for cooking (כִּירַיִם); if they or any part of their carcases happened to fall upon the things here enumerated, such earthen vessels also as any of them might happen to have dropped into, with the contents of the vessel as well, and lastly, food in the preparation of which water had been used,[3] and all drinks that were drunk out of such vessels, so that the objects in question became unclean till the evening; and clothes, things made of leather, and sacks had to be washed, while the earthen vessels, the baking and cooking utensils, were ordered to be broken. But an exception was made in favour of fountains, cisterns, and water-tanks, as also of dry seed for sowing; if, however, the seed happened to have been wet with water, then, like the other things mentioned above, it also became unclean should any of the carcases in question or any portion of them have happened to fall upon it (Lev. xi. 32–37).

[1] On this subject, comp. Sommer, *Biblische Abhandlungen*, Bonn 1846, to which the essay entitled *Rein und Unrein*, i. p. 269 ff., is devoted, and Leyrer's article "*Reinigungen*," in Herzog, xii. p. 620 ff., where the reader will also find the literature of the subject as well as a copious collection of authorities to prove the existence of similar religious views and prescriptions among many of the nations of antiquity; and Kamphausen, "*Reinigkeit u. Reinigungen*," in Riehm's *HWB.* p. 1274 ff.

[2] Namely, the weasel, the mouse, and six animals of the lizard species; for fuller discussion of this point, consult the author's comment. on Lev. xi. 29 ff.

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[3] The words of ver. 34: "All meat which may be eaten on which water cometh," are intended to denote meat prepared with water, in contradistinction to dry meat or articles of food. Following Luther in his rendering: "so solch Wasser darein kommt, 'such as water comes upon it,'" Rosenmüller and de Wette inaccurately interpret the words as referring to food on which water had come that had been taken from a defiled vessel, or that had been used for washing unclean vessels. Comp. Sommer, as above, p. 213 ff.

II. The *defilement of leprosy* in connection with persons, dwellings, and fabrics (stuffs) (Lev. xiii. and xiv.).

1. The terrible disease of *leprosy*, which was extremely prevalent in the East in ancient times, and which, in its most malignant forms, produced gangrene and putrefaction in the members of the living body, had the effect of rendering every one unclean who suffered from this malady.[4] When any one was attacked with an eruption upon the skin, he required to go and be examined by a priest, who, if he found, after such a diagnosis as the law prescribed, that it was actually a case of leprosy,[5] would have to pronounce the person affected unclean, and see that he was kept from further intercourse with the clean. The leper was required to rend his clothes, to bare his head, and put a covering upon his upper lip, and in this garb to cry to every one that he met: "Unclean, unclean;" and, besides this, he had to isolate himself by living outside the camp (the city) (Lev. xiii. 45 f.; Num. v. 2, xii. 10, 14 f.).[6]—But if he recovered, or believed that he had recovered, from the leprosy, he had to go and show himself to the priest; and if it turned out, on examination, that the disorder was cured, he had, in the first place, and while still without the camp, to be purified by being sprinkled seven times with sprinkling-water, composed of water and the blood of a slaughtered bird along with cedar wood, scarlet, and hyssop; while he had also to wash his clothes, shave off the hair from every part of his body, and bathe himself in water. This being done, he was then at liberty to return within the camp, although seven more days had to elapse before he was permitted to take up his abode again within his tent (house) (Lev. xiv. 2–8).—When this period had elapsed, *i.e.* on the seventh day, he was required once more to shave off all the hair from his body, to wash his clothes, and to bathe himself

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in water; and then, on the eighth day, he was required to offer a lamb for a sin-offering, a lamb for a burnt-offering, and three-tenths of an ephah of fine flour for a meat-offering, in order to make atonement for his impurity, and with the view of his being admitted again into communion with the sanctuary (Lev. xiv. 9–20). But if he happened to be a poor man, and consequently could not afford the usual offerings in such a case, he was permitted to bring as a burnt-offering and as a sin-offering two turtle doves or young pigeons, and as a meat-offering one-tenth of flour with oil poured over it, though, in the case of the trespass-offering, no curtailment was permitted, because it formed the real consecration sacrifice.

2. *Leprosy in houses* manifested its presence by depressions of a greenish or reddish colour appearing upon the walls. As soon as such indications were observed, the owner of the house affected was required to report the matter to the priest, who, before entering, had to see that the whole contents of the house were taken out, in order to prevent everything within it from becoming unclean. He then entered the house for the purpose of examining it, and if he recognised in the spots upon the walls the symptoms of leprosy (נֶגַע צָרַעַת), he shut it up for a period of seven days. At the expiry of the seven days he came back again, and if, on inspecting it a second time, he found that the indications of the malady had been spreading over the walls, then he was to give orders to have the affected stones removed, to see that the inside of the house was scraped all round, that the affected stones and the scrapings of the walls were taken away and emptied in an unclean place outside the city, and then to see that the stones that were removed were duly replaced by others, and that the walls were carefully replastered with fresh mortar. But notwithstanding all this, if the evil should break out anew, then the leprosy, in this case, was to be regarded as being of a malignant type, the priest was to pronounce the house unclean, and it was at once to be pulled down; while the stones, wood, and rubbish were to be removed to an unclean place outside the city. Then, again, whosoever entered the house during the time it was shut up, or whosoever slept or ate in it, was required to wash his clothes. If,

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on the other hand, it was found that the evil did not spread farther after the house had been plastered anew, then the priest pronounced it free from the disease, and, by sprinkling the building seven times with the same kind of sprinkling-water as was used when a human being recovered from leprosy, he purified it, and made atonement for it that it might be clean (Lev. xiv. 33–53).

3. Again, the *leprosy* in woollen or linen *clothes*, or in *fabrics* made of linen or wool, or in *leather*, or in anything made of leather, was also indicated by the presence of greenish or reddish spots upon them. As soon as any instance of this occurred, and was reported to the priest, he was required to shut up the article affected for seven days; and if he found, on examining it again on the eighth day, that the evil had spread, he was to take the garment or the material affected by it and burn it. If it turned out, however, that the spots had not been spreading, the material was washed, and locked up for other seven days. Should it then be found that the leprous spots remained still the same as before, there was nothing for it but to burn the material or the garment, even although the leprosy had not been spreading farther, for "it is eaten in whether it be bare within or without." But if in the course of the seven days the leprous spot was found to have yielded so far to the washing, then the part affected was to be torn out and burnt, while the thing itself was to be washed once more. If, however, in spite of this, similar spots made their appearance upon other parts of the article or material, then the whole article had to be burnt. On the other hand, if no further indication of the disease happened to appear, the material was washed a second time, whereupon it was regarded as clean (Lev. xiii. 47–59).[1]

[1] For further information regarding *leprosy*, see the commentaries of Keil and Dillmann on Lev. xiii. Cf. also Kamphausen, "*Aussatz*," in Riehm's *HWB.* p. 120 ff.—It is nowhere said in the law that this disease (or defilement) was contagious, and yet it must have been assumed to be so, seeing that those suffering from it were forbidden to have any intercourse whatever with the clean. It is for this reason that Sommer, as above, p. 218, has conjectured that there must be some hiatus in the law at this point, especially as it is just at this point

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that Rabbinical tradition has supplied a detail to the effect that the mere entering of a house on the part of a leper defiled everything that was in the house. Mischna, *Kelim* i. 4; *Negaim* xiii. 11.

[5] The symptoms will be found enumerated with great minuteness in Lev. xiii. 1–14.

[6] In later times, at least in houses specially provided for the purpose outside the gates of the city (comp. 2 Kings xv. 5 and vii. 3).

[7] What we are to understand by leprosy in houses, clothes, and fabrics is still a moot point. Michaelis (*Mos. Recht*, iv. p. 264 ff.) and Trusen (*Die Sitten, Gebräuche und Krankheiten der alten Hebräer.*, 2 Aufl. Bresl. 1853, p. 181) suppose the house leprosy to have been a kind of nitrous rot in the walls. But this would scarcely tally with the symptom described as consisting of "greenish or reddish depressions in the wall." Sommer, as above, p. 220, is nearer the mark in supposing that the appearance in question would be due to "some sort of vegetable excrescences, growths of a lichen-like nature, such as are to be found upon stones exposed to the weather and upon damp mouldy walls, and which eat away the part of the surface to which they adhere, so that a slight cavity is formed in consequence." "There are certain kinds of those lichens that present a singular resemblance to eruptions upon the skin; and as there is one genus known as the genus *spiloma* (a spot), so there is another of a very comprehensive character known under the name of *lepraria*."—According to the extremely probable theory of Sommer (p. 224), the leprosy in woollen or linen fabrics and clothes, and also in leather, would simply consist of those so-called damp-stains that are caused by the presence of damp or by a want of ventilation, which, in the case of linen, assume the form of round spots with coloured ones here and there amongst them. Those spots gradually spread, and prove so destructive to the fabric that it becomes quite rotten and falls to pieces. In the case of leather, in particular, the damp-stains are "corroded cavities" in a very literal sense, and are of "a greenish, reddish, or whitish colour, according to the species of the fine cryptogamic plants that happen to grow upon it."—The conjecture of Michaelis, to the effect that, in the case of woollen fabrics, the stains may have been caused by the use of so-called mortling wool (*i.e.* wool taken from diseased or fallen sheep), is quite erroneous; and still more unwarrantable is the notion of Abarbanel, that the reference here is to the infected clothes of persons suffering from leprosy,—a view which is also endorsed by Trusen (p. 180), who further adds that "the changes that were observed to take

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place in the appearance of the clothes may rather have been the result of the injurious effects produced upon them by the purulent discharges from festering sores all over the body." There is no mention of any such infection in the Mosaic law.

III. The *defilement connected with issues* (Lev. xii. and xv.). Among the issues in question were—

1. The *discharge of seminal fluid* (שִׁכְבַת־זֶרַע), whether it were of an involuntary character (like that which sometimes took place during sleep or in dreams), or was such as occurred during sexual intercourse.[8] Both alike constituted the man, and, in the latter case, the woman also, unclean till the evening, so that, after the discharge in question, they were required to bathe themselves in water (Lev. xv. 16–18). Similarly every article of dress and anything made of leather upon which seminal fluid may have fallen became unclean till the evening, and required to be washed with water.

2. The *flux* (זוֹב, from זוּב, to flow). The term זוֹב denotes three kinds of discharges of a yet higher degree of impurity —(*a*) the catamenial discharge of the woman, (*b*) the morbid issue of blood in woman, (*c*) the flux in men, *i.e.* the discharge of mucus from the urethra.—The defilement of such persons —who were also known as זָבִים, *i.e.* those who have issues— was considered equally serious, no matter by what one in particular of the issues just referred to they might happen to be affected, and, as it communicated itself to human beings and inanimate objects, those who had contracted it were, for this reason, removed to some distance from the camp (Num. v. 2).

(*a*) The *menstruous* woman was to be regarded as unclean for seven days. Everything on which she lay or sat, and even everything that was on her bed or any seat on which she had sat, thereby became unclean till the evening; and every one who touched her, or her bed, or any article of furniture on which she may have sat, or even the very things upon her bed or seat, became unclean till the evening, and the man had to bathe himself in water and wash his clothes. Lastly, if a man had intercourse with her at this time, and contracted something of her defilement, he became unclean for seven days, and also defiled any bed on which he might happen to lie (Lev. xv. 19–24).[9]

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(*b*) The case of *the woman when suffering from an issue of blood.* "If a woman have an issue of blood many days out of the time of her separation, or if it run beyond the time of her separation," then she was to be regarded as being unclean during the whole period that this issue continued, as a woman in her courses, so that like her she made every bed on which she lay, and every piece of furniture on which she sat, and every person whom she touched, unclean till the evening. If the disorder ceased, she was to allow seven days to elapse, and at the expiry of that period she would be regarded as clean; then on the eighth day she was to bring two turtle doves or two young pigeons, the one for a sin-offering and the other for a burnt-offering, that the priest might cause atonement to be made for her before Jehovah because of the defilement arising out of her issue (Lev. xv. 25–29).

(*c*) The *issue in the man.* "When any man hath a running issue out of his flesh, his issue is unclean whether his flesh run with his issue or his flesh be stopped from his issue;"[10] he remained unclean so long as the disorder lasted, and defiled not only every bed upon which he might lie, every article of furniture on which he sat, every seat in a cart or conveyance, and every kind of vessel, whether of earthenware or wood, which he touched, but also every person that either touched the man himself, or his bed, or the furniture on which he sat, or anything that had been under him, besides every one whom he happened to touch with unwashed hands, or any clean person upon whom his spittle fell, so that such persons became unclean till the evening, and had to bathe themselves in water and wash their clothes. Such inanimate objects, again, as had been defiled by contact with him had to be washed; and if they happened to be vessels made of earthenware, they had to be broken to pieces; and if of wood, they were required to be rinsed with water. After the issue was healed, he was to allow seven days to elapse for his cleansing, then he was to wash his clothes and bathe his body in running water, whereupon he was accounted clean; then, on the eighth day, he was to bring two turtle doves or young pigeons, one for a sin-offering and the other for a burnt-offering, and get the priest to make an atonement for him before Jehovah on account of his issue.

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3. The *woman at child-birth* became unclean just as at the time of her courses, and that for seven days on the occasion of the birth of a boy, and for two weeks (fourteen days) if it was a girl that was born; moreover, she had to stay at home in the blood of her purifying for thirty-three more days in the former case and sixty-six in the latter, and was debarred from touching anything holy, and from coming to the sanctuary. After this period of cleansing had elapsed, she was required to present a lamb of the first year for a burnt-offering, and a young pigeon or a turtle dove for a sin-offering; or if too poor to be able to afford these, then two turtle doves or two young pigeons, that the priest might make an atonement for her with a view to her being cleansed from her issue of blood (מְקוֹר דָּמֶיהָ, literally, from the fountain of her bleedings), Lev. xii. 2–8.

[8] Sommer (as above, p. 226 f.) justly dissents from the common view, to which Bähr (ii. p. 454 f.) among the rest still adheres, to the effect that the regulation in ver. 18: "The woman also with whom man shall lie with seed of copulation," and so on, contains an independent enactment, and that, according to that enactment, lawful copulation is declared to be defiling. For on closer examination it is seen that here the new laws are always introduced with the words: אִישׁ כִּי or אִשָּׁה כִּי (vers. 2, 16, 19, 25, comp. xii. 2, xiii. 2, 47), whereas in vv. 17 and 18, garment, leather, and woman are included in one and the same category with the objects defiled by contact with the שִׁכְבַת זֶרַע. But, at the same time, he is not justified in inferring from this that, in ver. 18, it cannot be the seed of copulation that is in view, but only the involuntary discharge of the semen which, in the first instance, defiles the man from whom it flows; then, in the next place, those articles of raiment or parts of the bed-clothes that had been touched by it; and lastly, the woman with whom he has lain. For the words: וְאִשָּׁה אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁכַּב אִישׁ אֹתָהּ שִׁכְבַת־זָרַע, cannot be rendered: "And a woman *beside* whom a man shall lie with discharge of seed," but, "And a woman with whom a man has sexual intercourse with," etc., seeing that שָׁכַב with the accusative does not mean to lie beside any one, which would be expressed by the words: שכב עִם, as in Gen. xxx. 15 f., xxxix. 7, 12, Deut. xxii. 23, etc., but to have sexual intercourse with any one, as is placed beyond a doubt by Num. v. 13 (comp. besides Gen. xxvi. 10, xxxiv. 2, xxxv. 22; 1 Sam. ii. 22, etc.). But still the *coitus*, as such, is not here included among the things that defile or that are declared to be sinful, which would be inconsistent with

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the divine institution of marriage, but the defilement lies exclusively in the emission of the semen in the act of coition; while legitimate copulation is just as far from being sinful as is the involuntary nocturnal discharge itself.—The circumstance, again, that every discharge of seed made a man unclean for one day, may serve to account for the regulation, and the practice founded upon it, as to abstaining from lawful copulation during one's preparations for any religious service, or while the service was being celebrated (Ex. xix. 15; 1 Sam. xxi. 5; 2 Sam. xi. 4), —a regulation, however, which Sommer (p. 229) is disposed to regard as inconsistent with the terms of the old law of Moses.

[9] The clause in ver. 24: וְאִם שָׁכֹב יִשְׁכַּב אִישׁ אֹתָהּ וגו׳, has been for the most part rendered thus: "And if any man lie with her, and any of her flowers touch him," and understood as referring, not to sexual intercourse, but merely to the case in which a man, in lying with a menstruous woman, happens to get some of the blood upon his person; so also Bähr, for example (ii. p. 455), and Sommer (p. 228). But this is contrary to the usage of שׁכב with an accusative. Further, exception has been taken to the view of the matter presented in the text, on the ground that, according to Lev. xx. 18, intercourse with a woman during her courses was a foul crime, and was to be punished by the man and woman being cut off from the congregation. But this objection is untenable, for the simple reason that the law in question (Lev. xx. 18) refers partly to cohabitation with the woman during the issue of blood following upon a birth, as the use of precisely the same terms: מְקוֹר דָּמֶיהָ, in xx. 18 and xii. 7 alike, may serve to show, and partly to the case where the man has sought to cohabit with his wife after the commencement and during the currency of the period of menstruation; whereas here, in xv. 24, the reference is exclusively to the case where the menstruation only comes on at the time of coition, and where the man was in consequence unintentionally defiled through his wife's sickness coming unexpectedly upon her.

[10] What kind of disorder is meant we are unable to determine; in any case it was not the running sore or syphilitic gonorrhœa, *gonorrhœa virulenta* (Michaelis, *Mos. Recht*, iv. p. 282, and Hebenstreit, *De cura sanit.*, publ. Lps. 1783, ii. 15 f.), because no case of *gonorrh. virul.* would seem to have occurred previous to the fifteenth century (comp. Trusen, as above, p. 184 f.); nor was it any mere hemorrhoidal disorder (Beyer, *De hæmorrhoidib. ex lege Mos. impuris.* 1792), because in the text no passing of blood of any kind is either mentioned or alluded to; but it must have been either *blennorrhoia urethræ*, a mucous discharge from the urethra (*urethritis*), which arises from a

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catarrhal affection of the mucous membrane of that organ (Winer, *Realwörtb.* ii. p. 374, and Trusen, p. 182), or spermatorrhœa, *fluxus seminis, gonorrhœa, i.e.* an oozing out of male seed which is of an involuntary character, and takes place without any erection, and is brought on by great weakness in the generative organs following upon immoderate sexual indulgence or long-continued practice of Onanism (Richter, *Specielle Therapie*, iv. 2, p. 551), as, on the authority of his Rabbinical instructors, Jerome has assumed.—What Sommer (p. 232 f.) advances in opposition to this view is of but trivial importance. —This, at all events, is clear from the resemblance of the law respecting the issues of the man to that respecting those of the woman, that it is the sexual discharges that are in question, although Sommer is perfectly justified in rejecting as unfounded the common opinion that בָּשָׂר is intended to denote the organ of reproduction.

§ 57. *The Object and Meaning of the Levitical Purifications.*

The whole of the regulations with respect to defilements and their corresponding purifications had reference to a definite series of bodily or physical states and conditions, all based upon one and the same principle. They were not prescriptions framed with a view to the cultivation of cleanliness, tidiness, and decency, were not intended as mere sanitary regulations for the purpose of protecting the physical life of the community from infectious diseases or from any other influence injurious to health,[1] but they were of a religious nature, having as their object the cultivation of holiness and of the spiritual life of the people. The great obstacle to holiness is sin; while that death again, which is the consequence of sin, puts an end to man's life in God. Now sin permeates the entire man; nor does it merely desecrate the soul in which it has its root, thereby separating it from the holy God, but it also defiles the body, diffusing itself over it all till it turns it into the very dust of death. It is through death and decomposition that this effect of sin upon the body is rendered manifest. The corruption of death is the stage at which the unholiness of sin takes complete possession of man's corporeal nature, for which reason it was regarded as a defilement to be carefully shunned by every Israelite, called, as he was, to sanctification of life in covenant union with God.

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That all the three kinds of defilement enumerated in the law were regarded in this light,[2] may be clearly seen from a careful consideration of the conditions and objects themselves that were looked upon as unclean and defiling, as well as of the prescriptions given for removing and getting rid of their defilement.—That it was from the standpoint just referred to that the defilement of death was regarded, is evident from the simple fact that it was not death or mere dying that was spoken of as unclean and defiling, but only the dead person (מֵת, Num. xix. 11, 13) and the dead body (Lev. xi. 24 f.). But the dead body again was defiling, because it was in the corruption that went on in it that the effects of sin were rendered fully manifest. "There are, in particular, two classes of symptoms indicating the commencement of that corruption which follows upon death, the one class showing itself on the surface, and the other in the interior of the body. In the one case, sunken coloured spots are formed upon the surface of the corpse, which gradually spread and afford clear indication that decomposition has set in; in the other, there are putrid discharges from within, owing to the soft fluid elements of the body decomposing and flowing away."[3] Something analogous to those two manifestations of the corruption of death were supposed to be seen in certain morbid conditions of the living body. The one in the coloured concave spots on the skin in certain phases of leprosy, spots which gave outward indication that the process of corruption was going on in the body; the other in certain discharges from the organs of reproduction, which had about them the specific characteristics of decomposition and putrefaction, and therefore pointed to the presence of corruption with the body. It was owing to the analogy which they thus presented to the symptoms of the corruption that follows upon death that the states of the body and the forms of disease here referred to were declared to be defiling, and were included in the same category of defilement as a human corpse itself, for they were regarded as being those bodily consequences of sin that only reached their culminating point death, as being the final extinction of all life.[4]

The fact of this connection between the defilements in question and the existence of sin will receive further con-

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firmation if we note the varying degrees of defilements which were ascribed to the different conditions and the various objects that were looked upon as defiling. Among the three classes of defilements, that of death was considered the most serious of all, while that which arose from a human corpse was of a more aggravated character than that which proceeded from a dead animal, and that because when man dies he dies on account of his own sin, whereas the animal only succumbs to death in common with all mere physical life. Accordingly he human corpse defiled persons and inanimate objects for a period of seven days, and that not merely by their actually coming into contact with it, but even by their happening to be in close proximity to it; and so intense was this kind of defilement, that it might communicate itself to other persons and objects. With regard to the carcase of an animal, again, it had the effect, as a rule, of defiling persons alone, and that only for one day; and even these it defiled only when they touched it, carried it, or ate any of it; nor did the defilement thus contracted communicate itself to others beyond themselves. The only exception to the rule according to which *inanimate objects* were not defiled by the dead body of an animal, was in the case of eight animals belonging to the smaller order, the carcases of which exerted a defiling influence upon utensils, clothes, and articles of food.[5]—Of the other two classes of defilements, leprosy had the effect of defiling merely the persons themselves who suffered, or others only if they happened to touch the leper; but it had no defiling effect upon inanimate objects. With regard to the issues, again, they defiled in part only the persons and things on which some of the discharge happened to alight; it was only the more serious forms of them that also rendered *those* persons unclean who came into contact with individuals having an issue, and with inanimate objects that had been affected by it.—The connection between the defilements in question and the fact of sin may be further seen from this, that just as sin proceeds from man, so it is man that is the first to be defiled by it; while among inanimate objects only those contract and propagate defilement which are most intimately associated with the existence of man, such as the ordinary necessaries of life and the implements of daily labour—his

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dwelling, the furniture of his house, his clothes, his covering, his bed, the things on which he sits, the oven for cooking, the crockery, the articles of diet. With these exceptions, there was no other inanimate object nor any animal or plant that contracted defilement by contact with a human corpse, or with anything else of an unclean and defiling character. Even the place on which anything unclean—say a corpse or a carcase—lay, remained unclean for man only so long as the unclean thing continued to lie upon it; as soon as it was taken away, the place *ipso facto* ceased to be unclean without any rite of purification being considered necessary.[6]

Then, lastly, it is also in view of sin and death as the source from which all defilements flow that the regulations prescribed in the law for their removal have been framed. The principal cleansing medium, as we have seen, was water, used as it was to wash away impurities from the body, and so removing the theocratic defilement that adhered to the corporeal part of man. Then it was "living, *i.e.* running, water which, in its flowing movement, represented the idea of life, while with its freshness and coolness it was calculated at the same time to give to the person bathing in it an immediate feeling of freshness and reinvigorated life."[7] In more serious cases of defilement, however, where greater potency was considered necessary, the water was rendered more efficacious by the addition of a mixture of the ashes of a sacrifice and a kind of lye-water; while in certain instances it was mixed with blood, the element of life, besides being impregnated with other substances still, that were supposed to act as antidotes to death, decomposition, and putrefaction. Not only so, but in the case of every defilement that lasted beyond seven days, a sacrifice, and that a sin-offering, had to be added to the cleansing with water, with the view of making an atonement for the defilement of the person that had been unclean, and in order that he might be restored again to the fellowship of life with the Lord and His sanctuary. The appointing of a sin-offering for such a purpose is further evidence that the defilement was regarded as arising from sin, and that in seeking to cleanse from the defilement it was, in point of fact, a question of the eradication of sin, no matter how true it might be that the defilements *per se* had not

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been caused by acts of sin, but had arisen rather from diseased states of the body, in which states there was merely a manifestation, on the corporeal side of man's nature, of the consequences of that sin which brings forth death.[8]

It was owing to this well-understood connection between defilements on the one hand, and sin and its consequence, death, on the other, that the Levitical purifications ranked side by side with the sacrifices, and formed, quite as much as these latter, an integral part of the Mosaic worship, serving, as they did, to clear away the effects and consequences of sin in man, to sanctify the whole man in body and soul, and to restore and foster that life in God in which soul and body can alone thrive. "It was thus that the law, the *παιδαγωγὸς εἰς Χριστόν*, was enabled all the better to fulfil the purpose for which it was designed of awakening and keeping alive in man the consciousness of separation from God, the consciousness of sin and guilt, seeing that it started with the assumption that human nature generally was infected, in body and soul, with sin, and that, in order to his entering into fellowship of life with Jehovah, the holy One, he needed a sanctification of his inner nature corresponding to the purification of the outer or bodily part of his constitution."[9] It is here, but above all, in the regulation which required that all the more serious or more protracted kinds of defilement should be removed by means of an atoning sacrifice, that we are also to look for the typical significance of the laws relating to purification.

[1] So Maimonides, *More Nevoch.* iii. 47; Spencer, *De legib. Hebr. rit.* i. cap. viii. 2. 2; Michaelis, *Mos. Recht*, iv. § 207 ff.; Meiners, *Gesch. der Religionen*, ii. p. 101; Hess, *Gesch. Moses*, i. p. 374 ff.; Saalschütz, *Mos. Recht*, i. p. 272, and others, with various modifications. Bähr has attempted a refutation of this view in his *Symb.* ii. p. 476 ff.

[2] Sommer, as above, p. 201 ff., was the first to bring this clearly out.

[3] Comp. Sommer, as above, p. 243 f., and also p. 203.

[4] According to Bähr, ii. p. 459 ff., the defilements arising out of the sexual relations refer in general to the act of procreation and to birth, so that all the prescriptions for Levitical purification are concerned on the one hand with procreation and birth, and on the other with death and decomposition, and move

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between the two poles of man's physical nature—birth and death, the origin and extinction of his being. But here there is a misconception as to the two poles of human existence, inasmuch as it is not the birth (the act of giving birth) and the death, but the being born and the dying that should be regarded as constituting the two extreme points in question, in which case we would have to suppose that there was a defilement attaching to the new-born human being corresponding to that which attached to the human being as having died. But the law knows nothing whatever of any defilement or of any purification in the case of the new-born child. Comp. Sommer, as above, p. 240, where this theory of extension is refuted.

Kurtz, on the other hand (*Opferc.* p. 366 f.), has espoused Bähr's view and developed it as follows: "The act of procreation itself, inasmuch as it brings into existence a new life dominated by sin and mortality, is also, to a certain extent, a kind of death for the author of this procreation himself." And "in like manner we have, in the catamenial discharge as conditioning the capacity for conception in the effects of pregnancy, which disturb in so many ways the normal state of life, and in the after-birth as the result of child-bearing, those disorganizing elements that follow as the result of the procreative act." We must therefore regard "the twofold curse of death under which the sphere of human procreation lies, and which curse manifests itself, on the one hand, in the circumstance that the authors of procreation are only able to beget a life that from the very outset is subject to death, and, on the other, in the fact that the act of procreation involves for the authors of it themselves a disturbing and disorganizing of their own life," as the characteristic feature which "makes the procreative act and the whole domain to which it belongs so analogous to death and decomposition, the highest and most perfect form of disorganization, and which stamps them, although to a less degree, with the same defiling character that attaches to death and corruption as the wages and fruit of sin." But in the eye of the law it is not the curse of death, adhering to the act of procreation in so far as "the *emissio seminis* on the part of the man is equivalent to the loss of so much of his own *vis vitalis*," that constitutes the principle on which the act in question is included under the category of defilement, for such a supposition would be inconsistent with the teaching of the Old Testament itself, which represents the power of reproduction in the light of a divine blessing (Gen. i. 28). That the principle in question is not that which the law has in view is, to say nothing of other reasons, unquestionably evident from the fact that it is not the *emissio seminis* as such that it declares to be defiling, but the

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semen effusum, inasmuch as it distinctly states that every article of clothing, and everything made of leather, upon which any of the seminal discharge alights thereby becomes unclean (Lev. xv. 17). But when Kurtz, p. 365, characterizes this view as a "perversion," he only does what might be expected from holding, as he does, the erroneous notion that the alleged analogy between the putrid discharges from corpses and the discharges from the generative organs, especially morbid issues of blood and the menses, is to be sought in the *colour* of those discharges, the dissimilarity of which in this respect he urges as an argument against the analogy in question. However, it was not upon the colour that this analogy was based, but, as Hengstenberg (*Die Offenbarung des h. Joh.* ii. 1, p. 124) correctly observes: "It is simply and solely in view of what is impure and disgusting about those states that they came to be regarded as symbolical of the sin of which they are the consequences, as may be plainly seen from such passages as Ezek. xxxvi. 17, Isa. lxiv. 5, Lam. i. 17, where those defilements are made use of as figurative expressions for sins."

[5] The reason of this is to be found in the principle on which the clean (edible) animals were distinguished from the unclean (non-edible), of which we shall have occasion to speak below in connection with the laws relating to meats. Compare, besides, on this point, Sommer, as above, p. 246 ff.

[6] Comp. Sommer, p. 204 f. "The place was unfit for use on the part of a clean person only so long as the unclean thing lay upon it. But the place itself did not become unclean, as was the case with persons and inanimate objects of domestic use which contracted defilement by contact with impurity, and remained unclean till they had been duly purified. An *open* space was in itself incapable of defilement. It was otherwise with graves which were positively unclean. But a grave is a *covered* and *enclosed* space, is the house of the dead. Now, if the dwelling of the living became defiled through the mere temporary stay of the dead man within it, then, of course, his permanent abode (the grave) would of necessity be unclean as well. But it was only man that was defiled by contact with a grave, but nothing else was so, whether animate or inanimate' (p. 205).

[7] Comp. Sommer, as above, p. 205.

[8] We must therefore take care not to identify this ceremonial defilement with mere physical uncleanness, although in this respect too, tidiness and cleanliness were among the duties inculcated upon the Israelite.

[9] Bähr, ii. p. 464 ff.

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§ 58. *The Purification of those defiled by Contact with the Dead.*

The medium appointed by the law for the purification of such as had been defiled by contact with a corpse, was a certain kind of sprinkling-water, composed of a mixture of running water and the ashes of a sin-offering specially suited to the occasion (Num. xix.). The ashes necessary for this purpose were procured in the following manner. A heifer, without blemish, and which had never been yoked, was taken and slaughtered outside the camp, Eleazar (the son and successor of the high priest) at the same time dipping his finger in the blood and sprinkling it seven times towards the sanctuary. This being done, the heifer, along with the skin, flesh, blood, and dung, was taken and burnt in the presence of the priest, who at the same time took the cedar wood, the hyssop, and the scarlet wool, and cast them into the flames. The ashes were then gathered together by a man free from defilement, and carried to a clean place outside the camp, where they were stored up for use as occasion might require. The whole of the persons who took part in this act of sacrifice —the priest and those who took charge of the burning of the victim and the collecting of the ashes—were thereby rendered unclean till the evening, so that, before they could return within the camp, they had to wash their clothes, while the two first mentioned were required, in addition to this, to bathe their bodies in water (vv. 2–10).—The way in which this purifying medium was applied was as follows. A man, who was himself free from defilement, took some of the ashes prepared as above, and put them into a vessel, and then poured some fresh running water over them. He next dipped a bunch of hyssop into the mixture, and sprinkled it upon the person to be purified, both on the third and the seventh day; and on the seventh day after the defilement had been contracted, and when atonement had thus been duly made, he (the person that was being cleansed) was further required to wash his clothes and bathe himself in water, after which he became clean on the evening of that day. In like manner the tent in which the corpse had lain, as well as the furniture that it contained, were all sprinkled with this same water, and so duly purified (vv. 12, 17–19).

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The due understanding of this ceremony will depend upon the way in which we interpret the *sacrificial rite* by means of which the ashes were obtained.[1] The slaughtering and burning of the red heifer was not merely stamped with the character of a sacrifice by the priest's sprinkling some of the blood in the direction of the sanctuary, but in vv. 9 and 17 it is even expressly spoken of under the designation of a sin-offering (חַטָּאת).[2]—For as the defilement that was to be removed had been caused by death, the fruit and ultimate consequence of sin, so again it was impossible that the purification could be effected except on the ground of a sin-offering. But inasmuch as it was not a question of making an atonement for sin as such, not a question of the reconciliation of sinners with God, but of the removal of the ban of death consequent upon sin, and of finding a cleansing substratum on which to base the removal of the defilement of death, it followed that the sin-offering in this instance must of necessity assume a form specially adapted to the occasion.[3] The particular object in view was such that it demanded the introduction into it of certain modifications with respect to the victim and the mode of dealing with it in the course of its being sacrificed. The victim required to be a פָּרָה אֲדֻמָּה, a heifer of a red (reddish brown) colour, had, like every other victim, to be sound and without blemish (תְּמִימָה אֲשֶׁר אֵין בָּהּ מוּם), and, in addition to this, it had to be one that had never as yet been yoked. This last-mentioned requirement, which was peculiar to the present occasion,[4] was evidently intended to point to the unimpaired vitality and energy of the victim. The red colour, again, would have reference to the full, fresh life of the animal, being, as it was, the colour of blood, in which the life resides,[5] while there was perhaps a similar allusion in the fact of the victim's being in this instance a female, for on other occasions it was bullocks that were prescribed as sin-offerings for the whole congregation (Lev. iv. 14).[6]—Designed, as it was, to form an antidote to death and the ban of death, it was only proper that the victim should possess in its entire *habitus*, in its colour, its condition, and its sex, the attributes of a full, fresh, and vigorous life. In virtue of its possessing those attributes, the animal was, as a sin-offering, perfectly adapted to the purpose of bearing the

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guilt of the sins of the congregation that were imputed to it, in and through the act of the laying on of the hand, as well as that of vicariously suffering death as the wages of sin. But the offering of the victim did not take place at the sanctuary, but outside the camp, and that, speaking generally, for the same reason as that for which, in the case of every sin-offering offered for the whole congregation, the flesh, along with the skin, intestines, and dung, required to be burnt outside the camp (Lev. iv. 11 f., 20 f.), viz. because, under the theocracy, there was no one who, in virtue of his own holiness, could be said to be in a position to bear and take away the sin imputed to those sin-offerings. Consequently the victim offered for sin had of necessity to be burnt by way of exhibiting the necessary fruit and consequence of sin. For, seeing that the object of the sin-offering upon the occasion here in question was not, by means of an atonement for their sins, to restore the congregation to fellowship with their God and Lord, who was present with them at the altar and in the sanctuary, but merely to furnish an antidote against the taint of death for the congregation that had been fatally polluted by their contact therewith, it was therefore necessary that the entire proceeding should take place outside the camp, *i.e.* without the pale of the theocracy.[7] It was for this reason, too, that the blood was not allowed to be put upon the horns of the altar, or sprinkled upon any of the other utensils of the sanctuary, nor the fat allowed to be burnt upon the altar. In this instance, therefore, and considering the meaning and purpose for which the sacrifice was offered, the sevenfold sprinkling of the blood could only be made in the direction of the tabernacle (אֶל־נֹכַח פְּנֵי־אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, ver. 4), and not, as in the case of the ordinary sin-offerings offered for the congregation, toward (אֶת־פְּנֵי) the veil of the holy of holies (Lev. iv. 6, 17), although this sprinkling would be performed for precisely the same reason and with the same intention as in the case of ordinary sin-offerings, for the purpose, namely, of preparing the way for the restoration of that fellowship with the Lord which had been interrupted by sin.[8]—In this instance, again, the blood that was not required for sprinkling purposes, and which on other occasions was poured at the foot of the altar, was burnt along with the body of the victim, its essence going

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to impregnate the ashes, for the procuring of which the burning in question took place. But with the view of still further increasing the efficacy of those ashes, which, being as they were the indestructible residuum that remained after the burning of the sin-offering, were appropriately employed as a powerful antidote to the corruption of death, cedar wood, hyssop, and scarlet wool were all thrown into the flames of the burning sacrifice, the first as being a symbol of the indestructible permanence of life, the second as the symbol of purification from the corruption of death, and the last as representing, by its bright red colour, the intense vigour of life. Accordingly it was presumed that the ashes that resulted from the blending of all those substances might be appropriately regarded as the very quintessence, purified and sublimated by fire, of all that is purifying and of all that is life-invigorating.[9]

After the process of burning was finished, the ashes thus obtained were gathered up and stored away in some clean place outside the camp, and as often as any one defiled by contact with the dead came to be purified, some of the ashes thus stored were taken and put into a vessel, and after some running water had been poured upon them they formed the purifying mixture with which, on the third and seventh day, those who had been defiled were sprinkled, and thereby had their defilement atoned for.[10] That this sprinkling possessed merely a symbolical significance, and was not intended to be regarded as a means of physical cleansing, is implied in the very nature of a mere act of sprinkling, by which, as matter of fact, the impurity is not actually washed away, and follows yet more plainly from the circumstance that, even after he had been sprinkled on the seventh day, the person who was being purified had further to bathe himself in water and wash his clothes, as it was only after doing this that he at length became clean on the evening of that day. Then, lastly, the symbolical character of this rite may be further inferred from the expression employed to designate the purifying medium, viz. מֵי נִדָּה, *aqua abominationis* or *impuritatis, water of impurity*, not of purifying.[11] Just as the sin-offering prescribed for the purpose of eradicating sin was called חַטָּאת, *sin*, so in like manner the sprinkling-water prescribed for the removal of the

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defilement of death was called water of impurity. This may serve to explain how it was that not only the sprinkling of the blood, the burning of the heifer, and the gathering of the ashes, but also the sprinkling, and even the mere touching of the water of purification, had the effect of rendering unclean until the evening the persons on whom those duties devolved. The reason of this, however, was not merely "because the whole rite had reference to death and fellowship with death," or "to the impurity with which, though only indirectly and in a remote way, the persons officiating came into contact,"[12] but also because the ashes, as being the residuum of the sin-offering, still retained about them something of the sin that had been imputed to that offering.[13] This view of the matter is by no means incompatible with the regulations to the effect that those ashes were to be gathered by a person who was free from defilement, that they were to be stored in a clean place outside the camp, and that the sprinkling was to be performed by one who was himself ceremonially clean.[14] For those regulations contemplated the ashes simply in the light of the sacred purpose they were designed to serve, while the defilement that adhered to them was, besides, not of a physical but of an ethical nature, resulting as it did from the sin imputed to the victim that had been burnt to produce them; and consequently as soon as the cleansing medium, into the composition of which they entered, was used in the way appointed by God, it had the effect of purifying from that defilement of death that clings to sinful men. Indeed, a certain degree of impurity adhered to sacrificial ashes generally, so that the priest, whose duty it was to remove those that had accumulated beside the altar to a clean place outside the camp, was required, before proceeding to do so, to put off his official garments and put on other clothes (Lev. vi. 4).[15]—Lastly, it was because of the connection of this entire rite with death, and the defilement to which it thus gave rise, that Aaron, the high priest himself, was not allowed to officiate in this instance, as he did on the occasion of other sin-offerings being offered on behalf of the congregation; for the high priest, considering the position he occupied and the office he held, was expected to hold aloof from everything of a defiling nature (Lev. xxi. 11). At the same time, seeing that the sacrificial

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act now under consideration was one that had reference to the entire congregation, it could not be performed by any of the ordinary priests, but only by that one among them who was to be the high priest's successor. How important altogether was the light in which the purifying of the congregation from the curse of death was regarded, may be still further seen from those clauses in the law in which it is declared that this rite was to be a perpetual ordinance, not only for the children of Israel, but likewise for the strangers living amongst them, and that the omission of it was to be regarded as a defiling of the dwelling place of Jehovah, and punishable by the offender's being cut off from the congregation (Num. xix. 10, 13, 20 f.).

[1] The Talmudic regulations with reference to this matter are to be found in the *Tract. Parah*, in the 6th part of the Mischna, while the earlier Rabbinical and Christian literature, again, is given in Lundius's *Jüd. Heiligthümer*, p. 680, and Winer's *Realwörth.* p. 504 ff. The most recent discussions are to be found in Bähr (ii. p. 493 ff.), Hengstenberg's *Die Bücher Mose's und Æg.* p. 181 ff., and Kurtz, "*Ueber die symbol. Dignität des in Num.* xix. *zur Tilgung der Todesunreinigkeit verordneten Ritus*," in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1846, p. 629 ff.; cf. also Delitzsch, "*Sprengwasser*," in Riehm's *HWB.* p. 1531 f.

[2] In spite of this, Maimonides and Lundius (p. 683) are disposed to maintain that this rite was not to be regarded in the light of a sacrifice.

[3] Kurtz, as above, p. 688, comp. *Opferc.* p. 370, correctly observes, that "there are present throughout the whole of this rite two closely related though entirely distinct elements, first the ban of death, the death-taint attaching to the *entire* congregation, and next the defilement of *individuals* arising from contact with a corpse. The former is viewed from the standpoint of *sin*, and consequently demands a sacrifice in order to its being atoned for; while the latter, again, is looked at in the light of an *ordinary defilement* for which no sacrifice is considered necessary, seeing that it may be removed by simple washing. But, inasmuch as it is a defilement of quite a special nature, deep and difficult to be got rid of, it is not enough to wash it with *ordinary* water; the cleansing efficacy of the water must be increased, the water must be rendered more potent by means of lye. As, however, the defilement that is to be washed away with the lye is a defilement arising out of that ban of death which is understood to have been so far atoned for by the sprinkling of the blood that had already taken place, it is natural to expect that the additional efficacy that was to be

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given to the water should be procured from the *victim*, the offering of which had reference to the cause of that defilement."

[4] We may mention, besides, the occasion of making atonement for a murder, the perpetrator of which happened to be unknown (Deut. xxi. 3), and that on which the Philistines sacrificed heifers to the God of Israel (1 Sam. vi. 7); as it was, in fact, the usual practice among the heathen generally to use for sacred purposes animals that had never been yoked. Comp. Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. p. 328, ed. Rosenm.

[5] So Bähr correctly, ii. p. 499; while Hengstenberg, on the other hand (*Die Büch. Moses*, p. 182), follows the Rabbinical writers in regarding the red colour as a symbol of sin, though on grounds of a somewhat untenable nature; comp. Kurtz in the *Stud. u. Krit.* 1846, p. 632 ff.

[6] Of the various conjectures that have been offered as to the reason for selecting a *heifer* for this particular sacrifice, the one that has the greatest amount of probability in its favour is the textual interpretation of Bähr (ii. p. 498), which is based on the fact that the female is, as compared with the male sex, the parturient one, *i.e.* the one that brings forth life, an interpretation which has also been endorsed by Kurtz (p. 675 ff.). As it so happens, however, that not only bullocks and he-goats, but also she-goats and she-lambs were prescribed as sin-offerings (comp. § 45), it may be questioned whether there was any inward connection at all between the sex of the victim and the significance of the sin-offering. Possibly — as Winer thinks (*Realwörtb.* ii. p. 505)—a heifer was fixed upon in preference to a bullock for this reason also, viz. to distinguish the sin-offering on this occasion, when the animal served simply as a means toward a certain specific holy end, from that on which it was offered to Jehovah in His sanctuary as the medium for obtaining deliverance from the guilt of sin.

[7] It is, of course, absurd to allege the impurity of the victim as being the reason why, in opposition to the rule, otherwise so rigidly adhered to, of sacrificing exclusively in the sanctuary, the offering in this instance was required to take place outside the camp; but it is equally absurd to try, with Bähr (ii. p. 500 f.), to found upon this an argument against the idea of vicarious substitution; while the attempt of Bähr and Kurtz to account for the exception to the rule now in question, by supposing that it was due to the circumstance of the whole rite having reference to death and fellowship with death, is utterly unsatisfactory.

[8] Bähr (p. 501) and Kurtz (*D. Mos. Opfer*, p. 314) erroneously take the sevenfold sprinkling to be, strictly speaking, the real atoning act, and that because they have failed to note the fact

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that, in the case of all other atoning sacrifices offered for the whole congregation, the blood was put upon the horns of the altar of incense, or even upon the Capporet.

[9] So also Lyrer (Herzog, xii. p. 634 f.), following Bähr (ii. p. 502 ff.) and others.—Delitzsch, on the other hand (*Comm. üb. d. Hebräer*, p. 396), regards the things thrown into the flames upon this occasion more in the light of medicaments than as symbols, "for the cedar wood was intended to impart to the ashes an odour of incorruptibility calculated to neutralize the smell of death; while the hyssop was, in ancient times, universally looked upon as a cleansing medium, and was also applied internally; the coccus juice, again, with which the fillet (? the wool) was dyed was probably conceived of as a medicament also, seeing that among the ancients it was regarded as a useful medicine in certain affections of the heart."

[10] The twofold sprinkling has analogies in Lev. xiv. 8 ff., xii. 2 ff., and is to be explained by the circumstance of the defilement being considered to be of so serious a character as to require the cleansing to be repeated oftener than once before it could be removed. The regulation requiring the sprinkling to take place on the third and seventh day is connected with the significance attached to the numbers three and seven. Comp. Bähr, ii. p. 508.

[11] The fundamental sense of נִדָּה (from נָדַד, to flee) is: "that which is to be avoided, that is, not to be touched;" comp. Saalschütz, *Mos. Recht*, i. p. 341 f.

[12] So Bähr, ii. pp. 506 and 509; and Kurtz in the *Theol. Stud.* as above, p. 695, and still further in his *Opfercult.* p. 377.

[13] As Clericus has already correctly observed: Victima polluta censebatur peccatis quorum pœnas in ejus caput recidere precatus erat sacerdos. An argument in favour of this view of the matter is furnished by the analogous case in which the man himself became unclean whose duty it was to lead away into the wilderness the he-goat that was rendered unclean in consequence of the sin that had been laid upon it, Lev. xvi. 26.

[14] As Kurtz asserts in *Theol. Stud.* p. 700, and in his *Opferc.* p. 376.

[15] This is confirmed by Jer. xxxi. 40: "The whole valley of the dead bodies, and of the ashes and so on;" and also admitted by Hengstenberg (*Christol.* ii. p. 509 of the 2nd ed.) when he observes that "thus the ashes were regarded, in contrast to the sacrifices themselves, as the gross precipitate which is found in everything that men do in their relations to God, as the symbol of that taint of sin that adheres to all, even to the best

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of their works, that mingles with the noblest and most elevated feelings of the heart."—Or, to put it more correctly, because the ashes formed the gross precipitate of that which did not ascend to God in its sublimated essence, that residuum of the sacrifices which, from its having been disorganized by sin, had not been consumed in the purifying flames of the altar.—What Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 376 f.) has advanced in reply to this is simply made up of so many inferences based upon untenable premisses.

§ 59. *The Purification of those who have recovered from Leprosy.*

The ceremonial prescribed for the purification of those who have been cured of their leprosy is based upon the idea that this malady is the bodily symbol, not so much of sin merely as of death. As being a decomposing of the juices of the body, as a putrefying and dropping off of its members, as being the presence of corruption in the living body, leprosy forms the counterpart of death, which, like this latter, expresses that dissolution and destruction of life within the domain of the body which sin gives rise to in the domain of the spirit.[1] Consequently the person affected with this disease was required to display the tokens of his intimate association with death in the kind of dress he wore, in his shaved head, and in his rent garments; and hence it was, too, that he was excluded not merely from the pale of the sanctuary, but was even debarred from all intercourse whatever with the covenant people, called as it was to be a holy nation.—Accordingly the rite of purification resolved itself into two parts.

I. The *first part* (Lev. xiv. 1–9) consisted of the ceremony of the readmission of the sufferer, who had been held as dead, into the society of the living.[2] This act was designed to render possible, and prepare the way for, his return into fellowship with the covenant people, and therefore it took place outside the camp. The priest who officiated on the occasion caused two clean and living (having a vigorous life) birds,[3] along with some cedar wood, scarlet wool, and hyssop, to be brought forward in behalf of the person to be cleansed, and then had one of the birds killed over running water (*i.e.*

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water from a spring, stream, or river) contained in an earthen vessel, *i.e.* in such a way that the blood would flow into the vessel filled with the water. Thereupon he took the other (the living) bird along with the cedar wood, the scarlet, and the hyssop, the symbol of duration of life, vigour of life, and of purity (comp. § 58), and dipped the whole together into the mixture of blood and water, then sprinkled it seven times upon the person to be purified, after which he allowed the living bird to fly away, and so return home to its nest.—The two birds were regarded as symbols of the person who had recovered from the leprosy. It would be superfluous to seek to prove, what is universally known and admitted, that the bird that was allowed to fly away was intended to symbolize the fact that he who had previously been suffering from leprosy was at liberty to return again to the society of his kinsmen and people with freshly invigorated life, being delivered from the grasp of the disease under which he had laboured. Now, if this be settled beyond question, then the other bird must have been a symbol of the leper as well, and that in respect of its being killed, just as the other was so in respect of its being allowed to fly away.[4] Although the killing of the former was not to be regarded as having, strictly speaking, a sacrificial character, because no sprinkling of the blood toward the sanctuary took place upon this occasion, still its bloody death was intended to show that the leper, in consequence of a defilement that penetrated to the very core of his life, would inevitably have succumbed to death unless the divine mercy had delivered him from its power, and restored him to the full enjoyment of a fresh and vigorous life. This effect of the divine mercy was symbolically conveyed to him in and through the act of sprinkling him with the blood of the bird that had been slain. But, because his state of subjection to death had assumed bodily shape in the defilement of leprosy, he was sprinkled, not with blood alone, but also with the running water of purification into which the blood had been allowed to flow, and so was cleansed from a defilement that would ultimately lead to death.—But while the one bird had to give up its life, had to submit to its blood being shed on behalf of the person to be purified, the other, again, in being dipped in the mixture of blood and water,

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became a symbol of that person; and in the circumstance, again, of its being set free in order that it might return to its nest and its mates, it represented the deliverance of the now restored leper from the ban of his disease, and his return to the society of his people.

This view of the meaning of the rite now under consideration—a rite the great aim of which was to set forth the freedom of full and unimpaired life, in contrast to the bondage implied in suffering from leprosy—will also serve to explain why it was that birds[5] were selected to serve as symbols of the person that was being purified, and why it was that those birds had also to be *living* ones, *i.e.* endowed with a full measure of life. It will, at the same time, account for the mixture of the blood and water,[6] and for the addition to this mixture of the cedar wood, the scarlet, and the hyssop, being, as they were, the symbols of the permanence of life, of its freshness and vigour, and of cleansing.—The sprinkling was repeated *seven* times for the purpose of stamping this act of restoration to life among the people of the covenant with the impress of a *divine* act of mercy.—This symbolical cleansing had to be followed by one of a bodily nature, consisting of the shaving off of the hair, which was peculiarly liable to be affected by the leprosy, of bathing the body in water, and of washing the clothes. The reason of this was, that as the ethical defilement that had been removed by means of the symbolical rite had, in the leprosy, assumed a bodily shape, so, after getting rid of the ethical, it was necessary to get rid of all trace of the physical defilement as well.

[1] Josephus states, *Antt.* iii. 11. 3, that: τοὺς δὲ λεπροὺς εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἐξήλασε τῆς πόλεως, μηδενὶ συνδιαιτωμένους καὶ νεκροῦ μηδὲν διαφέροντας; while Calvin observes that: pro mortuis habiti sunt, quos lepra a sacro coetu abdicabat. Spencer (*De legib. Hebr. rit.* p. 181) speaks of the leper as having been a kind of *sepulcrum ambulans*. Comp., besides, Sommer, *Theol. Abhdl.* i. p. 215; and for the earlier literature, see Winer, *Realwörtb.* i. p. 117, also Delitzsch, "*Reinigungs-opfer*," in Riehm's *HWB.* p. 1282 f.

[2] Calvin remarks, in his note on Lev. xiv. 3, that: Summa ritus quoad duas aves huc tendit, purgationem a lepra speciem quandam esse resurrectionis.

[3] With regard to the notion that those were sparrows, birds that are always chirping and chattering, and that *they* were

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specially selected because it was through leprosy that God punished evil-speaking and loquaciousness, we may fairly leave it to the credulity of the Rabbinical writers who have been ingenious enough to conceive it (comp. Bähr, ii. p. 515). The law does not specify the *kind* of birds that were to be used, but simply required that they should be clean and *living;* and seeing that on no occasion were dead animals allowed to be used for a religious rite, this latter qualification did not merely imply that they were to be alive, but that they were to be strong and vigorous.

[4] Not, of course, as though the former of these were intended as a symbol of the state of death from which the leper had just recovered, and the latter, of the state of life and freedom to which he was now being restored; against which view Bähr (p. 516) justly urges the fact that the qualification according to which they had to be clean, and in a specially lively and vigorous condition, applied to the one as much as to the other, and that such a qualification could not possibly be supposed to form an appropriate symbol of a state of impurity and death. But no less untenable is the notion of Bähr himself, and endorsed by Kurtz (*Opferc.* p. 381), to the effect that, in the case of the first-mentioned bird, there is no question of death at all, but that its blood was intended merely to represent the full, unimpaired vital force of the one that was allowed to fly away. For, in that case, the one that was killed could certainly not have been regarded as a symbol of the leper, but as having been added for the mere purpose of getting blood from it.—The two birds find something analogous to them in the two he-goats of the atonement festival, as Origen, Homil. viii. *in Levit.*, has already recognised, although this analogy would not justify us in drawing any strict comparison between them; and still less are we at liberty to regard them, with Spencer, in the light of a sacrifice offered to the *one* God of heaven *and* earth. Comp., on the other hand, Bähr, p. 519.

[5] "The power of free unimpeded movement in every direction could not have been better represented than by an animal, the distinctive characteristic of which is just the free movement in question, viz. by a bird." Bähr, p. 517.

[6] "The blood of the living (bird) was mixed, combined with the *living water*, because water was the proper cleansing medium, though in this instance the being alive and being clean on the one hand are associated together in the same way as death and being unclean on the other. The condition of the leper's being cleansed presupposed his restoration to the full enjoyment of vigorous life, and along with the latter he at the same time attained to the former." Bähr, p. 518.

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II. After this stage of the rite of purification was completed, the person who had recovered from the leprosy was at liberty to return within the camp, *i.e.* to the society of his people, but he was not allowed as yet to resume living within his tent. For, meanwhile, he was required to prepare himself, during a further period of seven days, for the *second* or ecclesiastical part of the rite, and to spend the time in question outside his tent, in order that—as was required of Israel on the occasion of its preparation for being consecrated as the people of the covenant (Ex. xix. 15; comp. 1 Sam. xxi. 5 f.)—he might not defile himself by intercourse with his wife,[7] nor interrupt the process of preparation, which was brought to a close on the eighth day by his repeating once more the act of physical cleansing, viz. the shaving off of the whole hair of the head, the beard, the eyebrows, and other parts of the body, the washing of the clothes, and the bathing of his person in water. This latter cleansing was at the same time to be regarded as the introductory act in the consecration ceremony[8] with which, on this same eighth day, his restoration to communion with the altar was finally completed (Lev. xiv. 10–20).

On the day just mentioned the priest presented him, along with the necessary offerings, before Jehovah at the door of the tabernacle, and in an act of solemn waving offered to the Lord one of the he-lambs as a trespass-offering along with a log of oil.[9] Through the waving, which did not take place in the case of ordinary trespass- and sin-offerings, the lamb and the oil were symbolically represented to the Lord; and since both of these, as being sacrifices, represented the offerer, the person who was being consecrated was, in and through those sacrifices, dedicated to the Lord, just as the Levites were on the occasion of their consecration (Num. viii. 11, 15). After this symbolical dedication, the lamb was slaughtered in the holy place, and as it was a sin-offering, it belonged to the priest as being most holy. But because this trespass-offering was offered for the purpose of restoring the man to the enjoyment of the privileges belonging to the priestly people of the covenant, and consequently possessed the character of a dedication sacrifice,[10] we accordingly find that, precisely as in the case of the consecration of the priests (comp. § 36), some of the blood

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of the victim was put upon the tip of the ear, the hand, and the foot of the person who was now being dedicated, thus communicating to the organs for hearing the word of the Lord, and to those of acting and walking according to His commandments, the virtue that resides in the atoning blood of the sacrifice. Thereupon those same organs were further anointed with oil, and that on precisely the same spots as had been touched with the blood (ver. 28), and, after the priest had sprinkled some of this oil with his finger seven times before Jehovah, the remainder was poured upon the head of the person that was being dedicated. This anointing, however, differed from that which took place at the consecration of the priests in this respect, that on that occasion it was holy anointing oil that was used, whereas in this instance it was the simple sacrificial oil that was offered by the subject of the rite himself. There was, besides, this further difference, that, in the case of the priests, the head was sprinkled with a mixture of sacrificial blood and holy anointing oil, and that at the stage in the ceremony where they were invested with the robes of office, while it was only their bodies and garments that were so sprinkled at the stage when the consecration sacrifice was offered; whereas in the present instance, on the other hand, the oil was put upon precisely the same organs, and on the same parts of them, as those upon which the blood of the victim had been put. It should further be noticed that, in the case of the consecration of the priests, there was no sprinkling of the oil before Jehovah. The points of difference just mentioned were of a highly significant character.

The priests' anointing oil, in virtue of its having been prepared in accordance with a divine prescription, was consecrated into a symbol of the spirit of God, and for this reason it did not require to be waved. The priests were anointed with this oil on their being invested with their robes of office, by way of indicating the divine spiritual energies with which they were endowed to qualify them for their official duties. With regard to the oil, on the other hand, which had been offered by the restored leper, it required, in the first instance, to be consecrated into a symbol of the spirit of God by being symbolically presented to the Lord in and

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through the twofold act of waving and sprinkling before Jehovah; and when the symbolical character in question had thus been duly stamped upon it, it was applied, in the first place, to those members of the man's body by means of which he would be called upon to perform his part in life as belonging to the priestly people of God, after which it was further poured upon his head, with the view of causing the power of the divine spirit not merely to return to the members of his body, but also to permeate his whole being.—After the person who had been cleansed from his leprosy had by means of this rite been duly readmitted into covenant with God, into the fellowship of Jehovah's grace, he had, in the next place, and "because of his defilement," to offer a she-lamb for a sin-offering, for the purpose of making atonement (ver. 19) for the sin that still continued to adhere to him, as it did to all the members of the theocracy, and which had assumed outwardly a shape in the defilement with which he had been affected; whereupon a burnt-offering and a meat-offering were presented, in and through which he was understood to be at length qualified for beginning anew the consecration of all his members to the service of the Lord, and for presenting to the Lord his God the fruits of that consecration in the shape of good works, well-pleasing in His sight.—Seeing that the person who offered the sacrifices just mentioned was supposed to have been already restored to the full possession of his theocratic rights by means of the trespass-offering which had preceded them, they in no way differed from the sin-offering, burnt-offering, and meat-offering of any other member of the theocracy, except that for the meat-offering the quantity of flour on which the oil was poured had to be larger on this occasion (three-tenths of an ephah instead of one-tenth, which latter was the quantity prescribed when the burnt-offering consisted of only one lamb, Num. xv. 11). This exception was no doubt intended to indicate that the person who by means of this rite had been delivered from the ban of death under which he lay, would be expected all the more zealously to cultivate sanctification of life by abounding in works well-pleasing to God. Hence it was that, if he happened to be too poor to be able to afford the above-mentioned sacrifices, he was at liberty to substitute a pair of pigeons instead of the

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lambs (ver. 21 f.); but the trespass-offering, inasmuch as it was understood to form an equivalent for the rights that had been forfeited in consequence of the leprosy, and which were to be restored through the medium of an atoning sacrifice such as this was, could not be modified, and therefore remained the same for rich and poor alike.

[7] Accordingly the *Chaldean* paraphrast has added, by way of explaining the requirement that he was to remain outside his tent: *Et non accedet ad latus uxoris suæ*, while the Talmudists and Rabbinical writers without exception adopt this interpretation. And so also Bähr, ii. p. 520 f., and many others. Sommer, on the other hand, as above, p. 216, is of opinion that this detail was only intended to mark the point of transition to a new stage in the process of restoring the leper: "The person who has been cured was not yet to find himself at home in the congregation, and was still to have the consciousness that something more was wanting in order to his complete restoration. As soon as this was supplied, he would then be at liberty to live within his own house as well, and be once more in the position of a citizen of the commonwealth of Israel." This very plausible interpretation, however, by no means excludes the view supported by Jewish tradition, but admits of being included under it, while the ground on which Sommer objects to that view is untenable in face of the analogy of Ex. xix. 15 and 1 Sam. xxi. 5 f., and any validity that it might be supposed to have was destroyed when we previously refuted his opinion, to the effect that the seminal discharge in the act of coition did not defile.

[8] As on the occasion of the consecration of the Levites, Num. viii. 7.

[9] Bähr (ii. p. 522) erroneously assumes that it was the ewe lamb that was taken for the trespass-offering; the law expressly specifies the כֶּבֶשׂ (vv. 12 and 24), so that the כַּבְשָׂה (ver. 10) could only have been intended for the sin-offering. This likewise disposes of Bähr's interpretation of the circumstance of its being a female. It is no less at variance with the text to affirm, as this scholar has done, that a meat-offering was added to the trespass-offering. For the meat-offering (three-tenths of an ephah of fine flour with oil poured over it, ver. 10) was conjoined with the burnt-offering (comp. ver. 20), the log of oil that accompanied the trespass-offering not being of the nature of a meat-offering, but having been intended to subserve a purpose of quite a special kind.

[10] "Because the leper was כָּמֵת, *i.e.* as if dead, as one who, to

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a certain extent, had entirely ceased to be a member of the theocracy, what was necessary in order to his having part once more in the sanctuary, was not a mere cleansing, as in other cases of defilement, but an act of consecration as well, to fit him for admission to the covenant to which he was restored again on the occasion of his cleansing." Bähr, p. 521. Comp. also Sommer, as above, p. 217.—At p. 293 we have already rejected as untenable the view of Oehler, Hofmann, Kurtz, and others, to the effect that this trespass-offering is to be regarded in the light of a *mulcta* for the theocratic duties that had been left unfulfilled during the time the man was suffering from the leprosy.

§ 60. *The Purification of those who were defiled by Sexual Discharges.*

The cleansing from defilements due to sexual discharges was, in every instance, effected by bathing the body and washing the objects defiled in running water, the purifying medium of nature's own providing. If, however, the state of defilement lasted longer than seven days, as it did in the case of those suffering from an issue of blood, or a discharge of mucus from the urethra, or in the case of a woman in child-birth, then a sin-offering and a burnt-offering had to be superadded to the washing with water, though not immediately upon the back of the bodily cleansing, but at the expiry of a certain period after the healing and the washing had taken place. In the case of those suffering from an issue of blood or a mucous discharge, this interval was fixed, as in the case of the leper after his first cleansing, at seven days; while in the case of a woman at child-birth, it was thirty-three or sixty-six days. — The defilement, from being as it was a corporeal manifestation of sin and death, had the effect of debarring those who had contracted it from communion with the sanctuary of the Lord. Accordingly, in those cases in which it lasted longer than a week, the communion thus broken off could only be restored by the offering of a sacrifice, and that a sin-offering, which had the effect of meeting and removing the ground of separation from the Lord, and also by offering a burnt-offering immediately upon the back of it, after which the interrupted communion in question was understood

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to be absolutely and finally restored.—But this circumstance of a certain period having to elapse between the cleansing with water and the restoration to fellowship of life with the Lord, is simply to be explained by the hesitation which a man naturally feels as to approaching the sanctuary of God just at once after being cleansed from his defilement. However, the fixing of the interval in question at seven, or thirty-three and sixty-six days, is due to the significance that attached to those numbers. For, even with regard to the monthly issue, it cannot be affirmed that in every instance it lasted just seven days precisely; on the contrary, it does not continue, as a rule, beyond four days.—It is true, no doubt, that the distinguishing of two degrees of defilement in the case of a woman after child-birth finds its natural explanation in the circumstance of there being two different secretions from the body (the *lochia rubra* and the *lochia alba*); at the same time there is nothing in the nature of the issues in question to warrant us in supposing that the one (the *lochia rubra*) should continue just seven days, and the other (the *lochia alba*) thirty-three days more; still less that, after the birth of a girl, they should continue twice as long (fourteen and sixty-six days) as after the birth of a boy. It is nearer the truth to suppose that thirty-three days would be fixed upon with the view of making the whole interval amount to forty days, the number that so often goes to determine the period fixed upon as that "through which certain states or conditions were understood to last that were of an oppressive, depressing nature, though at the same time connected in some way or other with the religious life."[1] This number would be the nearest possible approximation to the period during which a woman feels delicate and feeble after child-birth, inasmuch as, generally speaking, she cannot be said to have perfectly recovered, to have regained once more her normal state of health, till six weeks after her confinement. Consequently, after the birth of a boy, she was not only to be unclean for seven days, "as in the days of the defilement of her (monthly) sickness" (כִּימֵי נִדַּת דְּוֹתָהּ, Lev. xii. 2), but had to remain at home for a further period of thirty-three days "in the blood of her purifying" (דְּמֵי טָהֳרָהּ), was to "touch no hallowed thing, nor come into the sanctuary until the days of her purifying were

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fulfilled" (ver. 4). As far as her domestic relations and her ordinary social intercourse were concerned, she was considered clean after the lapse of seven days and after performing the necessary ablutions (which, being understood as matter of course, are not once mentioned), although she was not yet supposed to be in a position for taking part in sacred matters (such as going to the sanctuary, joining in the sacrificial feasts, eating the Passover lamb, etc.).—But the reason for doubling the number of days over which those two periods of defilement were to extend (fourteen and sixty-six respectively) after the birth of a girl is not to be sought in the supposed fact, "that the female sex occupied a lower stage than the male, that it was the less perfect, the weaker, nay—inasmuch as it needed a periodical cleansing, *i.e.* a periodical discharge of impure blood such as men were not subject to—the more impure sex as well," and that this was the reason why the birth of a girl had the effect of making the period of defilement so much more prolonged.[2] For it should be borne in mind that the woman after child-birth was not defiled by that to which she had given birth, but simply by the act of giving birth itself, by what took place within the system in consequence of that birth. We should rather say that the period of defilement was more prolonged in this case because the delicate state of the woman was understood to continue longer after the birth of a girl than after that of a boy, a view in support of which physiologists can point to testimonies belonging both to ancient and modern times.[3]—But in prolonging those periods to the extent deemed necessary in the case of the birth of a girl, the intervals were fixed at 2×7 and 2×33 or at $14 + 66 = 80$ days, with the view of reaching such numbers as possessed a religious significance. — The restoration of the woman to the privileges of the sanctuary was also effected, no matter what the sex of the child might be,[4] by the offering of a pigeon as a sin-offering, and likewise by the offering of a burnt-offering, for which latter, however, she was required to bring a more important victim, *i.e.* a lamb, seeing that her exclusion from the sanctuary had been of a more prolonged character. But should she happen to be poor, she was at liberty to substitute a young pigeon or a turtle dove in place of the lamb (Lev. xii. 6, 8).

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[1] Comp. Bähr (ii. p. 490), where he quotes the following as cases in point: "Accordingly, Moses was forty days and forty nights in the mount without eating bread or drinking water, Ex. xxxiv. 28, xxiv. 18; Elijah fasted forty days and forty nights, 1 Kings xix. 8; Jesus fasted forty days and forty nights in the wilderness, Matt. iv. 9; forty days was the period granted to the Ninevites within which to repent, Jonah iii. 4; the Israelites had to wander forty years in the wilderness, Num. xiv. 33; the flood continued to rise for forty days and forty nights, Gen. vii. 12; Ezekiel had to bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days, Ezek. iv. 6. This frequent occurrence of the forty is, at the same time, an evidence that the numbers 33 and 66 could not have been contemplated merely as such, but only in the connection with 7 and 14 to 40 and 80."

[2] So Bähr, as above.

[3] So Sommer, as above, p. 236 f., while referring to the passages which, in his note on Lev. xii. 5, Grotius cites from Hippocrates (*De naturâ pueri, Opp.* ed. Kühn, 1825, i. p. 393), and to Aristotle (*Histor. anim.* vi. 22, vii. 3), and also to Burdach (*Physiologie*, iii. p. 34), who correctly observes that "it will have been noticed that though the birth of a girl may be easier than that of a boy, it is, however, somewhat *more tedious*."

[4] Thus are we to understand the words: לְזָכָר אוֹ לִנְקֵבָה, in the regulation in question (Lev. xii. 6), and not with the Vulgate: "pro filio sive pro filia," following which Luther, de Wette, and others render them by: "for the son or for the daughter." For "it was neither for her son nor her daughter that the woman had to observe the days of her purification, but for herself, because she herself was unclean; nor, again, was it for her child that she had to offer sacrifice" (Sommer, p. 238), but solely for herself, for the purpose of making atonement on account of her defilement, and that because that defilement was a bodily manifestation of sin (comp. the expression: כִּפֶּר עָלֶיהָ, ver. 8).

SECOND CHAPTER.

THE PURIFICATIONS IN THE CASE OF A WOMAN SUSPECTED OF ADULTERY AND OF A PERSON SUSPECTED OF MURDER.

§ 61. *The Jealousy-Offering.*

If a married man had a wanton wife, and had reason to suspect her of having committed adultery without her having been caught in the act, or without his having witnesses to

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prove her supposed guilt, then he was required to bring her to the priest, along with an offering consisting of a tenth of an ephah of barley flour, without any oil and incense being added. The priest then placed her before Jehovah, poured some holy water into an earthen vessel, and put some of the dust from the floor of the dwelling place (the tabernacle) among the water. He then uncovered her head, put the meat-offering into her hand, and holding the water in his own hand he repeated to her a form of solemn adjuration, to the effect that if she were innocent this water would do her no harm; but if, on the other hand, she were guilty, it would prove a curse to her, making her thigh to rot and her belly to swell, in which oath the woman acquiesced by saying, Amen! Amen! The priest then wrote this oath in a סֵפֶר, *i.e.* upon a sheet of writing material, and then blotted it out again with the water of cursing, whereupon he took the meat-offering out of the woman's hand, waved it at the altar before Jehovah, and burnt a handful as a memorial upon the altar. After all this was done he gave the woman the water to drink (Num. v. 11–31).[1]

This rite was of the nature of an ordeal, a proceeding by means of which the verdict as to the guilt or innocence of the woman suspected of adultery was left to God the Supreme and Omniscient, the holy and righteous Judge. It comprised two elements intimately connected with each other, though requiring to be carefully distinguished from one another and treated as being of equal importance; first, the presenting of the meat-offering as a symbol of the woman's walk and conversation, and then the drinking of the bitter water as a symbol of the punishment that would overtake her in case she were really guilty.

With regard to the *sacrifice*, although it was the husband that provided it and brought it along with his wife to the priest, it was not to be regarded as his but his wife's, as offered by him on her account;[2] while it is to be observed that it was a meat-offering too (מִנְחָה, vv. 15, 18, 25), and with the view of symbolizing the woman's actions or the fruit of her life and conduct before God.—But as she was reputed to be wanton, and was charged through the jealousy of her husband with having had carnal intercourse with another man,

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her meat-offering could not be regarded as possessing the character of the ordinary meat-offerings which were understood to be symbolical of good works, the fruit of sanctification. Hence it was that instead of fine flour, the choicest of agricultural products, it was *barley* flour that was used on this occasion, that being the most inferior species of grain, and such as was eaten and converted into bread only by poor persons who could afford nothing better.[3] Further, the usual oil and incense were omitted; for, in any case, the behaviour of the woman was such that her actions could not be said to have been inspired by the spirit of God, which was represented by the oil, nor performed in a spirit of prayer, which was symbolized by the incense. However, if it so happened that the charge of adultery could not be substantiated, she was at liberty to present herself before God and get the meat-offering that was in her hands waved before Him by the priest, *i.e.* in and through this symbolical act she could submit her actions or her life and conduct to God, and by burning the usual portion of the offering by way of *ascara* (memorial), could cause them to ascend to the Lord in the purifying flames of divine holiness and love.—For neither in this case could the burning of the sacrifice be regarded and conceived of[4] merely as "an appeal to Jehovah, the searcher of hearts, in order that, in the event of her innocence, He might show Himself the avenger of innocence, and, in the event of her guilt, the chastiser of crime." But it retained, in this instance too, precisely the same significance as all the other meat-offerings, *i.e.* the presenting and handing over of the fruits of one's life to the Lord, although here it was not offered for the purpose of deriving from such presentation fresh power in order to increased sanctification, but, as being a sacrifice occasioned by the husband's jealousy (מִנְחַת קְנָאוֹת), and a memorial offering in which the alleged offence was brought to remembrance (מִנְחַת זִכָּרוֹן מַזְכֶּרֶת עָוֹן, ver. 15), its sole object being to recall the woman's misconduct to the notice of God. Hence it was that this sacrifice was accompanied by a symbolical rite which, while fully calculated to lead the woman to confess the offence with which she was charged, was meant to be for her a significant embodiment of the punishment due to such offence. The priest prepared a curse-producing bitter water[5] by

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taking some water from the laver for cleansing and sanctifying the priests that stood in the court, and putting it into an earthen vessel, and mixing it with some dust from the floor of the dwelling place (the tabernacle), and then symbolically impregnating it with the oath which the suspected woman had taken as an oath of purgation. By mixing all these together he made a drink which, while it had the effect of bringing a curse upon one that was guilty and deserving of punishment, did no harm whatever to one that was innocent.—After the woman, still protesting her innocence, had, on the one hand, by her oath invoked the punishment of the holy and righteous God upon her head (if guilty, that is), and, on the other, by presenting her meat-offering had committed the fruits of her life and conduct to that fire of divine love which consumes everything that is ungodly, the water was given her to drink to see what effect it would produce upon her body. By drinking this water, the curse that awaited the woman if guilty "entered into her bowels, to make her belly to swell and her thigh to rot" (ver. 22) "for woe" (לְמָרִים, literally, *for the bitterness*, vv. 24, 27).—But the punishment, which was expressed in the oath and was exhibited to the woman in a very literal way in the water she was called upon to drink,[6] corresponded in every respect to the nature of her offence. It had reference to those organs of the body in and by which she had sinned.[7] The belly (the womb) and the thighs being the organs of child-bearing, the swelling of the former and the rotting of the latter was just a way of describing with fearful impressiveness the curse of barrenness, than which nothing in the estimation of an Israelitish woman could be more ignominious.—This punishment, through which the woman, if guilty of having committed an act of unfaithfulness toward her husband, and of having defiled herself with the seed of another, "was to become a curse among her people" (ver. 27), was a punishment inflicted upon her by the curse that had been committed to writing and mixed with the water given her to drink. Consequently, this water of the curse was not to be regarded merely as "a symbol and pledge of the punishment with which Jehovah, the holy One, would visit the guilty woman immediately after the solemn adjuration with its accompanying sacrifice had taken place."[8] It

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would be nearer the truth to say that in and through the water mixed with dust from the floor the curse was conveyed to the woman in a real and, so to speak, sacramental way, so that this water was no longer ordinary water, water which "in itself is entirely devoid of efficacy," but, in virtue of God's word and power, which had been symbolically infused into it through the washing into it of the written curse, it acquired a supernatural efficacy, which, though not, of course, to be conceived of as "magical," was nevertheless of such a spiritually miraculous character that it had the effect of inflicting serious damage upon the body of the guilty, while causing no harm whatever to the innocent.

There is an allusion to the supersensible but real connection between the curse and the water in the circumstance of mixing the latter with dust. In adding dust from the ground, that dust which points to the curse of sin, seeing that, founding upon Gen. iii. 14, the eating of dust is regarded by the Old Testament as a symbol of whatever is deserving of being cursed, a symbol of the deepest shame and degradation (Micah vii. 17; Isa. xlix. 23; Ps. lxxii. 9), there was thereby put into the water that which formed the material substratum for the supersensible addition of the curse. At the same time, the fact must not be overlooked that the water was called holy water (ver. 17), because a sanctifying divine efficacy had been imparted to it through its having been drawn from the laver used for the sanctifying of the priests; and, further, that the dust was taken from the floor of the dwelling place (the tabernacle), the place where God manifested Himself to His people as present and working amongst them, a circumstance that contributed still more to the sanctifying power of the water.—Then, in the last place, the uncovering of the woman's head by the priest pointed, no less than the curse-water, to a presumption of guilt. "For the covering of the head was a sign of female shame and modesty; it was only women of a suspicious character that appeared in public with the head unveiled. Therefore, by removing the covering of the head the priest at the same time took away what constituted the sign of modesty and of matrimonial fidelity."[9] And there would seem to be something worthy of note even in the circumstance that the water

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of the curse was not given to the woman to drink till after the sacrifice had been offered. Through the medium of the offering she was understood to have committed her life and conduct, all her actions, to the holy fire of the mighty and the jealous God; in the water of the curse, on the other hand, there was handed to her by the priest, acting on behalf of God, that drink which was to bring the fruit of those actions to bear upon her body, and in this way reveal the fact either of her guilt or her innocence.

[1] There is a very detailed comment on these regulations in the treatise called the *Mischna Sotah*, which Wagenseil has edited, with learned notes, under the title, *Sota h. e. liber Mischnicus de uxore adulterii suspecta*, Altdorf 1674. Comp., besides, Selden, *De uxore Hebr.* iii. 15, and Oehler, article "*Eiferopfer*," in Herzog, xix. p. 472 ff.; and, for the rest of the literature, Bähr, *Symb.* ii. pp. 418, 441 ff., and Winer, *Realwörtb.* i. p. 300. Cf. also Delitzsch, "*Eiferopfer*," in Riehm's *HWB.* p. 348 f.

[2] The law also applies to it, ver. 15, the designation: קָרְבָּנָהּ עָלֶיהָ, "her korban for her," so that we are not at liberty to understand it, with Bähr (p. 446), as being the husband's sacrifice, and say that "it was not *she* who brought the sacrifice." For although the husband might be said to have brought it, in so far as, according to Israelitish arrangements, the wife had no independent property of her own, and could only get from her husband whatever spontaneous or statutory offering she might bring to the Lord; yet the fact of its being put into her hands, and then taken out of her hands by the priest and offered to God, constituted it *her* sacrifice, the husband having merely brought it to the place where it was to be offered, and that not on his own account, but for her alone.

[3] "The use of barley instead of wheat pointed to the low repute of the woman on whom such suspicion had lighted; for throughout the whole of antiquity this species of grain, as being *vile hordeum* (Phædr. ii. 8. 9), was regarded as far inferior to wheat." Winer, *Realwörtb.* i. pp. 307 and 410 f.

[4] So Kurtz, *D. mos. Opfer*, p. 328, and again in his *Opferc.* p. 395, where, however, the nature of the *sacrifice* is too much overlooked, and, what is more, the priest is incorrectly regarded as being "the advocate and representative of the man whose wife was supposed to be guilty." This view is not less erroneous than that of Bähr, who thinks that the reason why there was a sacrifice at all was simply because, according to the

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principles of Mosaism, every one who sought to approach Jehovah for the purpose of entering into any relation whatever with Him as the holy One, was required to bring a Korban (p. 445).

[5] הַמָּרִרִים הַמְאָרְרִים, ver. 18; τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ ἐλεγμοῦ τὸ ἐπικαταρώμενον τοῦτο, Septuagint; aquæ amarissimæ, in quibus cum exsecratione maledicta congessit, Vulgate.

[6] Comp. Ps. cix. 18: "As he clothed himself with cursing as with his garment, so let it come into his bowels like water," where there is an allusion, in the second clause of the verse, to the water of the curse which was given to the woman to drink who was suspected of adultery, "by way of symbolizing the deeply penetrating power of the curse."—"The metaphor here is founded upon the symbol there. The *water* in the bowels is in sharp contrast to the *garment* with which the surface of the body is covered." Hengstenberg's note on this Psalm.

[7] Theodoret already observes (*Quæst. in Num.*): δι' ὧν γὰρ ἡ ἁμαρτία, διὰ τούτων ἡ τιμωρία. The Jews have spun out into an endless series of minute details that *jus talionis* upon which this rite was based. Bähr (p. 443) has also aptly observed in this connection, that "the adulteress had received the seed of another than her husband, and for that she was doomed to lose the power of receiving seed and of bearing children altogether, which was regarded as all the more terrible that the Israelitish woman looked upon it as the greatest honour and the very height of felicity to be able to bring forth children."

[8] So Bähr, p. 447, and Kurtz, *Opfers.* p. 397 f.—Oehler observes, on the other hand, as above, p. 474, that "according to the simple meaning of the words of ver. 27, the water is to be regarded not merely as a symbol and pledge, but as the actual vehicle of the divine curse. Keil has only stated what is perfectly correct when he observes that this water acquired a supernatural efficacy in virtue of God's word and power," and so on.

[9] Comp. Bähr, ii. p. 444.

§ 62. *Purification of a Community from the Suspicion of Blood-guiltiness.*

If any one happened to be found lying in a field where he had been slain, and nobody could tell who the murderer was, then the elders and judges of the land were to ascertain by actual measurement what town stood nearest to the spot where the murdered person was found, in order that this town

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might be called upon to take steps to have the community absolved from the imputation of blood-guiltiness. With a view to this, the elders of the town that had been found to lie nearest had to take a heifer that had never been wrought with or been in yoke, and lead it down to a running brook in a valley which had been neither ploughed nor sown, and there behead it at the side of the brook in presence of the priests, the sons of Levi. They were then to wash their hands over the slaughtered heifer, at the same time repeating the following words: "Our hands have not shed this blood, neither have our eyes seen it (*i.e.* we do not know who has perpetrated this crime); be merciful, O Lord, unto Thy people Israel whom Thou hast redeemed, and lay not innocent blood unto Thy people of Israel's charge,"—and thus the guilt of innocent blood was put away from among them (Deut. xxi. 1–9).[1]

Although the purpose of this rite was to make atonement for shed blood (for an act of blood-guiltiness), yet it is not to be regarded in the light of an atoning sacrifice, while in ver. 9 again it is spoken of merely as "a putting away of the guilt of innocent blood from the midst of Israel."—There are two things that show conclusively that this rite cannot be understood as a sacrifice; first, the mode of putting the heifer to death,—for it was not slaughtered in the technical sense (שָׁחַט, which is the expression invariably used in connection with a sacrifice), but its neck was broken (עָרַף),[2]—and then the omission of the sprinkling of the blood. And hence the priests could not be said to have taken part in the rite in their official capacity, but were present simply as those "whom God hath chosen to minister unto Him, and to bless in the name of the Lord, and by whose word shall every controversy and stroke be tried" (ver. 5), *i.e.* as the authorized exponents and representatives of the divine law.—The mode of dealing with the heifer proceeded on the assumption that the perpetrator of the murder could not be discovered.[3] Hence the guilt of shedding innocent blood fell upon the community; while the town that stood nearest to the scene of the murder had to make atonement for the blood-guiltiness, and obtain absolution from the charge through its representatives, the elders of the town, and that by means of a symbolical infliction of the punishment due to the crime of murder.[4] As

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in the case of the atoning sacrifice, so in this instance too, the animal had to take the place of the man and undergo the punishment which he himself should have suffered.[5] As we see, the kind of animal required to be selected for this purpose was a heifer which had never been in the yoke, *i.e.* one which was still in a state of full and unimpaired vigour (comp. § 58). In the act of putting the animal to death, the punishment due to the murder was supposed to be inflicted upon it. This, however, did not take place upon the spot where the murdered person was found, but beside a stream in some wild and uncultivated valley, which was constantly running, and that for two reasons; first, in order that the water might suck in and float away the blood, and then that none of it that might happen to be absorbed by the earth and mixed up with the soil should be liable at any future time to be turned up again by the plough in the process of tilling the land.[6]

By this proceeding, satisfaction was understood to be rendered to the law, in so far as the author of the murder was not to be discovered;[7] still the people of the town upon whom the suspicion of this crime had fallen were not thereby purged as yet from such suspicion. In order to this, the elders had further to wash their hands over the butchered heifer. The object and meaning of a symbol of the act of purging from guilt so natural as this was, and which because it was so natural is met with among various other nations besides the Jews,[8] are plainly enough intimated in the words of the protest that accompanied the ceremony in question: "Our hands have not shed this blood," and so on, *i.e.* we have had no share in the murder that has been committed. This solemn declaration of innocence concluded with a supplication, to the effect that God would be merciful unto His people whom He had redeemed, and that He would not lay the shedding of innocent blood in their midst, *i.e.* that He would not charge them with it, and call upon them to bear the punishment of it. With this the act of purgation was brought to a close, and the blood-guiltiness erased from their midst.

[1] The Rabbinical comments on this rite are to be found in Selden, *De Synedriis*, lib. iii. cap. vii., and Wagenseil's notes on *Sota*, cap. ix., while the substance of them is also given in

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Lundius, *Jüd. Heiligthümer*, B. iii. c. lix. Comp., besides, Bähr, *Symb.* ii. pp. 419 f., 447 ff.

[2] This distinction has also been preserved by the Septuagint, which invariably renders שָׁחַט by *σφάγειν*, and the עָרַף, in this instance, by *πυροκοπεῖν*; while the Rabbinical writers press this distinction so far as to assert that the שחט in the case of the heifer now in question would have been as illegal as the ערף would have been in the case of the red heifer of Num. xix. See the passages quoted in Bähr, p. 449.

[3] Josephus (*Antt.* iv. 8. 16), in recording this enactment, expressly adds: *ζητείτωσαν μὲν αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς, μήνυτρα προθέμενοι.*

[4] It was as a rule the duty of the elders of the town to bring the murderer to punishment, to hand him over to the avenger of blood. Deut. xix. 12.

[5] "Because the murderer himself was not forthcoming, but was unknown, this poor heifer had to take his place and bear the punishment due to him." Lundius, as above, p. 720. Similarly, the majority of the earlier divines as well as those of modern times. Bähr, on the other hand (p. 450), is disposed to see nothing more in the putting of the heifer to death than an outward declaration and recognition of the punishable nature of the crime, and then goes on to argue at some length (p. 451 ff.) against Grotius, de Wette, Scholl, and Tholuck, who have pointed to this rite as furnishing evidence in favour of the imputation of sin and of the vicarious nature of the death of the victim in the case of an atoning sacrifice. But his whole reasoning can be said to apply only to the view of de Wette (*De morte J. Chr. expiat.* p. 17), Scholl (*Studien der Würtemb. Geistlichk.* v. 2, p. 160 f.), and Tholuck (*Hebräerbrief*, Beil. 2, p. 78 of the 2nd ed.,—this passage being omitted in the 3rd ed.), all of whom regard the butchered heifer in the light of a sacrifice, and assume that the washing of the hands was a symbol of the transference of sin; but not to that of Grotius, *De satisf.* c. x.: In expiatione mortem pecudis morti hominis subrogari, id ipsum manifestum quoque est ex Deut. xxi. For, according to what is here said, and which Bähr also quotes, Grotius refers to the rite, now in question, merely as an analogy calculated to prove that in the atoning sacrifice the death of the victim was substituted for the death of the person offering it, *i.e.* the animal vicariously suffered death instead of the man himself, and that in this way the man's guilt was transferred to the victim, and that the latter bore the punishment of it. In the case of the atoning sacrifices this transference was symbolized by the laying on of the hand. Of course in the rite now under consideration there was not and could not be any

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laying on of the hand, because the guilty individual, whose duty it would have been to lay his guilt upon the victim, had in this instance not been discovered, while it could hardly have been expected that the elders of the town should have transferred to the heifer a guilt which *they* had not incurred. In the present case—a case, too, in which, be it remembered, no sacrifice was offered—there was, instead of the laying on of the hand, a washing of the hands over the butchered heifer, which act, however, was not to be regarded as one in which the guilt was supposed to be transferred to the animal, but was intended to represent a diverting or turning away of the suspicion of blood-guiltiness that rested upon the town from the inhabitants of the place to the animal which had already been punished for the guilt of the crime in question, in order that the town might thereby be purged and freed from all suspicion of guilt.

[6] Luther renders the words נַחַל אֵיתָן, ver. 4: "Kiesichter Grund, 'gravelly ground,'" following the Septuagint: φάραγξ τραχεῖα, and the Vulgate: Vallis aspera et saxosa. But the majority of the Rabbinical writers agree with Kimchi in explaining נַחַל to mean: Locus depressus, per quem fluunt aquæ, —while אֵיתָן means *perennis*,—therefore: a valley with a stream in which the water constantly flowed, which did not dry up in the hot season of the year.—Bähr, p. 419, concurs with Rosenmüller in understanding the further specification: "which has been neither tilled nor sown," as intended merely to impart greater force and precision to אֵיתָן. Clearly unsatisfactory.—But the observation of Schultz (*D. Deut. erkl.* p. 541), to the effect that "the valley required to be one that had been neither tilled nor sown, in order that its undisturbed sacredness or purity might combine with the water in helping to uphold the purity of the elders," is totally irrelevant.

[7] According to the teaching of the Rabbinical writers, the murderer, if subsequently discovered, was punished with death all the same. Comp. Lundius, p. 721.

[8] Comp. Matt. xxvii. 24; and, for the very prevalent use of this symbol, see Bynæus, *De morte Jesu Chr.* iii. p. 199, and Elsner, *Observatt. sacr.* i. p. 122 f.

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THIRD SECTION.

THE REMAINING RELIGIOUS AND SACRED RITES.

FIRST CHAPTER.

RITES OF A SACRAMENTAL NATURE.

§ 63. *Circumcision.*

After God had made a covenant with Abraham (Gen. xv.), He commanded that, as a token of the covenant to be established with him and his posterity, every male among them should be circumcised; and not merely the children and the bodily descendants of Abraham, but likewise those that were born in his house, and the slaves that had been purchased, and that, in the case of children, on the eighth day after they were born, the threat being added that every one that was uncircumcised would be cut off from his people as one that had broken the covenant (Gen. xvii. 10–14).[1]

The act of circumcision (מוּלָה, *περιτομή, circumcisio*) was performed upon the flesh of the foreskin (עָרְלָה), and consisted in dexterously cutting away the foreskin from the nut of the penis, the *glans penis*, by means of a sharp knife.[2] As a rule, this act was performed by the father of the family, although it might be done by any Israelite, and, if necessary, by women as well, but never by a Gentile.[3] In later times the naming of the child accompanied the act of circumcision (Luke i. 59, ii. 21).

[1] For the numerous works specially devoted to the treatment of this subject, consult Winer's *Realwörtb.* i. p. 156 f. The vexed question as to the origin of circumcision can only be said to possess a historico-antiquarian, but not a theological interest. This has been frequently overlooked, for the older divines (comp. Deyling, ii. p. 66 ff.; Buddæus, *Hist. eccl. V. T.* i. p. 221 ff.), as a rule, have recourse to arguments of a dogmatic, rather than of a historical kind, to prove that this rite was first introduced by Abraham in obedience to divine authority, and that from the descendants of Abraham it spread to the Gentiles; while others, again, with similar dogmatic preconceptions,

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though only of a negative kind, have taken their stand upon a statement of Herodotus (ii. 104), to the effect that the Palestinian Syrians borrowed the practice of circumcision from the Egyptians, and have contended that Abraham or Moses must therefore have borrowed this practice from the Egyptians also. But it will not do to lay much stress upon the statement in question, for it is clear that Herodotus is only reporting what had been told him by the Egyptian priests. Besides, when he says that the Colchians, Egyptians, and Ethiopians practised circumcision, the statement is certainly not correct so far as the Egyptians generally are concerned. For the truth is, in Egypt it was only the priests (according to Origen, *Homil.* v. *in Jerem.*) and those who wanted to be initiated into the sacred mysteries (according to Clemens Alex., *Strom.* i. p. 130, ed. Potter) that submitted to be circumcised. It may therefore be quite possible that, during his sojourn in Egypt, Abraham had become acquainted with circumcision as a thing already practised there, and that thus the way was prepared for the introduction of it, in compliance with a divine command, among his own people; although it is equally possible that the Egyptian priests may have borrowed it from Abraham, or rather from Joseph. But it may also be that neither of those alternatives is correct. For this practice has been found to exist, not only among Egyptians, Ethiopians, and Colchians (as mentioned by Herodotus), among the Æthiopic Christians, as well as the Congo negroes, and many savage tribes in the heart of Africa, its origin amongst which Ewald (*Alterthümer*, p. 121 f.) is disposed to trace to the Nile country, but also among the American Indian tribes, *e.g.* the Salivas, the Guamos, the Otamocos on the Orinoco, among the inhabitants of Yucatan and those of Mexico, and, further, among the Fiji Islanders (comp. Delitzsch, *Comm. u. d. Gen.* p. 326 of the 4th ed., and Peschel, *Völkerkunde*, p. 23 f.), where the idea of any connection with the Abrahamic or ancient Egyptian practice is totally out of the question. But if circumcision has arisen among different peoples in a way entirely independent of each other, then its origin can only be traced to a consciousness of the impurity of human nature; a consciousness which, as heathen idolatry became more and more corrupt, would so degenerate as to find expression partly in self-emasculation, as in the worship of Chronos and Cybele, and partly in a widely prevalent but morally absurd phallus-worship.

[3] In more primitive times the use of the knives was supplied by sharp stones (צֹר, Ex. iv. 25, or חַרְבוֹת צֻרִים, *i.e.* knives of stone, not sharp knives, Josh. v. 2. Comp. the author's comm. on this passage); at a later period steel knives were used for the purpose in question. Comp. Buxtorf, *Synagoga jud.* p. 91 f.,

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3rd ed.; and for the literature of this subject, Winer's *Realwörtb.* i. p. 157.—The mode of proceeding is described as follows in Othonis, *Lex. Rabbin.* p. 133: Circumcisor imponit mentulæ bacillum, et præputium quantum potest super illum extendit, deinde forcipe partem ejus prehendit et novacula præcidit. Deinde duobis pollicis unguibus præputium arripit et devolvit, donec glans tota denudatur; quo facto sanguinem exsugit, donec advenerit sanguis e remotioribus corporis partibus, vulnerique emplastrum imponit. A full account of the way in which modern Jews perform this operation will be found in Trusen's *Die Sitten, Gebr. u. Krankh. der alten Hebr.* p. 127 ff.

[3] Comp. Buxtorf, *Synag. jud.* p. 90. In later times the operation was, in the case of adults, performed also by a doctor. Comp. Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 2. 4. The Jews of the present day entrust this duty to a mohel (מוהל) appointed specially for the purpose, and understood to be thoroughly acquainted with the process.

The significance which circumcision possessed and was meant to possess for the Israelites did not lie in its alleged, though somewhat questionable, medical advantages, such as keeping the genital organ perfectly clean, or at all events making it easier to do so, and thereby warding off from it numerous diseases, or even in the idea that it served to increase its generative powers.[4] We must rather look for it in the religious idea, that the corruption of sin that has found its way into human nature has concentrated itself in the generative organ, seeing that it usually manifests itself with peculiar energy in the sexual life, and consequently, that in order to the sanctification of the life there must be, above all things, a purifying or sanctifying of the organ by which life is reproduced, and that this was duly symbolized by the removal of the foreskin under which impurities were so apt to gather and lodge.[5] Now, as Abraham had been called to be the founder of that family which God intended to train up as a holy nation, and as the covenant made with the patriarch with this object in view contemplated the sanctification, and through this the salvation of all the families of the earth, God imposed upon him, before the promised seed was begotten, the rite of circumcision as a token of the covenant made with him and his posterity, and the realization of which was destined to begin with the birth of Isaac. Thus, at the very outset, circumcision, affording as it did the earliest opportunity

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of yielding compliance with the words: "I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be thou perfect" (תָּמִים, Gen. xvii. 1), was not only made the indispensable condition of admission to a place among the people of the covenant, but the circumcision in the flesh was, at the same time, elevated into a symbol of the circumcision, *i.e.* the purifying of the heart (Deut. x. 16, xxx. 6; comp. Lev. xxvi. 41; Jer. iv. 4, ix. 25; Ezek. xliv. 7). For the title to belong to the covenant people did not consist merely in one's having entered into outward union with that people, but, at the same time and chiefly, in one's entering spiritually into fellowship of life with the covenant God in the sanctifying of the life, so as to devote it to the holy God. As, on the one hand, circumcision had the effect of securing and confirming for every one who was subjected to it all the rights of the covenant, participation in all its material and spiritual benefits; so, on the other hand, did it bind him to fulfil in turn all his covenant obligations, "to love the Lord his God with all his heart and with all his soul" (Deut. xxx. 6).—Yet it had nothing of a peculiarly sacramental character about it; it was not of the nature of a vehicle through which to convey the sanctifying influences of God to His people, but simply a token of admission to fellowship with the God of salvation, a token of one's being admitted into a covenant of grace with the Lord. Nor did it serve as such merely for strangers, those who, while not descended from Abraham, were yet incorporated through circumcision with the congregation of Israel, but also for the bodily descendants of the patriarch as well, who, by their being circumcised on the eighth day after their birth, were understood to be incorporated with the covenant people, the Church of the Lord, and duly installed in the possession and enjoyment of their covenant rights.—Lastly, the fixing of the eighth day after birth as that on which circumcision was to take place, does not admit of being explained by the fact that, as the mother was regarded as being unclean during the seven days that followed the birth, so also was the child, seeing that it was nursed on its mother's blood,[6] for there is no trace whatever of any such notion as this in the whole of the Old Testament. We should rather say that this legal prescription as to the eighth day is founded on the significance that

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attached to the number seven, in so far as the seven denotes a cycle of periods of time of longer or shorter duration, with which one section of time is brought to a close in order to begin another anew. "Accordingly the first seven days had completely to elapse before the child could be circumcised. With the circumcision the child entered into the covenant with God, into a new world, into the kingdom of God; a new æon of its life began. The eighth day with which the new cycle of time commences, was that on which the child was also to be introduced into the new sphere of life."[7]

[7] This theory, which emanated from Philo, *De circumcis.* (*Opp.* ii. p. 210), and in support of which it is usual, though scarcely justifiable, to quote the statement of Herodotus (ii. 37), to the effect that the Egyptian priests τὰ αἰδοῖα περιτάμνονται καθαριότητος εἵνεκεν, is one that was readily embraced, in the century when utilitarian theories were so much in vogue, by Michaelis (*Mos. R.* iv. § 186) and others, but it may now be regarded as rather antiquated, although it has been revived by Saalschütz (*Mos. Recht*, i. p. 246 ff.). It is based upon pure conjectures, which have no claim whatever to the validity of well-ascertained facts. In answer to the view that circumcision has the effect of preventing certain diseases, Trusen, as above, p. 118, likewise observes: "That those other nations among whom the practice is unknown are certainly not found to be liable to greater dangers (than those who practise it) owing to local diseases of the foreskin; for such accidental and at all times mere sporadic transient affections of the foreskin as *gonorrhœa spuria, phimosis, paraphimosis*, and snapping of the cord, did not need to be averted by preventive means of such universal application as to necessitate their adoption by whole nations; means, moreover, that can only have been adopted in view of the tropical nature of the climate, while they were far from being without danger as regarded their effects upon the tender organism of the child." With regard to the view that circumcision was practised for the purpose of promoting fecundity, Michaelis considers that he is justified in looking upon it as without foundation.—It is no doubt motives of a religious nature that have led to its introduction among all the nations where it has been met with; at the same time it is not to be regarded, with Meiners, Böttiger, v. Bohlen, Tuch, Vatke, Movers, and others, as a relic of ancient sacrifice, "the consecrating of a part of the body for the whole," or even "as an act of emasculation in honour of the Deity, that has gradually dwindled down to a mere cutting away of the foreskin," this latter being still the view adopted

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by Trusen, p. 121. As little are we at liberty to understand it, with Ewald (*Alterth.* p. 124), in the light of "a sacrifice of one's own body and blood offered to some god," and say with regard to it, that "when it first originated, it may have been looked upon as constituting a substitute for more serious sacrifices of the body and the life."—For other hypotheses of a totally untenable character, see Trusen, p. 118 ff., and Friedreich, *Zur Bibel. Naturhistor., anthropol. und medicin. Fragmente* (Nürnb. 1848), ii. p. 104 ff.

[5] "The physical and ethical grounds of circumcision run into each other. That it should be regarded as essential to bodily purity finds its ultimate explanation in the fact that the physical life of man culminates in the sexual element of it, and consequently that it attains to its completely carnalized condition in that which constitutes the flesh κατ' ἐξοχ. (בָּשָׂר, Lev. xv. 2; Ezek. xvi. 20), that *there* lies the focus of moral and physical pollution alike, that *there* sin holds most undisputed sway, and is ever being transmitted anew from parents to children" (Delitzsch, *Genes.* p. 327).—On the other hand, Kurtz's view (*Gesch. d. A. B.* i. p. 185 [E. tr. vol. i. p. 231 ff.]), to the effect that it is in the notion that circumcision was favourable to fecundity that we must look for the ground on which the symbolism of this rite is based, is unsupported by Scripture and experience alike.

[6] As Delitzsch supposes, as above, p. 327.

[7] Comp. Kurtz, *Gesch. d. A. B.* i. p. 186. It might have been further added that it was not till the eighth day that the child was supposed to possess an independent existence—a view which at all events seems to have determined the age at which young victims might be offered in sacrifice (Ex. xxii. 30; Lev. xxii. 27). Comp. above, § 41.

Circumcision, being as it was so essential and important a condition of participation in the covenant, was always rigidly observed by the descendants of Abraham,[8] and especially by the Israelites even at so early a period as during their sojourn in Egypt, for the whole of the people that left that country under the leadership of Moses would seem to have been previously circumcised (Josh. v. 5).[9] It was only in the wilderness, when the people had been rejected by the Lord on account of their repeated acts of apostasy, and the adults had all been condemned to perish there, that, in addition to this temporary suspension of the covenant, the sign of the covenant itself was also withheld from the generation that

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was born during this interval. But as soon as the promised land was reached, and before the operations for conquering the country had commenced, all who had been born in the course of the period in question were duly circumcised at Gilgal (Josh. v. 2 ff.).—After this there was not a single instance, so far as we know, in which this rite was omitted, not even in those times when idolatry was most rampant. This may be inferred, not only from the fact that the prophets nowhere complain of any such violation of the covenant, but also from the circumstance that at an early period it came to be regarded as a disgrace in Israel for any one not to be circumcised (comp. Judg. xiv. 3, xv. 18; 1 Sam. xiv. 6, xvii. 26 and 36).—It was not till the time of the Maccabees that, with a view to escape the persecutions and the ridicule of the Gentiles (especially in the baths and the gymnasia), unfaithful Jews began to try to conceal the fact that they had been circumcised by having recourse to surgical operations and other artificial means of drawing the foreskin down again over the gland of the penis (*ποιεῖν ἑαυτοῖς ἀκροβυστίας*, 1 Macc. i. 15; in the Talmud: משך ערלה, or *ἐπισπᾶσθαι*, 1 Cor. viii. 18); not only so, but they also neglected to get their children circumcised. However, its universal observance was resumed again under Mattathias (1 Macc. ii. 46); while devoted Jews, both then and at a later period, clung to it amid all their persecutions, and found ways and means of evading the prohibitions that from time to time were issued against it.[10] At a subsequent period the Jews in their turn compelled their vanquished enemies to submit to be circumcised, as was done, for example, in the case of the Idumæans and Ituræans.[11]

[8] The Ishmaelites and the other tribes of Arabia likewise derived it from Abraham; while Mohammedans, again, have derived it from the same source through Mahommed.

[9] It is totally at variance with the facts of history to allege, as, after Ewald, Winer (*Realwörtb.* i. p. 158) and Vaihinger (Herzog, ii. p. 110) have done, that the introduction of the rite as a thing of general observance took place under Joshua at the time the Israelitish commonwealth was founded. It is no less inaccurate to suppose, as Winer has done, that Moses was the first to raise it to the position of a legal institution, with a politico-religious significance. On the contrary, Moses assumes

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it to have been already so much of an established institution in his time, that he mentions it only in an incidental way in connection with the regulation regarding the impurity of women after child-birth (Lev. xii. 3).

[10] For further information on this point, consult Winer, where the copious literature of this subject is also given, and Lübkert in the *Stud. u. Krit.* 1835, p. 657 ff.

[11] Comp. Josephus, *Antt.* xiii. 9. 1 and 11. 3, xv. 7. 9; *De bell. jud.* iv. 5. 5.

§ 64. *Anointing as an Act of Consecration.*

The practice which widely obtained in ancient times of dedicating certain objects, especially stones, to a holy purpose and use by anointing them with oil,[1] is met with in sacred history as early as the time of Jacob, who set up stones upon the spots where God happened to appear to him, to serve as memorials of those divine manifestations, and then set them apart as sanctuaries by solemnly anointing them with oil. This practice received the sanction of the Mosaic law in so far as, in obedience to divine authority, it prescribed that the tabernacle with all its utensils should be consecrated by being anointed with holy oil (comp. § 22). Besides this, the only other instances of anointing were in the case of persons consecrated to certain special offices under the theocracy. Above all, in the case of the ordination of the priests (comp. § 36); but kings, if called to reign by the direct authority of God, were also anointed by the hands of the prophets, as were Saul (1 Sam. ix. 16, x. 1), David (1 Sam. xvi. 12), and Jehu in the kingdom of Israel (2 Kings ix. 1 ff.); or otherwise by the high priest, as were Solomon and Jehoash (1 Kings i. 34, 39; 2 Kings xi. 12). Not only so, but the anointing was regarded as a condition so indispensable to ascending the throne and assuming the reins of government, that, after Saul's death, David was further anointed twice over, the first time as king over the house of Judah (2 Sam. ii. 4), and the second time as king over the other tribes of Israel (2 Sam. v. 3, comp. xii. 7); while Absalom also caused himself to be anointed as a necessary preliminary toward usurping the throne (2 Sam. xix. 11). There is mention, besides, of the anointing of Jehoahaz, whom the people set upon the throne after the

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death of Josiah (2 Kings xxiii. 30).[2]—In those cases where the anointing was performed by the priests, there can be no doubt that what was used for this purpose was the holy anointing oil prescribed in Ex. xxx. 22 ff., as is evident from the fact that, at the anointing of Solomon, Zadok took the horn with the oil out of the tent (erected on Mount Zion for the reception of the ark), 1 Kings i. 39. But we may assume that, even on occasions when the prophets officiated, they would not make use of ordinary oil, but of the usual holy anointing oil, as may be seen from the words of the Psalmist: "I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him" (Ps. lxxxix. 20),—words which cannot be supposed to refer to the anointing at Hebron, but only to the occasion on which David was anointed by Samuel (1 Sam. xvi. 12 f.).[3]—Then, in the last place, we have the prophets, who were also anointed—Elisha, for example, by Elijah (1 Kings xix. 16),—though it would hardly be correct to say that all of them were so, but only those who were called to the prophetic office by other prophets.[4] Nor can there be a doubt that, on those occasions too, it must have been the holy anointing oil that was used.—That it was this holy oil that was regularly made use of for the purpose of anointing we feel bound to assume, were it for no other reason than the significance which attached to this observance in all the instances above referred to. For it constituted the material medium through which those gifts of the divine spirit were imparted to the persons anointed that were necessary to qualify them for the office to which they had been called, and hence it was that, after their anointing, the spirit of God descended upon Saul and David (1 Sam. x. 1, 6, 10, xvi. 13). For a purpose like this it would scarcely have been decorous to have used the mere common oil employed to adorn the person for the common affairs of life. But the only holy anointing oil of which the Old Testament makes any express mention is that which was prescribed for the anointing of the priests.—It should be further noted that it was only those three classes of officials through whom, under the theocracy, the divine mercies and blessings were to be communicated to the people, that were consecrated to their respective functions by means of anointing.

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[1] Comp. Bellermann, *Ueber die alte Sitte Steine zu salben und deren Ursprung*, Erf. 1793, and Grimmel, *De lapidum cultu*, p. 12 ff.

[2] When we are told in those passages that they (the people acting through their representatives, the elders) anointed David and Jehoahaz, this is not to be understood, with Winer (*Realwörtb.* ii. 607), as implying that it was the elders themselves who performed the anointing, but—much in the same way as it is said that Solomon built the temple—that they made arrangements for the anointing, and then got it actually performed by those legally qualified to do so, viz. the high priests.—Because it so happens that the kings here mentioned are the only ones whose anointing is expressly recorded, and because, unlike Saul and David, they had no natural or civil claim to the throne, nor, like Solomon, Joash, and Jehoahaz, had any undisputed hereditary right of succession, the Rabbinical writers and the majority of Christian divines have assumed that these are the only instances in which anointing took place; while those who succeeded in virtue of their regular theocratic title to do so, ascended the throne without any anointing at all. But such an inference as this must on no account be based upon a mere *argumentum e silentio*. With regard to the kings in question, the reason why, even in their case, there was any special mention made of their *anointing* in the narrative of the circumstances under which they came to obtain the reins of government and ascended the throne, was simply because it was on those occasions that it happened to possess a special theocratic significance; whereas, in the case of the other kings who succeeded to the throne in a regular manner, there was no call to make any express mention of the circumstance of their being anointed.

[3] The Rabbinical writers and, following them, the majority of the older divines are inclined to doubt whether the holy anointing oil was made use of on the occasions here referred to; comp. Lundius, *Jüd. Heiligth.* p. 154 ff., and Carpzov, *Apparat.* p. 56 ff. But the arguments on which their doubts are based (see, for example, Marck, as quoted by Carpzov, p. 57) are so feeble as not to be worth mentioning. Again, with regard to the prohibition against pouring any of the holy anointing oil עַל בְּשַׂר אָדָם, against attempts to make anything like an imitation of it, and against giving any of it to a stranger (Ex. xxx. 32 f.), and upon which Scholz (*H. Alterth.* ii. 308) is still disposed to lay peculiar stress, there can be no doubt that it was directed solely against imitating it and using it for such a secular purpose as the ordinary anointing of the body, but did not exclude the use of it in consecrating to their offices in the

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theocracy, the royal and prophetic functionaries whom God had appointed to fill them. But that Samuel might have had or could have procured holy anointing oil for those occasions on which he was commissioned by God to perform the act of anointing, who, with any show of reason at all, could venture to deny? Much sooner might we think of questioning this in the case of Elijah in the kingdom of Israel. For if we but consider that, in accordance with the divine purpose, it was intended that, in the ten tribes, the true prophets were to supply the place and make up for the absence of the Levitical priesthood among them, and that, in many respects, it was in such a capacity that Elijah and Elisha in particular were called upon to act, we shall feel sufficiently warranted in assuming that, for those occasions on which they were commanded by God to perform the ceremony in question, they would take care to provide themselves with holy anointing oil.

[4] For the prophets did not constitute a hereditary order, nor did their functions rank with those of the regular and authorized officials in the theocracy, and hence it was that the majority of the prophets were called and commissioned directly by God.

§ 65. *The Baptism of Proselytes.*

There were at all times strangers (גֵּרִים, *προσήλυτοι*, 1 Chron. xxii. 2, Septuagint) living in Israel to whom the Mosaic Law, it is true, did not concede the rights of citizenship, but to whom, however, it granted toleration and several privileges of one kind and another, in return for which it obliged them to comply with certain of the religious enactments prescribed to Israel. They were required, for example, not to blaspheme the name of Jehovah (Lev. xxiv. 16), not to indulge in idolatrous worship (Lev. xx. 2), not to commit acts of indecency (Lev. xviii. 26), not to do any work on the Sabbath (Ex. xx. 10), not to eat leavened bread during the celebration of the Passover (Ex. xii. 19), not to eat blood or the flesh of animals that had died a natural death or had been torn by beasts (Lev. xvii. 10, 15). But should such strangers be desirous of enjoying the full rights of citizenship, the law sanctioned their admission among the people of the Lord on condition that they became circumcised.[1] By accepting circumcision they bound themselves to observe the whole law, in return for which they were allowed to participate to

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the full in the privileges and blessings of the people of the covenant (Rom. ix. 4), with whom, in virtue of this rite, they were now incorporated (Ex. xii. 48). The number of those strangers was considerably augmented when Israel developed into a powerful State and began to have political relations and commercial intercourse with neighbouring nations. Still more did their numbers increase at a later period, when Israel lost its independence and was subjected to the sway of heathen powers, whose yoke it was never able to shake off except for a somewhat limited period. In these circumstances, in which there was no longer any bond of national unity, the religious fellowship which the law, with its ceremonial regulations, had created among the people, developed into an inward bond of union that every day became only more firmly knit. And although, at the same time, the religious life itself came more and more to be imprisoned within the stiff formalism of Pharisaic piety and sanctimony, still the influence of the spirit that had animated the law and the prophets retained a power by which it not only successfully resisted the corrupting effects of the religions of an effete heathenism that were falling to pieces from natural decay, but also attracted to it a considerable number of Gentiles, and disposed them to seek in the religion of the Jews that salvation which their own gods and idolatrous worships were incapable of offering them.—Hence it is that, in our Lord's time, we find such large numbers of *σεβόμενοι* or *φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν* (Acts x. 2, xiii. 50, xvi. 14, etc.), of *προσήλυτοι* (Acts ii. 10, vi. 5) or *σεβόμενοι προσήλυτοι* (Acts xiii. 43), the majority of whom, it is true, only went the length of simply joining in the worship of the synagogues, although many of them also formally adopted the Mosaic religion by becoming circumcised.[2]

Consequently the Talmud and the Rabbinical writers distinguish two classes of proselytes: *proselytes of the gate* (גרי השער), *i.e.* Gentile strangers who, while living among the Israelites or Jews, had bound themselves to observe the seven Noachian precepts; and the *proselytes of righteousness* (גרי הצדק), or proselytes of the covenant (גרי הברית), who, having been formally admitted to participation in the theocratic covenant, professed their adherence to all the doctrines and

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precepts of the Mosaic law.[3] According to the teaching of the Rabbinical writers, there were three things that were required of males before they could be so admitted: circumcision (מילה), baptism (טבילה), and a sacrifice (קרבן); while the qualification for females was baptism and sacrifice.[4] — The first of those requirements is based upon the law itself, in so far as it concedes to strangers the right to take part in the Passover festival only on condition of their being circumcised (Ex. xii. 48). As for the offering of the sacrifice, again, the necessity for which the Rabbinical writers have founded upon Ex. xxiv. 5, it was regarded as a matter of course, seeing that even a native Israelite could not appear before Jehovah without a sacrifice. But neither do the Old and New Testament Scriptures, nor Josephus, Philo, and the older Targumists, know anything whatever of baptism[5] as an independent and indispensable qualification for admission to Judaism. The first time that it is plainly mentioned is in the Babylonian *Gemara*;[6] while it would seem not to have been introduced as a rite of initiation properly so called, and in lieu of the sacrifice that had now been discontinued, till after the entire cessation of the sacrificial worship in the third century. It was probably an adaptation of an act of ablution or bathing with water, such as we may well suppose would in every age accompany the circumcising of a Gentile, seeing that the Mosaic law forbade the unclean to take part in any religious observance till they had been cleansed by bathing in water (Ex. xix. 10). But if the baptism of proselytes was of so late an origin, then it is of course impossible that the baptism of John and Christian baptism can have been borrowed from it. It is much more likely that the Jews, after the discontinuance of the temple worship, may have taken occasion from Christian baptism to transform the customary bathing with water that was required in order to purification, and which the person to be purified had to perform himself, into a formal act of baptism having the character of a rite of initiation.[7]

[1] With the exception of the Ammonites and Moabites, who were to be strictly excluded down to the tenth generation and beyond it, and of the Edomites, whose sons were not to be

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admitted into communion with the people of Jehovah till the third generation (Deut. xxiv. 4, 9).

[3] Suidas says: προσήλυτοι· οἱ ἐξ ἐθνῶν προσελ.ηλυθότες καὶ κατὰ τοὺς θείους πολιτευόμενοι νόμους.—Comp. Leyrer, "*Proselyten*," in Herzog, xii. 237–50,—an article that, as regards facts and the history and literature of the subject, is of a very exhaustive and instructive kind; and Schürer, *Neutestl. Zeitgesch.* pp. 644–47 [E. Tr. vol. ii. Division ii. pp. 291, 316, 321].

[3] Comp. Selden, *De jure nat. et gent. Hebr.* i. 10; Deyling, *Observatt. sac.* ii. p. 352 ff., and Carpzov, *Apparat.* p. 39 ff., as well as the works quoted there. With regard to the seven Noachian precepts, Maimonides in his comment. on *Hilcoth Melach.* ix. 1, expresses himself as follows: Sex res sunt primo homini mandatæ: על עבודה זרה de cultu extraneo (*i.e.* prohibition against idolatry, according to Lev. xx. 2); על ברכת השם de benedictione nominis (*i.e.* against blaspheming the name of God, according to Lev. xxiv. 16); על שפיכות דמים de effusione sanguinis (*i.e.* against the shedding of man's blood, according to Gen. ix. 6); על גלוי עריות de revelatione turpitudinum (*i.e.* against adultery, incest, and fornication, according to Lev. xviii. 26); על גזל de rapina; על הדינים de judiciis (*i.e.* de regimine forensi et obedientia civili). Addita est Noacho אבר מן החי de membro vivi, eo quod dicitur Gen. ix. 4: attamen carnem cum anima ipsius, quæ est sanguis ejus, non comedetis. Ita septem præcepta evaserunt.

[4] So Maimonides in comment. on *Hilcoth Isschure Bia*, xiii. 1 ff.: Tribus rebus intrarunt in fœdus Israelitæ: circumcisione, baptismo, et oblatione. Circumcisionis usus erat in Ægypto juxta Ex. xii. 48: nemo incircumcisus de eo comedet. . . . Baptismus autem erat in deserto ante legis dationem, de quo dicitur Ex. xix. 10: sanctificabis eos hodie et cras et lavent vestimenta sua. Sacrificium denique huc ex Ex. xxiv. 5 spectat: et misit (Moses) juvenes de filiis Israel, qui obtulerunt holocausta, etc. Atque simili modo per omnia postmodum secula, quoties Gentilis voluerit intrare in fœdus illud atque sub alis majestatis divinæ colligi jugumque legis in se suscipere necesse fuit, ut ei adhiberetur circumcisio et baptismus et sparsio sanguinis sacrificii.

[5] The principal works of modern times relating to this vexed and much debated question are: E. G. Bengel, *Ueb. d. Alter der jüd. Proselytentaufe*, Tüb. 1814, and Schneckenburger, *Ueb. d. Alter der jüd. Proselytentaufe*, Berl. 1828. The question is also treated in a compressed and concise form by Winer (*Realwörtb.* i. 283), Leyrer (as above, p. 242 ff.), and von Zezschwitz (*System der christl. Katechetik*, i. p. 216 ff.). What is said in Mischna *Pesach.* viii. 8, and *Edaj.* v. 2, about the con-

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troversy between the school of Schammai and that of Hillel, as to whether a proselyte that had been circumcised on the evening before the Passover was or was not at liberty to take part in that festival so early as on the following evening—a point which the school of Schammai has decided, in so far as it said: "He bathes himself (טובל) and eats his Passover in the evening," cannot be said to furnish any argument in favour of the early introduction of the baptism of proselytes. For the notice in question has reference exclusively to the ablutions to be performed by a proselyte who had been circumcised on the 14th of Nisan, and had been thereby defiled, and disqualified for taking part in the Passover feast. Schürer is mistaken in supposing that the baptism of a proselyte was neither more nor less than just a simple plunge bath.

[6] The principal passages are to be found in *Babyl. Jebamoth*, fol. 45–48, and *Cerituth*, cap. ii. fol. 9, in the original, and at p. 136 ff. of Schneckenburger's German translation.—Comp. also Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebr.*, note on Matt. iii. 6.

[7] For further corroboration of this, see the work of Schneckenburger mentioned above.

SECOND CHAPTER.

RITES OF A SACRIFICIAL NATURE.

§ 66. *Vows.*

Vows, like sacrifices, date back to primitive times, and are met with among all the nations of antiquity. They were made for the most part in circumstances of danger, and in connection with enterprises of doubtful issue (Gen. xxviii. 20 ff.; Judg. xi. 30; Jonah i. 16), though sometimes, too, for the purpose of obtaining some much longed-for blessing (1 Sam. i. 11; 2 Sam. xv. 8).—The Mosaic Law left the making of the vow to the individual's own free will, but, when once made, it insisted on its being fulfilled without delay, pronouncing the failure to do so to be a sin which God would not forget to punish (Deut. xxiii. 22 ff.). It distinguished between *dedication vows* (נֶדֶר), *i.e.* promises to devote one's person or a portion of one's possessions to God in return for His help, on the fulfilment of one's wishes on

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some particular occasion, and *vows of abstinence* (אִסָּר, lit. a binding with fetters), *i.e.* sworn promises to abstain by way of honouring God from some enjoyment or some act otherwise lawful (Num. xxx. 3). It likewise specified minutely the things that might be vowed, and the form in which the vow was to be made.—The objects that could be given to the Lord as a votive offering were a man's own person, or his wife, his child, his slaves, his cattle (clean and unclean), his houses and lands, but not the first-born, nor anything that was deemed to be already holy to the Lord, or which the law already required to be given to Him (Lev. xxvii. 26 ff.), nor the proceeds of prostitution.[1] Everything that formed the object of a vow assumed thereby the character of *Korban*,[2] of a sacrificial offering dedicated to the Lord. But it was only such animals as were suited for sacrifice that were to be actually offered upon the altar (as a votive offering, comp. § 49); all the other objects might be redeemed or ransomed on payment of a sum fixed by law. The sum to be paid for males, between twenty and sixty years of age, was fifty sacred shekels, for females of a similar age, thirty shekels; for boys between five and twenty years of age, twenty shekels, and for girls of a corresponding age, ten shekels; for infants of the male sex from one month to five years old, five shekels, for those of the female sex, three; and, lastly, for old men over sixty years of age, fifteen, and for old women, ten shekels. But if any one happened to be so poor as not to be able to afford this amount, then the priest was to value him according to what he was worth, and allow him to be ransomed for the sum thus fixed upon (Lev. xxvii. 2–8).[3] With regard to the other objects devoted to the Lord as votive offerings,—viz. houses, lands, and such cattle as were unclean or unsuitable for sacrifice,—they were valued by the priest, and might be ransomed back by the person who made the vow on payment of the sum thus fixed upon, with the addition of a fifth more. If, however, he did not feel disposed to ransom them, then they were sold at the price determined as above, and the proceeds given to the sanctuary. In estimating, however, the value of the lands or fields, it was only the produce of them down till the year of jubilee that was taken into account in making the calculation; because, at that date, the fields

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were free again, and with one exception (comp. § 80) reverted to their original owners or their lawful heirs (Lev. xxvii. 11–25).

With regard to the form of the vow, the law recognises as legitimate vows only those that have been spontaneously expressed in words, and have been vowed by independent persons living in independent circumstances.[4] If dependent persons, such as daughters and married women living with their parents,[5] uttered a vow either of a positive or negative kind, then it was competent for the father in the former case, and for the husband in the latter, to declare such vow invalid, and so to cancel it. However, the father or the husband, as the case might be, was required to do this as soon as he became aware of the vow having been made; but should he allow day after day to pass without challenging it, he was held as thereby confirming the validity of the vow. But if, notwithstanding this, he should afterwards think proper to annul it, then he had to pay the penalty due by those who made vows and failed to fulfil them. Only widows and women who had been divorced were at liberty to make valid vows on their own responsibility; but if a woman had uttered her vow in the hearing of her husband previous to her divorcement, and he at the time declared it to be invalid, then her vow still continued to be so after her divorcement as well. If, on the other hand, it turned out that her husband did not utter a word of protest, then she would be expected to fulfil the vow just as though she had not been divorced (Num. xxx. 2–17).

The significance of vows lies in their spontaneous character, or in the fact that they were not required by law, but were expressions of piety springing out of the spontaneous impulses of the heart, by means of which the man bore practical testimony to the truth that he not only owed his life and all the blessings he enjoyed to the Lord, but also that, for his life and all its activities, he needed the divine protection, assistance, and blessing. Nor did the vow ever lose this character of pure genuine religious devotion till it degenerated into a Pharisaic *opus operatum*. Such an abuse the law itself has endeavoured by anticipation to prevent, in so far as it not only declares the unscrupulous non-fulfilment of a vow once

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uttered, to be a sin, but also teaches at the same time that: "If thou shalt forbear to vow, it shall be no sin in thee" (Deut. xxiii. 22). Not only so, but it endeavoured to check everything like a hypocritical attempt to compound with God, by forbidding a different animal ever to be substituted for the one that was originally promised as a sacrifice, the penalty for such an offence being that both the animal promised and the one attempted to be substituted for it were to be holy to the Lord (Lev. xxvii. 9, 10).[6]

[1] Known in Deut. xxiii. 19 under the designation אֶתְנַן זוֹנָה and מְחִיר כֶּלֶב, literally, *pretium canis*. Baumgarten still agrees with Josephus, Bochart, Spencer, and others in understanding this expression in its literal sense of: the price of a dog that is disposed of by sale; but this is as incompatible with Israelitish habits as it is with the context, where fornication in the case of both sexes alike (קְדֵשָׁה and קָדֵשׁ) is forbidden (ver. 18). Consequently מחיר כלב can only be understood as meaning *mercedem scorti virilis;* comp. Clericus, Gesenius (*Thes.* ii. 685), and Winer, *Realwörtb.* i. p. 406.

[2] Comp. Mark vii. 11: Κορβᾶν (ὅ ἐστι δῶρον) ὃ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῇς; Matt. xv. 5, and Lightfoot's note on this passage in the *Horæ Hebr.*

[3] The law prescribes the payment of a ransom in every case where a human being is the subject of the vow; the vow, in such a case, consisting in the individual's being regarded as belonging to the Lord, and valued at a fixed amount (בְּעֶרְכְּךָ נְפָשׁוֹת לַיהוָה, Lev. xxvii. 2). Consequently Michaelis (*Mos. R.* ii. p. 371) and Winer (*Realwörtb.* i. p. 406) are in error when affirming, as they do, that persons who pledged themselves to Jehovah thereby became the property of the temple (*mancipia sacra*). Even Samuel did not become *mancipium sacrum* in consequence of his mother's vow, but was only dedicated to the Lord to be a Nazarite all the days of his life (1 Sam. i. 11).

[4] "That which is gone out of thy lips thou shalt keep and perform; even a *freewill*-offering, according as thou hast vowed unto the Lord thy God, which thou hast promised with thy mouth." Deut. xxiii. 23, comp. Num. xxx. 3 ff.

[5] The law makes no mention of the sons in this connection; but it was understood, as a matter of course, that so long as they were under age and dependent, they were not at liberty to make a vow of any kind without the father's consent, and that even after they had become independent, they were as little at liberty to withhold from their parents what was necessary for

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their maintenance under the pretext of having devoted it to the Lord, however much the prescriptions of the Pharisees may have encouraged such unfilial conduct, as may be seen from Matt. xv. 5 and Mark vii. 11.

[6] And accordingly, in Prov. xx. 25, it is also declared to be a snare for a man, "to devour that which is holy, and, after the vows, to make inquiry;" while Malachi (i. 4) censures the iniquitous practice of selecting inferior animals for vows and sacrifices. — The Talmudic prescriptions are to be found in Mischna, *Nedarim*, ed. Surenhus. iii. p. 104 ff., and Othonis, *Lex. Rabb. phil.* p. 778 ff.

§ 67. *The Nazarite's Vow.*

A foremost place among the vows belongs to that of the *Nazarite* (נָזִיר נָזַר), the origin of which, however, is involved in obscurity.[1] This vow consisted in an Israelite's (man or woman) so consecrating his life to God for a fixed period,[2] that he undertook to abstain during the whole of that time from wine and strong drink, from vinegar of wine and vinegar of strong drink, from every liquor made of grapes, from eating fresh or dried grapes (raisins), and from everything that was made from the vine generally, even from the kernels to the husks. Besides this, he promised not to shave his head, but to allow his hair to grow long as being holy to the Lord, and finally, to avoid all contact with the dead, even in the case of his own parents or brothers and sisters, so long as the period of his consecration lasted.—But if in the course of that period he should be defiled through a case of death unexpectedly occurring beside him, he was required to shave off the hair of his head on the legal day, *i.e.* the seventh of his purification, to get the priest to make atonement for him by means of a sin-offering and a burnt-offering of two turtle doves or young pigeons, and to commence the time of his consecration anew, as the portion of it that had already elapsed became cancelled by the defilement.[3]—After the expiry of the time of consecration he had to get released from his vow by presenting an offering consisting of a ewe lamb of a year old for a sin-offering, and a he-lamb of a year old for a burnt-offering, and of a release-offering consisting of a ram with a basket of unleavened bread, cakes of fine flour kneaded with oil, and

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flat cakes with oil poured over them, along with a meat-offering and a drink-offering. While this sacrifice was being offered he was required to shave off his hair before the door of the sanctuary, and to throw it into the altar fire, and when all was concluded he was at liberty again to indulge in the use of wine. If, besides himself, he happened to have dedicated some part of his possessions, then he was required to redeem those vows too on the same occasion (Num. vi. 1–21).

[1] The prescriptions in Num. vi. presuppose this to be an institution already in existence, and merely regulate it in such a way as to bring it into harmony with the scope of the whole Mosaic legislation. There are no conclusive analogies tending to show that it was derived from a heathen source, especially from Egypt, as Spencer and others assert; comp. Winer, *Realwörth.* ii. 140, and Bähr, *Symb.* ii. p. 439 f. Ewald's reflections on the matter, again (*Gesch. d. v. Isr.* ii. p. 560 ff.), are ingenious conjectures destitute of any historical basis or value. Cf. besides, Riehm, "Nasiräer," in *HWB.* p. 1059 ff.

[2] The Mosaic law speaks only of the duration of the period of consecration as being limited to a particular time, and that a time which was probably fixed by the author of the vow himself. Yet in the history of Israel instances also occur of children being dedicated by their parents, before they were born, to be Nazarites all the days of their life, as was the case with Samson, for example (Judg. xiii. 5, 14), and Samuel (1 Sam. i. 11), and John the Baptist (Luke i. 15); and, if we are to believe Hegesippus as quoted by Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* ii. 23. 3, also with James, bishop of Jerusalem. For other instances mentioned in the Talmud, comp. Winer, *Realwörtb.* ii. p. 138 f. With regard to these latter, the Talmudists are not agreed as to whether they abstained from cutting their hair altogether during the whole of their life, or whether, as Michaelis (*Orient. Bibl.* vi. p. 239), following the Mischna, also thinks, they docked it somewhat from time to time, though only to such an extent that it always remained long. Comp. on the subject generally, Lundius, *Jüd. Heiligth.* B. iii. c. liii.—The vow of the Apostle Paul seems also to have been a kind of Nazarite vow, in fulfilment of which he shaved his head at Cenchrea (Acts xviii. 18), although according to the law (Num. vi. 9, 18) and the Talmudic regulations the shaving of the head was required to be done beside the temple. Comp. Winer, *Realwörtb.* ii. p. 140 f., and de Wette's note on Acts xviii. 18.—Again, the practice, mentioned in Acts xxi. 23 ff., of wealthy persons defraying the cost of the necessary sacrifices for Nazarites who had fulfilled their vows

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(Joseph. *Antiq.* xix. 6. 1; Mischna, *Nasir* ii. 5. 6), and thereby participating in the vow, is of later origin.

[3] With regard to Samson, the Mischna, *Nas.* i., holds that he did not so defile himself by contact with the dead as to make it necessary for him to offer a trespass-offering; because while, according to Judg. xiv. 8 f., xiv. 15, he touched the dead, there is, at the same time, no mention of any purification sacrifice having been offered.

With regard to the meaning of this vow, the very name *Nazir* (נזיר), the *consecrated one* (from נזר, to be separated),[4] implies that it was an act of consecrating oneself to Jehovah (הַזִּיר לַיהוָה, Num. vi. 2), and that negatively, "by renouncing the world with its pleasures, that are so unfavourable to sanctification, and all its defiling influences;"[5] and positively, by giving a certain complexion to the life as being specially devoted to the Lord. Consequently, the *Nasir* was קָדֹשׁ לַיהוָה (ver. 8). This renunciation, however, was not similar in character to monkish seasons of fasting and mortification, was not a mere withdrawing of oneself from human society,[6] but consisted simply in abstaining from the use of everything produced and manufactured from the vine, in wearing the hair long as a sign of consecration, and in shunning defilement through contact with the dead. But this abstaining from the fruit of the vine was meant not merely to secure that sobriety which is necessary to qualify one for the service of the Lord,[7] but to serve as a symbol of the renunciation of those *deliciæ carnis* that tend to endanger a man's sanctification. For it had reference not merely to intoxicating drinks, but also to the use of raisins and food prepared from grapes, such as grape cakes, for example (אֲשִׁישֵׁי עֲנָבִים, Hos. iii. 1), which are not intoxicating.—"Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging; and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise" (Prov. xx. 1). "Wine and new wine take away the heart" (Hos. iv. 11, comp. Hab. ii. 5). In Hosea, again, grape cakes are employed to represent the weak fare of idolatry as compared with the wholesome, invigorating food to be found in the strict and earnest religion of Jehovah.[8]—To this negative element there falls to be added the positive one of allowing the hair of the head to grow long. Now, although there was in this a sign of the renouncing of the world, in so far as the Israelites

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regarded it as becoming to wear the hair short,[9] yet this does not sufficiently explain the Nazarite practice here in question; for the unshorn hair was regarded as meaning that "the consecration of the Lord was upon his head" (נֵזֶר אֱלֹהָיו עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ, ver. 7), and also as designating the head itself, "his consecrated head" (רֹאשׁ נִזְרוֹ, vv. 9, 18, comp. with ver. 11). נֵזֶר, again, meant *consecration*, sign of consecration; as such the anointing oil poured upon the priest's head was called his נֵזֶר, Lev. xxi. 12; and similarly with regard to the diadem with which the head of the consecrated person was adorned, whether that of the priest (Ex. xxix. 6, etc.) or that of the king (2 Sam. i. 10, etc.).—What corresponded to this sign of consecration in the case of the Nazarite was his long hair, which he wore in honour of the Lord,[10] though not so much as a symbol of "that holiness which the Hebrew conceived to be the full bloom and perfection of life,"[11] but as an ornament, as the diadem of the head consecrated to God (Jer. vii. 29), seeing that a luxurious growth of long hair was looked upon as imparting to a man a somewhat handsome appearance (2 Sam. xiv. 25 f.), while baldness, on the other hand, furnished occasion for mockery (2 Kings ii. 23), and was regarded as a mark of disgrace (Isa. iii. 17, 24).[12] But because the Nazarite was "holy to the Lord," and wore upon his head the diadem of his consecration, he was required, like the anointed priest, to take care not to defile himself by association or contact with the dead, even in the case of his nearest relatives. If, however, he happened to be defiled inadvertently by such contact, then his נֵזֶר was thereby defiled at the same time (ver. 12), and had, therefore, to be cut off in the course of his purification. When the consecration was lost, the sign of it had to be removed as well. Accordingly, it was only after atonement had been made by means of a sin-offering, for the sin attaching to him in consequence of this defilement, and only after he had once more been consecrated to the Lord in all his members by means of a burnt-offering, that he was at liberty to proceed to get himself restored by means of a trespass-offering (comp. above, pp. 293 and 294), to the enjoyment of the special prerogatives of a life consecrated to God, and with the renewal of his vow also to resume wearing the *sign* of consecration by allowing his

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hair to grow long, and so to go on with the fulfilling of his vow as before.

When the time arrived for his being released from his vow, a sin-offering had to be offered in order to make atonement for any sins that may have been unwittingly committed during the period of his consecration, as also a burnt-offering as a symbol of his devoting himself to the Lord with a view to the sanctification of his life. But that which formed the real votive-offering was the peace-offering, that in which he was to celebrate and to taste the blessedness of fellowship with his God to whom he had consecrated himself. It was with a view to this that he shore his consecrated head while the last-mentioned offering was in the act of being got ready, and that he afterwards threw the hair into the altar fire to be burnt along with the victim for the purpose of thereby declaring that he gave up entirely to the Lord the diadem he had been wearing in His honour. Further, in addition to the wave breast and the heave shoulder, as in the case of all other peace-offerings, there was taken the boiled shoulder, along with one of the unleavened cakes and a flat cake, and the whole presented to the Lord by being solemnly waved, these pieces all falling to the officiating priest as his portion. This was, of course, "a consequence of the more intensified and emphatic character of the consecration in this instance;"[18] still the significance of this peculiarity in the present sacrifice is only to be gathered from the significance that attached to the sacrificial feast. If, in the case of ordinary peace-offerings, the symbolical handing over of the breast and shoulder of the victim to the Lord was intended to represent the fact of His taking part in the feast; so, in the present instance, it was sought to give greater emphasis to the fact of such participation on the part of the Lord by adding the sodden shoulder and the cakes to the other portions that were symbolically presented to Him.

[4] נָזַר means *to be separated* from defilement or from a profane use, in the Niph.: to separate oneself from, to keep oneself back, for example, from consecrated things so as not to defile them (Lev. xxii. 2), to abstain from food (Zech. vii. 3), and, construed with ל, to consecrate oneself; in the Hiph., to separate any one, for example, from his uncleanness (Lev. xv. 31), and, construed with ל, to consecrate any one to the Lord.

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[5] Hengstenberg, *Büch. Moses und Ægypt.* p. 202 [E. tr. p. 190 ff.].

[6] As the Rabbinical writers and the older divines have understood it. Comp., on the other hand, Bähr, ii. p. 436 ff.

[7] So Bähr, ii. p. 431 f. "The Nazarite, during the time of his consecration, which was, in fact, of the nature of a term of service, was required to abstain from the use of every sort of strong drink, or whatever was in any way connected with it, in order to ensure that sobriety which would be necessary to enable him all the more easily to discriminate between what was clean and what was unclean, and would qualify him all the better for conducting himself as became one who was consecrated, who was holy to the Lord, and would put him in a more favourable position for walking in all the commandments of Jehovah, and for studying His law" (p. 432). He professes to find support for this view in the regulation with regard to the priests, contained in Lev. x. 8 f., and which runs thus: "Do not drink wine nor strong drink when ye go into the tabernacle of the congregation, that ye may put difference between holy and unholy, and between unclean and clean, and that ye may teach the children of Israel all the statutes which the Lord hath spoken unto them by the hand of Moses." Here, however, two things are overlooked: (*a*) that what the priests are forbidden is merely the drinking of wine and strong drink, not the eating of grapes, raisins, or of any kind of food prepared from them as well; (*b*) that the prohibition applies only to the period during which they officiated in the sanctuary, whereas it was no part of the Nazarite's duty either to conduct worship or to instruct the people in the knowledge of the law.

[8] Comp. Hengstenberg, *Christol.* i. p. 315 of the 2nd ed.

[9] So Hengstenberg, *D. Büch. Moses*, p. 203 f., founding upon the following observation of Geier in his *De Ebræorum luctu*, p. 210, 3rd ed.: Israelis populum Græcorum, veterum Romanorum, Gallorum aut Germanorum more comatum haud quaquam fuisse, vel inde colligi potest, quod comam alere proprium esset Nazaræorum, adeo ut hi ipsi ab aliis popularibus facile internoscerentur ex coma. But had the wearing of long hair been merely a sign of separation, then—to say nothing of the fact of its being known under the designations נזר and נזר ראשׁ, as pointed out in the text—one is at a loss to see why, in that case, it should have been necessary for the Nazarite to shave off his hair if he should happen to contract defilement, seeing that, in point of fact, it was by means of the sin-offering that all defilement was removed; not only so, but it is said at ver. 11, with reference to the occasion now in question, that his head was sanctified by such offering.

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[10] Hence it was, too, that in Samson's case his supernatural strength lay in his hair, Judg. xvi. 17, 19.

[11] This view of Bähr's (ii. p. 133) is based upon the assumption that, according to Oriental notions, and those of the Hebrews in particular, the hair was to the head what vegetation was to the earth, that it corresponded to the springing of the grass or the growth of the trees—an assumption, however, for which there is no sanction whatever in Scripture. For there cannot be said to be any valid argument in its favour in the circumstance of the vine that had not been pruned in the Sabbatic year or in the year of jubilee being known under the designation of נָזִיר (Lev. xxv. 5, 11), because this figurative use of the term was derived, first of all, from the Nazarite practice itself, while the *tertium comparat.* lies in the fact of the not being shorn because of being separated from ordinary use, as forming the property of the Lord, and as being dedicated to the advancement of His purposes. Whatever grew in the fields or upon the trees during the Sabbatical year and the year of jubilee was reserved for the Lord as His peculiar property, so that the owners of those lands and fields were not at liberty to claim them as their own.—No less unfounded is the interpretation of Lightfoot, quoted by Carpzov in his *Apparat.* p. 154, when he takes the long hair to be: *humiliationis specimen atque abnegationis sui.*

[12] Those passages, and especially Jer. vii. 29, where the hair of the head is very decidedly regarded as forming the crown and ornament of man, serve to refute Hengstenberg's assertion that, according to Israelitish ideas, long hair was not looked upon as enhancing the personal appearance, that it could not have been regarded as a natural ornament. Nor can it be said that it is utterly impossible to reconcile our view with the practice of cutting the hair in ordinary life. Long hair may be regarded as comely, and yet for convenience' sake it may be deemed expedient to cut it now and again.—In disposing of the above assertion, we at the same time dispose of the notion that in our rite there are traces of an Egyptian origin. Although the Israelites and the Egyptians agree in regarding the cutting of the hair as a matter of social decorum, yet they differed entirely from each other in this, that while among the Hebrews the cutting off of the hair or the shaving of the head was a sign of mourning, the Egyptians on the other hand, according to Herodotus, ii. 36, "washed the hair on the occasion of a death, both that on the head and that on the chin, that hair which in former times would have been cut off instead."

[13] Comp. Bähr, ii. p. 431.

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§ 68. *The Services of the Women in the Tabernacle.*

The "services of the women at the door of the tabernacle" (Ex. xxxviii. 8; 1 Sam. ii. 22) should also be included among the vows, although not expressly spoken of as such, inasmuch as they were perfectly voluntary, and not demanded by the law. The only officials in the sanctuary known to the law are males, viz. the priests and Levites, whom God not only called to their office, but whom He also consecrated to it. This of itself should suffice to show that the "ministering women" that are occasionally mentioned in the times of Moses and Samuel did not belong to the class of sacred officials, and that their services did not consist in performing some duty of a subordinate nature, and of a kind suited to their sex, by way of so far assisting the priests and Levites in the discharge of *their* functions.—But the same thing may be further inferred from the terms צָבָא פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד (1 Sam. ii. 2), employed to designate those services. For, although the terms צָבָא צָבָא are likewise used with reference to the services of the Levites, services that consisted in doing work of a heavy and subordinate character in connection with the worship of the sanctuary, which consisted in the עֲבֹד עֲבֹדָה בְּאֹהֶל מוֹעֵד (Num. iv. 23, 35, 39, 43, viii. 24), still the idea involved in the word צבא is not that of doing heavy work with the hands, but it is a term used to denote military service, and in the religious or spiritual sphere of things, to express that *militia sacra* to which every male Israelite was called; in which sense the whole people of Israel was spoken of as צְבָא יְהוָה (Ex. xii. 41; Num. i. 3 ff.). This *militia Jehovæ* of the Israelites consisted in the fact that their whole life was consecrated to the service of Jehovah: that, on the one hand, they fought for the cause of Jehovah, and that with the sword if necessary; that, on the other, they served Him in His sanctuary. This latter function, which, strictly speaking, every first-born male in Israel was held bound to undertake, was entrusted to the Levites, who, taking the place of the first-born of the whole people, were called upon to assist the priests in the discharge of their official duties, or do service in the tabernacle before Aaron and his sons (Num. viii. 22).

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The service rendered by the women, on the other hand, was not a עֲבֹדַת אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד such as devolved upon the Levites, but a צָבָא פֶּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד, "a serving at the door of (before) the tabernacle." Consequently it cannot have been a service in which they rendered all sorts of active help to those entrusted with the duty of conducting the worship in the sanctuary,[1] but simply a λατρεία at the entrance to the sanctuary, consisting of certain pious exercises, and prayer and fasting, such as we read of in connection with the pious Anna, the daughter of Phanuel, in Luke ii. 37, and such as Jewish tradition has from the first understood to have been the kind of services here in question.[2] Such services, performed as they were in obedience to the spontaneous promptings of the heart, fall under the category of vows of self-abnegation (Num. xxx. 14); and that they were of this character may be further seen from the fact that in the time of Moses those women offered their looking-glasses as a sacrifice to the Lord —those looking-glasses by the help of which they adorned their persons with the view of rendering themselves attractive in the eyes of the other sex.[3] Nothing further can be determined with regard to this expression of piety, because, not being among the things required in order to the fulfilling of the positive commandments of God, the law says nothing more about it. But, from the regulations respecting the vows, we may surely infer *per analogiam*, that, in more ancient times, those services were merely occasional and temporary acts of devotion or pious exercise, and that it was not till a later period that, in the case of numerous pious widows, like Anna of Luke ii. 37, they came to assume a more permanent character in the shape of prayer and fasting day and night.

[1] Lundius (*Jüd. Heiligth.* p. 169) has already observed with perfect justice: "We read, no doubt, that the women wrought for the tabernacle at home, spinning and weaving all sorts of materials which they brought as gifts, Ex. xxxv. 25, a fact which we also learn from Philo (*De migr. Abrah.*). But nowhere do we read that they had any duties assigned them in the sanctuary, and that they had rooms and apartments to live in beside the tabernacle or the temple."

[2] To this effect even is the Septuagint rendering of the words הַצֹּבְאֹת אֲשֶׁר וגו, which are represented by τῶν νηστευσασῶν, αἱ

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ἐνήστευσαν παρὰ τὰς θύρας τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ μαρτυρίου. Vulgate: Mulierum, quæ excubabant in ostio tabernaculi. Onkelos: נְשָׁיָא דְאָתְיָן לְצַלָּאָה mulierum, quæ veniebant, ut orarent in ostio tab. fœd. Similarly the Syrian translator and all the Rabbinical writers; comp. Münster and Fagius in *Critt. sac.* on this passage. —In modern times this view has been advocated afresh by Hengstenberg (*Beitr.* iii. p. 133 ff.), while the objections with which Kurtz (*Luther. Ztschr.* 1853, p. 215 ff.) has opposed it do not touch the matter itself. Cf. Riehm, *HWB.* p. 447, and Dillmann on Ex. xxxviii. 8 ff.

[3] Here Aben Esra observes that: Mos erat omnium mulierum, ut decorarent faciem suam singulo mane in speculis æneis aut vitreis atque ita adaptarent tiaras, quas in capitibus suis habebant, quarum et in libro Esajæ mentio fit. Nam mos Israelitarum erat sicut est mos Ismaelitarum in hunc usque diem. Et ecce in Israel mulieres erant Deum colentes, quæ spreta mundi vanitate sua specula Domino sponte offerebant. Non enim illis amplius opus habebant, ut adornarent sese: sed veniebant per singulos dies ad ostium tabernaculi, ut orarent et audirent præcepta. Et hoc est quod dicitur אשר צבאו פתח אהל מועד.

§ 69. *Fasting.*

Among the vows of self-abnegation (Num. xxx. 14) we should also include *fasting* (תַּעֲנִית, Esth. ix. 5, from עָנָה נֶפֶשׁ, to chastise the soul, the later expression being צוּם), an ancient form of penance, to be met with among almost all the nations of the world, and which was also practised by the Israelites in every age, as an expression of humiliation before God in those hard and trying circumstances of life that weigh heavily upon the heart and spirit (1 Sam. i. 7), in seasons of sadness arising from misfortune and bereavement (1 Sam. xx. 34, xxxi. 13; 2 Sam. i. 12), in the prospect of the threatened judgments of God (2 Sam. xii. 16; 1 Kings xxi. 27), on occasions of falling into grievous sin (Ezra x. 6), or for the purpose of averting heavy calamity (Esth. iv. 1 ff.). The Mosaic law prescribed only one public occasion of strict fasting, viz. the fasting once a year on the great day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 29 ff., xxiii. 27 ff.). But, in addition to this, extraordinary fasts were appointed by the theocratic authorities on occasions of great national calamity, in order that the people might humble themselves before the Lord on account of their sins, that they

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might thus avert His wrath and get Him to look upon them again with His favour (Judg. xx. 26; 1 Sam. vii. 6; 2 Chron. xx. 3; Joel i. 14, ii. 12; Jer. xxxvi. 9; Ezra viii. 21; Neh. i. 4; 2 Macc. xiii. 12).—Similarly, after the captivity, those days on which were commemorated the leading disasters that brought about the ruin of the kingdom were observed as annual fast days (Zech. vii. 3, viii. 19).[1] But subsequent to the exile, and with the growth of the Pharisaic spirit, the fasts became much more frequent generally, till ere long they assumed the form of ordinary pious exercises, so that the Pharisees fasted regularly on the second and fifth day of every week (Matt. ix. 14; Luke xviii. 12);[2] while other Jewish sects, such as the Essenes and Therapeutæ, made their whole worship to consist principally of fasting. There was, however, no fasting on the Sabbath, on festival and gala days in Israel, and on the day immediately preceding the Sabbath or a festival (Judith viii. 6).[3]

When the fast lasted only a single day, it was the practice to abstain from food of every kind from evening till evening;[4] whereas in the case of private fasts of a more prolonged character, it was merely the ordinary food that was abstained from. With the view of manifesting a still profounder humbling of the soul before God in repentance and mortification on account of one's sin, and the punishment with which it had been visited, it was not unusual to give additional emphasis to the fasting by conjoining with it certain other signs of mourning, such as putting on sackcloth made of hair, rending the garments, and also scattering ashes over the head, so as to testify repentance in sackcloth and ashes (2 Sam. xiii. 19; 1 Kings xxi. 27; 1 Macc. iii. 47; comp. Joel i. 13, 14; Lam. ii. 10; Jonah iii. 5 ff.).

[1] In the fourth month, that in which the Chaldeans first burst into the city (Jer. lii. 6 f.); in the fifth month, that in which the city and the temple were burnt (2 Kings xxv. 8 ff.); in the seventh month, in memory of the murder of Gedaliah and those Jews who were with him (2 Kings xxv. 25; Jer. xli. 1 ff.); and in the tenth month, that in which the siege of Jerusalem was commenced in the reign of Zedekiah (2 Kings xxv. 1; Jer. lii. 4).—For more precise information as to the *fast days* occurring in the months mentioned above, and for further accounts of the occasions of them, according to the Gemara and

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the Rabbinical writers, consult Jerome on Zechariah, and Reland, *Antiq. sac.* iv. 10. 6.

[2] To commemorate, according to the Rabbinical explanation of the matter, the circumstance of Moses' having gone up Mount Sinai on the fifth day of the week, and of his having come down again on the second (of the week following). For other explanations, see Fabricius, *Cod. pseudepigr.* ii. 332.

[3] See the Rabbinical regulations with regard to this as quoted in Carpzov's *Apparat.* p. 390 f.

[4] In Esth. iv. 15 we read of Esther appointing a fast that was to extend over three days, and in the course of which nothing was to be eaten or drunk night or day, and in which she herself was also to join. For other instances taken from the Gemar. *Gittin.* lvi. 1, see Reland, as above, p. 470, in which work will also be found a table of all the fast days of the later Jews that occur in the course of the year, along with a statement of the occasions to which they refer (p. 505 f.). With regard to fasting as practised by other nations, see, for the literature of the subject, Winer, *Realwörth.* p. 365 f. Cf. also Riehm, *HWB.* p. 424 ff.

§ 70. *The Anathema.*

1. We have in the anathema (חֵרֶם, *ἀνάθεμα*) a vow of quite a different order. "No devoted thing that a man shall devote unto the Lord of all that he hath, both of man and beast, and of the field of his possession, shall be sold or redeemed; every devoted thing is most holy unto the Lord. None devoted, which shall be devoted of men, shall be redeemed; but shall surely be put to death" (Lev. xxvii. 28 f., comp. ver. 21); and further: "Everything devoted in Israel shall be thine (the priests')" (Num. xviii. 14; Ezek. xlix. 29). We may add as an explanatory passage Num. xxi. 2: "Israel vowed a vow unto the Lord, and said, If Thou wilt indeed deliver this people into my hand, then I will utterly destroy (anathematize) their cities."—From those passages[1] it would appear that the anathema was also a species of vow by which persons and things were irrevocably and irredeemably devoted to the Lord, and in such a way that the persons had to be put to death; while the things, on the other hand, fell to the sanctuary or the priests.[2] But while it was required, on the one hand, that such persons as had been devoted to the Lord by

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anathema should be put to death, the law, on the other hand, treated the deliberate killing of any one, even of a slave (Ex. xxi. 20), as a punishable offence, and accordingly it was understood, as matter of course, that the pronouncing of the anathema could not be left to the pleasure of any single individual; otherwise it might have been abused for purposes of an impious character. If the anathema, in common with everything that was offered or consecrated to the Lord, was intended to be at all times an expression of piety, then it could only be pronounced upon those persons who, in consequence of their offering a persistent and stubborn resistance to that sanctifying of the life which every one owes to the Lord, were by death devoted to Him against their will.—The anathema was therefore a manifestation of the judicial holiness of God realizing itself in executing righteous judgment upon men, and assumed the character of a theocratic penalty, which, of course, could be inflicted only by the divinely-appointed authorities acting with a view to the glory of God and the upholding and edifying of His kingdom, or directly by God Himself. In the law, the only instance in which it is expressly enjoined is where it is commanded to be carried out against those who served other gods (Ex. xxi. 19), even against whole cities sunk in idolatry, the men and the cattle being ordered to be put to death with the sword, and the houses, and all that was in them, to be burnt and reduced to a heap of rubbish (Deut. xiii. 12 ff.). But it was to be carried out, above all, in the case of the Canaanites (Deut. xx. 17 f.), in order "that they teach you not to do after all their abominations, which they have done unto their gods; so should ye sin against the Lord your God," and subsequently in the case of the Amalekites (1 Sam. xv. 3). But while it was actually put in force against all the Canaanitish tribes, it was in the case of Jericho alone that it was carried out in all its severity, so that not only were men and cattle put to death there, but every article as well that was found in the city was burnt, with the exception of objects made of metal, which were handed over to the treasury of the sanctuary (Josh. vi. 17 ff.). In the case of the other cities, however, it was carried out only to this extent, that while everything that had life was put to death, the cities themselves were

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spared (Josh. x. 28 ff.), though not unfrequently the cattle too were spared, and, along with the rest of the spoil, divided amongst the soldiers (Deut. ii. 34 f., iii. 6; Josh. viii. 21 ff., xi. 11 ff.).—Whosoever retained for his own use any part of what had been anathematized thereby brought upon himself the anathema of death (Josh. vi. 18, vii. 11 f.; comp. Deut. xiii. 17).

[1] The passage 1 Sam. xiv. 24 does not apply, because there it is not a case of pronouncing an anathema, but of simply denouncing a curse.

[2] Hengstenberg (*Christol.* iii. p. 656 of 2nd ed.) is justified in dissenting from the view which understands the anathema partly as a vow, *i.e.* as a voluntary consecrating of persons and possessions to God, and partly as a theocratic mode of punishment; but he goes too far when he declines to regard it as being of the nature of a vow in any sense whatever, and is specially in error in understanding the field and cattle of Lev. xxvii. 28 f. as meaning only such "as had been previously in the hands of persons lying under anathema, and, as having fallen to the victors and been taken possession of by them, had now become their property." Comp. the author's *Comment. on Josh.* p. 97, note.

2. The anathema (חֵרֶם) of the Mosaic law was something totally different from the *ban of the synagogue* among the later Jews, *i.e.* the excommunication or exclusion of a Jew, usually for heresy or alleged blasphemy, from the synagogue and the congregation, or from familiar intercourse with other Jews. This modification of the anathema owes its origin to Ezra x. 8, where we find that the Cherem threatened by Ezra was to consist in the anathematizing of the man's whole goods and chattels, and in the exclusion of the anathematized individual himself (not in putting him to death) from the congregation (הוּא יִבָּדֵל מִקְּהַל הַגּוֹלָה). This ecclesiastical ban or this excommunication (*ἀποσυνάγωγον ποιεῖν* or *γίγνεσθαι*, John ix. 22, xii. 42, xvi. 2; *ἀφορίζειν*, Luke vi. 22) is known in the Mischna and among the Rabbinical writers as *Nidduj* (נדוי), in the Gemara as *Schammatta* (שמתא), and was pronounced for twenty-four different offences, all of which Maimonides has picked out from the Talmud and presented in a collected form,[3] though, in the event of the offender showing signs of penitence, it might be at once revoked

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again. The Mischna uses the term חרם exclusively in the Old Testament sense; while it is in the Gemara that the excommunication first appears in a more fully developed form, and that, by way of increasing the severity of it, there is superadded to the sentence of simple exclusion, Nidduj, usually restricted to a period of only thirty days, the *anathema curse* (נדוי וקללה or חרם, *i.e.* Nidduj combined with cursing), a solemn act of expulsion from the congregation accompanied with fearful curses in which every kind of calamity was invoked upon the head of the offender.[4]

[3] Comp. Carpzov, *Apparat.* p. 555, where they are all enumerated.

[4] Comp. the exhaustive discussion of this subject in Selden's *De Synedriis*, lib. i. cap. vii.—The formulæ in which such curses were expressed may be seen in Buxtorf's *Lex. Chal. Talm.* p. 828 f., and in Selden's *De jure nat.* iv. 9.—That distinguishing of *three* grades in the ban of the synagogue, which we meet with in many earlier and modern works, is an invention of Elias Levita, the Jewish grammarian, who in his lexicon, *Tischbi*, written in the year 1525, says (see the word שמתא): Tres sunt species excommunicationis, *Nidduj*, *Cherem* et *Schammatta*. *Nidduj* consistebat in segregatione; quodsi ita non resipisceret, devovebant eum per *Cherem*. Quodsi autem nec tum resipisceret devoverunt eum per *Schammatta*. *Schammatta* autem idem denotat, ac si dicatur שם מיתה *ibi mors*, quæ longe a nobis absit. —It was through this work, so largely in use among the Christian divines of the 16th century, that this classification came to be so widely accepted, but it was not long in being also called in question as well, by the best Talmudical scholars. Comp. Gildemeister, *Blendwerke des vulgären Rationalismus*, Bremen 1841, p. 10 ff.

§ 71. *Firstlings, First-born, and Tithes.*

1. All *the first-born males*, both of man and beast, in Israel belonged to Jehovah, were sacred to Him (Ex. xiii. 2, 15; Num. viii. 7). The first-born of man, *i.e.* the first-born sons, so far as the mothers were concerned (פֶּטֶר רֶחֶם הַזְּכָרִים), and who, strictly speaking, were destined for the service of the Lord in the sanctuary, were taken, ever since the Levites were appointed to perform this service in their stead, and, on the fortieth day after their birth, were simply presented to the Lord in the

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temple, and, according to the priests' estimation, were redeemed for five shekels (Num. xviii. 16 ; comp. Ex. xiii. 15 and Luke ii. 27). The firstlings of oxen, sheep, and goats, again, were to be brought to the sanctuary within a year, dating from the eighth day after their birth, and there offered in sacrifice, that is to say, their blood was to be sprinkled upon the altar and the fat burnt upon it, while all the flesh that remained was to belong (like the breast and right shoulder in the case of the peace-offerings) to the priests (Num. xviii. 17 f.). But if it so happened that the animal had some serious blemish, happened to be blind or lame, then, in that case, it was not to be sacrificed, but was to be eaten by the owner of it at home, like the roebuck and the hart (Deut. xv. 20 ff.). Lastly, the first-born of the ass, an unclean animal, was required by the original legal prescription (Ex. xiii. 12 f., xxxiv. 20) to be redeemed with a lamb, and if not redeemed it was to be put to death; while, according to a later modification of the law, it was always to be redeemed with money, the amount being according to the priests' valuation, with a fifth part added (Lev. xxvii. 27 and Num. xviii. 15).

2. Similarly with regard to the produce of the soil, *i.e.* the products of agriculture, the first of which, *i.e.* the best of the *firstlings* of which (רֵאשִׁית בִּכּוּרֵי אַדְמָתְךָ, Ex. xxiii. 19), were sacred to Jehovah as Lord of the soil. These, both in the raw state (as grain and fruit) and also as prepared for use as food (in the shape of wine, oil, flour, groats, and dough),[1] including even wool from the sheep-shearing (Deut. xviii. 4), had to be brought to the sanctuary and handed over to the priest in order that he might take and present them before the altar of the Lord, while the person offering them proceeded at the same time to offer up prayer to the Lord to thank Him for all His benefits (Ex. xxiii. 19 ; Deut. xxvi. 2–11). Besides this, the congregation as a body was required annually to offer to the Lord, by way of thanksgiving for the blessing of the harvest, a firstling-sheaf at the Passover before the commencement of the grain harvest, as well as a firstling loaf at pentecost when the harvest was concluded, both of which (the sheaf and the loaf) were symbolically presented to God in and through the ceremony of waving them (Lev. xxiii. 10 ff.). No part of those firstling offerings was burnt upon

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the altar, but by Jehovah's authority they were given to the Levites, the servants of His sanctuary, with this reservation, however, that only those who were clean were at liberty to eat of them (Num. xviii. 12 f.; Deut. xviii. 4). The law nowhere specifies the amount that was to be given in the shape of offerings of this kind, but leaves it to each individual's own discretion; only, it was provided that the choicest portions were always to be offered (Num. xviii. 12). So neither is it stated in the law what were to be the different products of the soil from which firstlings were to be offered; but that the whole produce of husbandry was meant is implied in the spirit of the law itself,[2] and may further be inferred from the regulation to the effect that, of every tree bearing edible fruit which any Israelite might plant, the fruits of the fourth year, the earliest period at which they could be eaten, were to be sacred to the Lord by way of praising Him for His goodness,[3] and consequently they must also have been offered to Him as an offering (Lev. xix. 23 ff.).

[1] חַלָּה, Num. xv. 20, called by the Rabbinical writers *the heave of the cake* (חלה), as being an offering of the first of the dough. Comp. the Rabbinical regulations with regard to this matter as given by Saalschütz, *D. Mos. Recht*, i. p. 347.

[2] Accordingly, in the time of Hezekiah, firstlings of grain, wine, oil, and *honey*, and of the whole produce of the soil, were offered (2 Chron. xxxi. 5). Those articles are very minutely specified in the Talmud (Mischna, *Terumoth* and *Biccurim* i. 6 and 11) and by the later Rabbins. Comp. Othonis, *Lex. Rabb. phil.* p. 545 ff., and Winer, *Realwörtb.* i. p. 343 f.

[3] The clause: קֹדֶשׁ הִלּוּלִים לַיהוָה (Lev. xix. 24) is taken by Josephus (*Antt.* iv. 8. 19) as implying that those fruits, like the second tithe, were intended to be consumed before the sanctuary; but whether he is justified in doing so is very questionable, seeing that it is added in ver. 25: "And in the *fifth* year shall *ye* eat of the fruit thereof."

3. In a similar way the tenth, both of the whole of the crops of the land (the fruits of the field) and of oxen and the smaller cattle, were sacred to Jehovah by way, so to speak, of feu-duty or rent, to Him who was, strictly speaking, the owner of the land, and in return for the produce of the ground; though, if so disposed, a man was at liberty to redeem the

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tithes of the fruits of his field and his trees by paying the value of them with a fifth part added (Lev. xxvii. 30 ff.).[4] Those tithes were taken by the Lord, to whom they were offered, and handed over to the Levites for their sustenance, and as compensation for their not having obtained any of the land as an inheritance (Num. xviii. 20 ff.); but they were in turn required to pay a tenth part of them to the priests.[5] Besides all this, Israel had to bring to the sanctuary still a second tithe of the whole produce of the field, of grain, wine, and oil, and there make use of it, along with the firstlings of the oxen and sheep,[6] in furnishing sacrificial feasts to which all the members of the household, even men-servants and maid-servants, as well as the Levites in the cities of Israel, were to be invited. Any one who was living too far away from the sanctuary was at liberty to sell this second tithe, and with the proceeds to purchase in the neighbourhood of the sanctuary whatever was required for the sacrificial feast. In the third year, however, this tithe was no longer brought to the sanctuary, but went for the support of the poor, of strangers, of widows and orphans in the various cities of the land (Deut. xiv. 22–29, comp. xii. 6 f. and xxvi. 12–14).[7]

[4] The law does not specify the various fruits of the field and of the trees that were to be tithed. The Mischna (*Maaseroth* i. 1) understands that everything was included that was eatable, everything that was stored up, or that grew out of the earth; while the Pharisees, as early as the time of our Lord, made the law to include even the minutest kitchen herbs, such as mint and cummin (Matt. xxiii. 23; Luke xi. 42), *apropos* of which, however, it is remarked in the Gemara itself that: *Decimatio olerum* est a Rabbinis, *i.e.* by the law not intended to be included. Comp. Deyling, *Observatt. sacr.* iii., *Obs.* 28.—With regard to animal tithes, the law prescribes that every tenth beast that passes under the staff, *i.e.* the staff under which the shepherd makes them pass when he counts his flock (Bochart, *Hieroz.* i. p. 459), was to be sacred to the Lord, and that the good and bad alike, while it forbids any attempt to substitute one beast for another on pain of both animals—the tenth as well as the one exchanged for it—being required to be redeemed (Lev. xxvii. 32 f.).

[5] Hezekiah caused special apartments to be fitted up in the temple for receiving and storing the firstlings, the tithes, and all the heave-offerings, at the same appointing the Levites to

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take charge of them (2 Chron. xxxi. 11; comp. Neh. x. 38, xii. 44, xiii. 12 f., and Mal. iii. 10).

[6] From the words: "And thou shalt eat before the Lord ... the tithe of thy corn, of thy wine, and of thine oil, and the firstlings of thy herds and of thy flocks" (Deut. xiv. 23), many expositors have inferred that, in addition to the second tithe, still a second offering of firstlings had to be presented, which Bonfrere supposes to have consisted of the first-born animals of the female sex; while Michaelis (*Mos. R.* iv. p. 108 ff.) and Jahn (*Bibl. Archäol.* iii. p. 415) are inclined to think that they were the oxen and smaller cattle that came second in order of birth. But of these latter there is no mention whatever in the law. As in the earlier laws, so in Num. xviii. 17 it is only the first-born of the oxen, the sheep, and the goats that are mentioned as being the animals that were to be offered upon the altar. Nor does Deut. xiv. 23 render the assumption just referred to at all necessary. In the prescription contained in this passage with respect to the way in which the second tithe was to be disposed of, the first-born of the cattle and sheep are likewise mentioned at the same time, simply because it happened to be the usual practice to deliver the first-born at the sanctuary along with the second tithe, while it is not improbable that those who brought their tithes on this occasion would, in accordance with ancient custom, be invited to join in the sacrificial feasts which the priests were in the habit of providing out of the flesh of the first-born animals. For, although the law assigned the whole of the flesh of those animals to the priests, yet the words, "as the wave breast and the right shoulder" of the peace-offerings (Num. xviii. 18), undoubtedly imply that they were not at liberty to consume this flesh, as they would ordinary butcher meat, at home, that is, with their families, but exclusively at sacrificial feasts, the feasts that are contemplated by those prescriptions which provided that only "he who was clean in the family of the priest was to be allowed to take part in them" (Num. xviii. 11), and that the flesh was to be eaten on the day on which it was sacrificed (Lev. viii. 15), or next morning at latest, as in the case of the sacrifice offered in connection with a vow (Lev. vii. 16), while any that remained thereafter was to be burnt with fire. There is nothing in those prescriptions with respect to the disposal of the flesh of the first-born animals that were to be sacrificed to the Lord, any more than in any other law, that forbids the priest either to allow those who offered such animals to take part in the sacrificial feasts, or to grant them a portion of their offering to make a feast for themselves. We should rather say that this would obviously follow from the simple circumstance that, in the very

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first general prescription with regard to the sanctifying of the first-born, the offering of them is described as זָבַח לַיהוָה (Ex. xiii. 15), the זָבַח in the time of the patriarchs having been always accompanied with a sacrificial feast in which the person offering the sacrifice regularly took part. Comp. the author's *Comm. on Deut.* p. 469 f. of the 2nd ed.

' Without adequate reason, modern critics have questioned the fact of a second tithe, and maintained that in Deuteronomy the tithe generally has not quite the same character and object as in the intermediate books of the Pentateuch. So Riehm in particular (*Die Gesetzgebung Moses im Lande Moab*, p. 43 ff., and *HWB.* p. 1795), and following de Wette, Ewald, and others. Oehler, on the other hand, pertinently observes (*Theol. des A. T.* i. p. 470 f.): "That the tithe of the intermediate books and that of Deuteronomy have coexisted all along is a fact that no one should think of denying in presence of such explicit testimonies belonging to Jewish tradition as are to be found in Deut. xxvi. 12 and Tob. i. 7 f. of the Septuagint, and in Josephus, *Antiq.* iv. 8. 8 and 22. The tithe of Deuteronomy was not an impost in the strict sense of the word; but through requiring, as it did, a portion of the income to be laid by, it only sought in this way to place the people in a better position for duly attending the sanctuary and for the exercise of charity." This second tithe is also known to Samaritan tradition; comp. Abulfathi, *Annales Samarit.* xxx. 13 (*Samarit. Jos.* 38), ed. Vilmar. 1865.—But this tithe had a twofold object thus far, that within the cycle of a sabbatical year it was used every third and every sixth year, not for the purpose of providing sacrificial feasts at the sanctuary, but for the support of the poor in the different cities of the land; while the Rabbinical writers, again, speak even of a second and third tithe, though for the most part they designate the latter the *tithe for the poor* (מעשר עני), which, through a misapprehension, a few, but only a few, writers have understood to mean a triple tithe-impost every third year. Comp. Selden, *De decimis*, appended to Clericus' *Comment. in Pentat.* p. 622, and Hottinger, *De decimis Judæorum*, L. B. 1713.—"That, as Riehm (p. 45 f.) still holds, Deuteronomy has *substituted* the tithe-festivals that were to be held every third year for the yearly tithe now in question, is a hypothesis of an utterly gratuitous character. It is surely scarcely conceivable that the lawgiver, in securing for the Levites an opportunity of eating to the full once in every three years, would venture to suppose that in so doing he was 'as far as possible' relieving their necessities" (Oehler, as above, p. 472).

The object and meaning of the offering of the first-born, of

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the firstlings, and of the tenth of the produce of the soil, and of the flocks and herds, are not to be found in the fact that they were supposed to furnish the priests and Levites with the necessary means of subsistence. For the truth is, those things were not given directly to the priests and the sanctuary, but were offered to the Lord as being sacred to Him. The sanctifying of the first-born of man and beast is expressly based, in Ex. xiii. 14 f., upon the deliverance of Israel from Egypt, while the offering of the firstlings and the tithes had to be accompanied with a formal acknowledgment that it was the Lord who redeemed His people from the hardship and oppression which they suffered in Egypt, and gave them the fair and fruitful land of Canaan (Deut. xxvi. 3 ff.). Firstlings and tithes are intimately connected with each other; nor was the practice of offering them to the divinity peculiar to Mosaism, but it has prevailed from the earliest times among the great majority of nations [8] as a natural expression of pious feeling, and springing out of the same fundamental idea as sacrifices generally. "Within the first and the tenth there is comprised the idea of absolute property, and consequently it was most completely represented by both together; now, inasmuch as all property comes from God, the tenth as well as the first was accordingly consecrated or given up to Him." —"Tithes and firstlings along with the first-born were understood, therefore, to be the representatives of the entire produce of the land and of the whole of property generally, and, being paid over as they were to Jehovah, they constituted a practical confession and acknowledgment that the whole land, that all possessions in general, belonged to Him, and that it was He alone who conferred them upon those who enjoyed them." [9] Consequently, this offering of firstlings and tithes not only had the effect of imparting a religious consecration to all property whatsoever, but were also at the same time practical evidence of a desire on the part of those who offered them to make use of the blessings which they owed to the Lord, for the glory of His name, *i.e.* for their own and their neighbour's well-being, while the consecration of the first-born again contained an acknowledgment that the people whom the Lord had chosen to be His own peculiar possession was called upon to sanctify and devote its whole life to Him.

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[8] For the authorities regarding this point, see Spencer, *De legg. Hebr.* lib. iii. cap. ix. and x. p. 713 f.; Winer, *Realwörtb.* article "*Erstlinge u. Zehnten;*" and Leyrer, article "*Zehnten,*" in Herzog, xviii. 414 ff.

[9] Comp. Bähr, *Symbol.* ii. p. 47 f.; comp. i. p. 180.

THIRD CHAPTER.

OBSERVANCES OF A LITURGICAL NATURE.

§ 72. *Prayer and Benediction.*

1. Prayer, constituting as it does the most direct expression of religious feeling and consciousness, has been, from the very first, the principal means by which men, created in the image of God, have evinced their attitude toward Him, and from the earliest times, ever since, in the days of Enoch, men began to call upon the name of the Lord (Gen. iv. 26), it has also formed an integral part of the public worship of God. Not only have the patriarchs and pious Israelites in all ages expressed the feelings and dispositions of their hearts by praise, thanksgiving, prayer, and intercession before the Lord (Gen. xviii. 23 ff., xx. 17, xxiv. 12, xxv. 21, xxxii. 10 ff.; Ex. xxxii. 11 ff.; 1 Sam. i. 10, ii. 1 ff., viii. 6, xii. 23; 2 Sam. vii. 27; 1 Kings viii. 22 ff., xvii. 20 ff.; 2 Kings iv. 33, xix. 15, xx. 2; Jonah ii. 2, iv. 2; Dan. vi. 10 ff., ix. 3 ff.; Ezra x. 1; Neh. i. 4 ff.; 1 Macc. iv. 30, v. 33, xi. 71; Tob. iii. 1, 17, etc.), but we also find that wherever the patriarchs erected an altar for worship, they did so with the view of calling upon the name of the Lord (Gen. xii. 8, xiii. 4, xxi. 33). Then, with regard to the congregation of Israel, although the law has not prescribed any prayer for public worship, except the confession of sin on the great day of atonement (Lev. xvi. 21), and the thanksgiving on the occasion when the firstlings were offered and the tithes paid (Deut. xxvi. 3 ff., 13 ff.), still it is certain that in Israel there was no act of worship that was not accompanied at the same time with prayer. The reason why it is not expressly mentioned in the law is simply because it not only happened to be a regular accompaniment of the act of laying the hand

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on the victim in sacrifice,[1] but also because it was usual for the congregation, or the Levites as representing it (1 Chron. xxiii. 30), to offer up prayer at the place of worship every morning and every evening while the incense was in the act of being burnt (Luke i. 10). As early as the time of David we hear of prayer being offered as an expression of private devotion, three times in the course of the day, morning, noon, and evening (Ps. lv. 18), which subsequently came to be an established practice (Dan. vi. 11), the hours being at the time of the morning sacrifice, about the third hour (Acts ii. 15), at mid-day, about the sixth hour (Acts x. 9), and at the time of the evening sacrifice, about the ninth hour (Dan. ix. 21; Acts iii. 1).—Again, it is certain that the grace before and after meat was an ancient practice, although we find no explicit testimony regarding it earlier than in the New Testament (Matt. xv. 36; John vi. 11; Acts xxvii. 35).—How earnest and fervent the prayers of pious Israelites were, may be seen from the Psalms and many other parts of the Old Testament. At a somewhat early period, prayer had become so much of a mere lip-service on the part of worldly-minded people as to provoke the censures of the older prophets (Isa. i. 15, xxix. 13); while, in a later age, it seems to have degenerated more and more into an *opus operatum*, especially among the Pharisees, who were not only addicted to great verbosity in their prayers, but were also very fond of praying in the most public places (Matt. vi. 5 and 7).—As a rule, the Israelites said their prayers in a solitary room, especially in the upper chamber (Dan. vi. 11; Judith viii. 5; Tob. iii. 12; Acts i. 13), and in the open air upon elevated places and mountains with the view of being alone (1 Kings xviii. 42; Matt. xiv. 23; Mark vi. 46; Luke vi. 12). If they happened to be near the sanctuary again, they went and offered their prayers in the court (1 Sam. ii. 12; Isa. lvi. 7; Luke xviii. 10; Acts iii. 1), with the face turned toward the holy of holies (Ps. v. 8; 1 Kings viii. 38). It was also the practice to turn the face in this direction during prayer, even among those who lived at a distance from the temple (Dan. vi. 11; 2 Chron. vi. 34).—As a rule, prayer was offered in a standing posture (1 Sam. i. 26; Dan. ix. 20; Matt. vi. 5, etc.), but sometimes, as expressive of deeper devotion, in a

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kneeling attitude (2 Chron. vi. 13; 1 Kings viii. 54; Ezra ix. 5; Dan. vi. 10; Luke xxii. 41, etc.), or with the head bowed down to the ground (Neh. viii. 6; Judith ix. 1). In those cases in which they stood and knelt, they at the same time held up the hands, spreading them toward heaven or in the direction of the holy of holies (1 Kings viii. 22; Neh. viii. 7; Lam. ii. 19, iii. 41; Ps. xxviii. 2, etc.); while, in a case of deep penitential prayer, it was usual to smite upon the breast with the hands (Luke xviii. 31), and to bend the head toward the bosom (Ps. xxxv. 13).[2]—After the sacrificial worship was discontinued, prayer came entirely to occupy the place of the sacrifice.[3]

[1] For it was the practice, even among the heathen, always to combine prayer with sacrifice. Pliny, *Hist. nat.* xxviii. 2. Comp. Outram, *De sacrificiis*, lib. i. cap. xv. 9.

[2] The attitude of Elijah, when, according to 1 Kings xviii. 42, he bowed himself toward the earth and put his face between his knees, is quite peculiar to this occasion. A similar practice is also observed among the dervishes. Comp. the author's comment. on 1 Kings xviii. 42.

[3] Very minute regulations regarding the order and the different sorts of prayer, as well as the outward posture in which it was to be engaged in, are given in the Talmud under the *Tract. Berachoth* (Mischna i. 1), and in the two Gemaras belonging to it, with which may also be compared the further minutiæ of later Rabbinical writers in Othonis, *Lex. Rabb. phil.* p. 537 ff. The ancient Rabbis and their followers regarded the wearing of phylacteries, τὰ φυλακτήρια, Matt. xxiii. 5 (Luther: Denkzettel, "memento"), as essential in prayer. Those phylacteries were strips of parchment with passages of Scripture written upon them, and enclosed within a small box, which, during prayer, was worn by male Israelites firmly attached with leather straps either to the forehead between the eyebrows, or to the left arm, so as to be near the heart. This practice—regarding the origin of which only thus much is certain, that, as appears from Matt. xxiii. 5, and Joseph. *Antt.* iv. 8. 13, it was in existence as early as our Lord's time—is founded upon a literal interpretation of Ex. xiii. 9, 16, where, with reference to the enactments as to the observance of the Passover and the sanctifying of the first-born, we read: "And it shall be for a sign unto thee upon thine hand, and for a memorial (זִכָּרוֹן, or reminder) between thine eyes" (ver. 9), and . . . "for frontlets (טוֹטָפֹת) between thine eyes" (ver. 16); and Deut. vi. 8 and xi. 18, where this injunction, so far as the latter part of it is concerned, is repeated, and that

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with reference to the whole of the commandments. The injunction in any case was intended to be taken in a figurative sense, and is of the nature of a proverb, while the Karæans again have uniformly treated it as metaphorical; similarly Jerome in his note on Matt. xxiii. 5. This has also been admitted by all modern expositors with reference to Ex. xiii. 9 and 16; only in the case of Deut. vi. 8 and xi. 18, Winer (*Realwörtb.* ii. p. 260) and Baumgarten (*Theol. Comm.* i. p. 479)—with obvious inconsistency—are disposed to adhere to the literal interpretation. Comp. Hengstenberg, *Beitr.* ii. 457 ff.—For further information regarding the phylacteries, known to the Rabbinical writers as תְּפִלִּין or תְּפִילִין, see Othonis, *Lex. Rabb.* p. 756 ff.; Buxtorf, *Synag. Jud.* p. 170 ff.; Lundius, *Jüd. Heiligth.* p. 798 ff.; Carpzov, *Apparat.* p. 190 ff.; and Bodenschatz, *Kirchl. Verfassung d. heut. Juden*, iv. p. 15 ff. (with illustrations). On the prayer usages of other nations, cf. Delitzsch, "*Gebet*," in Riehm's *HWB.* p. 472 f.

2. Another essential element of public worship was the priestly benediction, the form of which is prescribed in the law, Num. vi. 22–24, the promise being added that God would fulfil the words of the blessing.—This so-called Aaronic blessing—which subsequently found its way into Christian worship as well—was pronounced by the priest after every morning and evening sacrifice, and that with uplifted hands, as recorded of Aaron after his consecration to the office of priesthood (Lev. ix. 22), and over the congregation or its representatives assembled in the court, the people responding by uttering an amen. This blessing was also regularly pronounced at the close of the service in the synagogues.[4]

[4] On the Mosaic origin of the priestly blessing, and on the meaning and usage of the same, cf. Delitzsch, "*Urmosaisches im Pentateuch* I.," in Luthardt's *Zeitschr. für Kirchl. Wissenschaft*, iii., Jahrg. 1882, p. 113 ff.

With regard to the benediction, the Mischna states, *Sota* vii. 6, that: Extra sanctuarium tres benedictiones ex ea conficiebantur, sed in sanctuario una tantum. In sanctuario הׁשם (*i.e.* יהוה), efferebatur secundum literas, sed in provinciis cognomen (*i.e.* אדני); that is to say, in the temple the three clauses of the blessing were pronounced without any response on the part of the people, whereas in the synagogues the people uttered the amen at the close of each clause.—For further, and for the most part petty details, see Mischna, ed. Surenhus. iii. p. 264 f., and Buxtorf, *Synag. jud. a. E.*, in the part subjoined to the index:

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and for the response, see, in particular, Vitringa, *De Synag. vet.* p. 1093 ff.

§ 73. *Singing and Instrumental Music in Public Worship.*

We find that, even before the erection of the tabernacle, Israel sang praise to God on the shore of the Red Sea (Ex. xv.).[1] But it was David who was the first to make sacred song an integral part of public worship in the tabernacle and the temple; for not only did he compose psalms and sweet songs for the use of the congregation, but, in the sacred tent at Gibeon and on Mount Zion, he also formed choirs of Levitical singers, under the leadership of such skilled musicians as Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun, for the purpose of conducting the psalmody in the services of the sanctuary (1 Chron. xvi. 37 ff.), so that from that time onwards the sacrificial worship was always accompanied with music and singing of psalms (2 Chron. v. 12 ff., vii. 6, xxix. 25 ff., xxxv. 15; 1 Macc. iv. 54; Sir. l. 18). There is an entire absence of anything like distinct information regarding the character of the singing in question, regarding the nature of its harmony and melody; for the few hints on the subject, that are to be found mainly in the inscriptions prefixed to several of the psalms, are, for us to-day, somewhat obscure and mysterious, and were unintelligible even to the authors of the Septuagint themselves.[2]

The singing of the psalms was always accompanied with playing upon the harp and the lute.[3] We further find that, as early as the time of Moses, it was prescribed that silver trumpets were to be blown while the sacrifices were being offered on the new moons and festival occasions, this duty being entrusted to some of the priests (Num. x. 10), while the playing upon the harp and the lute, on the other hand, was executed by the Levites. As a liturgical act, the blowing of the silver trumpets was intended to serve the purpose of putting the Lord in mind of Israel (לָכֶם לְזִכָּרוֹן לִפְנֵי אֱלֹהֵיכֶם, Num. x. 10), *i.e.* of recalling to the recollection of God the prayers of the congregation of Israel, and the desires embodied in their sacrifices; whereas the playing upon the harp was intended merely as an accompaniment to the singing.

[1] This and similar songs of praise, which, like the songs in

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"The Book of the Wars of the Lord" (Num. xxi. 14), and the songs of Moses (Deut. xxxii.) and Deborah (Judg. v.), had been sung on occasions of great rejoicing over signal manifestations of the divine favour, and in some instances by alternating choirs with an accompaniment of drums, cymbals, and other musical instruments, were not intended for use in the ordinary services of the sanctuary.

[2] Comp. Hävernick's *Einl. in d. A. Test.* iii. p. 111 ff.

[3] For the literature of the music of the Israelites, a subject to which we shall have occasion to recur farther on, see Winer's *Realwörtb.* ii. p. 120 ff.

FOURTH DIVISION.

WORSHIP IN RELATION TO THE TIMES FIXED FOR ITS OBSERVANCE.

FIRST CHAPTER.

THE REGULATION OF THE WORSHIP ACCORDING TO PARTICULAR TIMES AND SEASONS.

§ 74. *The Division of Time among the Israelites.*

The fixing of the particular times and seasons for worship has, in the case of every nation, been regulated by the divisions of time it may have happened to adopt. Although the succession of day and night, light and darkness, on which all division of time is based, is determined by the changes in the relation of the sun to the earth, yet among the Israelites it was by the moon[1] that days and weeks and years were calculated.[2]—Owing to the circumstance that the crescent of the moon does not make its appearance till after sunset, the *civil day* (*νυχθήμερον*) was reckoned from the evening (Lev. xxiii. 32), not from the morning or midnight; while, in more primitive times, it was not divided into hours, but simply into the evening and the morning (Gen. i. 3 ff.), *i.e.* the night and the natural day (Ps. lxxxviii. 2). The natural day, which extended from early dawn till the stars began to appear (Neh. iv. 15), was originally divided simply into morning (בֹּקֶר), noon (צָהֳרַיִם, Gen. xliii. 16; Deut. xxviii. 29), and

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evening (עֶרֶב). Since the captivity, however, the night was divided into two halves (comp. חֲצִי לָיְלָה, half of the night = midnight, Ex. xii. 29), or into three night watches (the first, Lam. ii. 10, the middle, Judg. vii. 19, and the third or morning watch, אַשְׁמֹרֶת הַבֹּקֶר, Ex. xiv. 24; 1 Sam. xi. 11). The division of the night into four watches (comp. Matt. xiv. 25: *τετάρτη φυλακὴ τῆς νυκτός*), known as *ὀψέ*, *μεσονύκτιον*, *ἀλεκτροφωνία*, and *πρωΐ* (Mark xiii. 35), was first borrowed by the Jews from the Romans.[3]

The next largest division of time, viz. the seven-day period or the *week* (שָׁבוּעַ, from שֶׁבַע, seven), is connected with the four phases of the moon,[4] though it has, at the same time, its deeper ground in the fact of the world's having been created in seven days. It is for this reason that we meet with the practice of reckoning days by weeks or cycles of weeks among so many ancient nations.[5] The Israelites did not distinguish the various days of the week by particular names; they simply designated them by the order in which they came, as first, second, and so on, concluding with the seventh, known as the Sabbath or day of rest, and the solemn observance of which was peculiar to Israel among all the nations of antiquity, and hence the weeks themselves were sometimes reckoned as, and known under the designation of, שַׁבָּתוֹת (Lev. xxiii. 15, comp. with Deut. xvi. 9).[6]

Four weeks, again, made a *month*, the Hebrew designations for which, viz. יֶרַח (moon and month)[7] and חֹדֶשׁ (new moon, from חָדַשׁ, to be new), are of themselves calculated to prove that the Israelites distinguished the months according to the phases of the moon. They began with the commencement, *i.e.* with the first appearance, of the new moon, and were so-called synodical months of twenty-nine or thirty days.[8]— In earlier times the months were merely distinguished according to the order in which they came, as first, second, third, and so on. One or two of them, however, had special names besides, the first thing known as the month of green ears (חֹדֶשׁ אָבִיב, Ex. xiii. 4, xxiii. 15; Deut. xvi. 1), the second as the month of flowers or month of brilliancy (חֹדֶשׁ זִו, 1 Kings vi. 1, 37), the seventh as the month of flowing abundance or of gifts and fruits (יֶרַח הָאֵתָנִים, 1 Kings viii. 2), and the eighth as the rainy month or month of growth (יֶרַח בּוּל, 1 Kings vi.

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38). The ancient practice of merely designating the months by their respective numbers is also followed in the writings belonging to the post-Babylonian period (Hagg. i. 1, 18, ii. 1, 10; Zech. i. 1, viii. 19; Dan. x. 4; Ezra iii. 1, 6, 8, vi. 19, vii. 8, 9, viii. 31, x. 8, 16), though in these we already begin to detect traces of special names being applied to them, which names are sometimes conjoined with the number (Zech. i. 7, vii. 1; Esth. ii. 16, iii. 7, 13, viii. 9, etc.), and sometimes stand alone (Ezra vi. 15; Neh. i. 1, ii. 1, vi. 15).[8]—The names in question, and which are clearly of Babylonian origin,[9] are as follows: (1) *Nisan* (נִיסָן, Neh. ii. 1; Esth. iii. 7), the first month, that in which the Passover occurred; (2) *Ijjar* (אִיָּר, Targ. 2 Chron. xxx. 2); (3) *Sivan* (סִיוָן, Esth. viii. 9; Σιουάλ, Bar. i. 8); (4) *Thammuz* (תַּמּוּז); (5) *Ab* (אָב); (6) *Elul* (אֱלוּל, Neh. vi. 15; Ἐλούλ, 1 Macc. xiv. 27); (7) *Tisri* (תִּשְׁרִי), in which the feast of the Atonement and the feast of Tabernacles occurred; (8) *Marchesvan* (מַרְחֶשְׁוָן, Μαρσουάν or Μαρσουάνη, Joseph. *Antt.* i. 3. 3); (9) *Chislev* (כִּסְלֵו, Neh. i. 1; Zech. vii. 1; Χασελεῦ, 1 Macc. i. 54); (10) *Tebeth* (טֵבֵת, Esth. ii. 16); (11) *Schebat* (שְׁבָט, Zech. i. 7; Σαβάτ, 1 Macc. xvi. 14); (12) *Adar* (אֲדָר, Esth. iii. 7, viii. 12; 2 Macc. xv. 37); to which there was added from time to time an intercalary month, called *Veadar* (ואדר, אדר בתראה or אדר שני).[10]

The *year* of the Israelites, again, was a lunar year, consisting of 354 days, 8 hours, 48 minutes, 38 seconds, or of 12 months, and it required to be lengthened from time to time by the addition of a thirteenth or intercalary month to make it correspond with the solar year, and in order that the leading festivals that occurred in the first, third, and seventh months, in connection with the grain harvest and the vintage, might always come round at the same time every year.[11] In conformity with what is prescribed in Ex. xii. 2, the year began with the earing month (Nisan), that in which Israel departed from Egypt, and from which, as being the first, the other months of the year were computed (Lev. xxiii. 5, 24, 27, 34, xxv. 9; 2 Kings xxv. 8; Jer. xxxix. 2; comp. also 1 Macc. iv. 52, xvi. 21). As the law contained no regulation on the matter, the mode of proceeding in determining the commencement of the year was in earlier times simply this. Towards the end of the twelfth month the sown fields were

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examined with the view of ascertaining whether the barley was likely to be ripe by the middle of the following month. If there was any prospect of this, then the new year began with the new moon; but if not, the old year was prolonged by the addition of a thirteenth month.[12] At a later period the intercalation was decreed by the Sanhedrim, which, in issuing such decree, made it a rule never to introduce an intercalary month into a sabbatical year.[13]—It is not probable, nor can it be made out from the Old Testament, that, as has been assumed by the majority of the Rabbinical writers and by many Christian scholars, there existed any distinction between the ecclesiastical and civil year, the latter beginning, it is supposed, with the seventh month (Tisri). It was not till after the captivity that we hear of any such distinction, when the solemn observance of the seventh new moon in the year, already holding so prominent a place in the law, came to assume the character of a New Year festival.[14] Previous to the exile, the seventh month, that in which, about the time of the autumnal equinox, the harvest along with the fruit-gathering and the vintage was brought to a close, was merely of the nature of a term or date, by which, in conformity with time-honoured usage, certain agricultural arrangements were regulated, such as buying, renting or taking of a farm, and so on; and hence it was, too, that the year of jubilee was ordered to be solemnly proclaimed throughout the land on the tenth of this month (Lev. xxv. 9), while there can be no question that the sabbatical year also came into existence about this same period.[15]

[1] Founding upon Gen. i. 14 f.: "Let there be lights in the firmament of the heaven, to divide the day from the night; and let them be for signs and מוֹעֲדִים, *i.e.* for regulating particular seasons, and for measuring the length of the day and the year," the Psalmist declares (Ps. civ. 19) that "God made the moon לְמוֹעֲדִים, for seasons," *i.e.* in order that there might be definite seasons, and that they might be reckoned by that luminary. Comp. Sir. xliii. 6–8.

[2] Comp. Ideler, *Handb. der mathemat. u. technischen Chronologie*, vol. i. p. 477 ff.

[3] Just as, according to Herodotus, ii. 109, the Greeks also τὰ δυώδεκα μέρεα τῆς ἡμέρης παρὰ τῶν Βαβυλωνίων ἔμαθον. Consequently in old Hebrew there is no word for *hour*. The Jews of a later

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period expressed it by the Chaldaic term שְׁעָה (Dan. iv. 16, v. 5, where it is = רגע, moment). Those hours were reckoned from sunrise, so that the third (Matt. xx. 3; Acts ii. 15) would correspond to something like our nine in the morning, the sixth to our mid-day (Matt. xx. 5; John xix. 14), while with the eleventh the day began to draw to a close (Matt. xx. 6). They also varied in length at different seasons of the year, for in Palestine the longest day consisted of 14 hours 12 minutes, and the shortest of only 9 hours 48 minutes, while the natural day was divided into 12 hours all the year through, just as among other ancient nations. Comp. Ideler, i. p. 84 ff.; Winer, *Realwörtb.* ii. p. 130 f.; and Oehler in Herzog, xv. p. 410 ff.

[4] Although each quarter of the moon represents 7⅜ days. Comp. Ideler, i. p. 60.

[5] Not only among other Semitic nations and among the Egyptians, but also among the Chinese and ancient Peruvians; comp. Ideler, i. pp. 88, 178, and ii. p. 473. — In his article entitled "Der babylonische Ursprung der siebentägigen Woche (in the *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1874, p. 342 ff.), Schrader has proved nothing beyond the fact that this practice of reckoning by weeks passed, on the one hand, from the Babylonians to the Aramæans, that through these it came, by way of Asia Minor, to the later Greeks and Romans, and through the medium of the Romans reached the Germanic peoples; and that, on the other, it found its way from Chaldæa, in the direction of southern Arabia, to the Himjari and the Ethiopians, while it was not till a much later period that it was communicated to the Arabians through the Jews; and further, that it existed among the Hebrews as early as the date of their entrance into Canaan. But he has failed to produce any valid evidence to show that it was the Babylonians who originated the practice in question.

[6] Hence in the New Testament we have *πρώτη σαββάτου* to designate the first day of the week (Mark xvi. 9), *τοῦ σαββάτου*, meaning: in the course of the week, or *μία* (= *πρώτη*) *σαββάτων* (Mark xvi. 2; Luke xxiv. 1; John xx. 1, 19; Acts xx. 7). The use of the plural *τὰ σάββατα* in the sense of *week* is simply in conformity with the use of the Chaldee שַׁבְּתָא or שָׁבְתָא in the same sense. The term *ἑβδομάς* is nowhere met with in the New Testament.

[7] Benfey (*Ueber d. Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker v.* Th. Benfey u. M. A. Stern, Berlin 1836), p. 3 f., regards יָרֵחַ when used in the sense of *month* as Chaldaic; but seeing that it occurs in this sense so early as Ex. ii. 2 and Deut. xxi. 13, we are bound to regard it as an old Hebrew term, and to account for the predominant use of חֹדֶשׁ in the earlier books by the fact

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that the months themselves were precisely regulated, first of all, by their relation to the solemn observance of the new moon as appointed by the law, and hence it was that the term new moon came to be currently used in the sense of month.

[8] In the synodical month there are 29 days, 12 hours, 44 minutes, 3 seconds. Comp. Ideler, i. p. 43.—How the ancient Israelites came to fix upon 29 or 30 days as the length of the month, we have no means of knowing. If we are to believe the statements of the Talmud, it was somewhat as follows: Whenever any one living in Jerusalem or the neighbourhood saw the new moon appearing, he was required to report the fact to the Sanhedrim, which on the 30th of every month sat the whole day from the morning till the evening sacrifice. As soon as this intimation had thus been duly made to it, the Sanhedrim pronounced its מקודש, declared the current month of 29 days to be now concluded, and the 30th day to be the beginning or first of the new month; a fact which originally was proclaimed throughout the land by kindling beacons on the heights, and latterly by sending out messengers. If, however, the state of the atmosphere was such as to prevent the moon's phase from being seen on the 30th, then the month concluded with that day, and without further proclamation the following day was solemnly observed as that of the new moon. So Mischna, *Rosch. haschschana*, capp. i. and ii., and extracts in Othonis, *Lexic. Rabb.* p. 466 ff. But if we suppose the above to have been the practice, then, seeing that the intimation of the new moon having appeared could scarcely have been made before evening, it was simply impossible that the festival sacrifice appointed for the first day of the new month could be offered before the second, nor would it be possible for any one throughout the whole land to tell beforehand whether the festival of the new moon would be observed on the morrow or on the day following; whereas, according to 1 Sam. xx. 5, 24, it would appear to have been previously known: "To-morrow is the new moon," and King Saul expects his guests to take meat with him at this festival.—Consequently we are bound to assume that there must have been some more definite mode of determining the beginning of the months and fixing the day for celebrating the festival of the new moon, although there is no mention of it in the Old Testament.—In the present day, however, the Karæans are said to regulate the appointment of the day for observing the new moon by the first phase of the moon itself (comp. Iken, *Dissertatt. philol.* ii. pp. 421–427); while the Rabbanites have recourse to an astronomical system of calculation alleged to have been invented in the time of Simon Maccabæus or by Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, though certainly

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not adopted till after the destruction of the second temple, the system, moreover, on which the calendar of the modern Jews is based. For further information regarding this matter, see *Rosch hasch.*, and, as given in Maimonides, *Kiddusch hachodesch*, one of the tractates in the *Jad chasaka*, rendered into Latin by L. de Compiegne de Veil, Par. 1669 and Amst. 1701. Comp. besides, Gumpach, *Ueber den altjüdischen Kalender zunächst in seiner Beziehung zur neutestamentl. Geschichte*, Brüssel 1848; Ad. Schwarz, *Der jüdische Kalender historisch und astronomisch untersucht*, Bresl. 1872; and further, for the modern Jewish calendar, consult Bendavid, *Zur Berechnung u. Geschichte des jüd. Kalenders*, Berl. 1807.

[9] The origin of those names, the most of which are also to be met with among the Syrians and in the Palmyra inscriptions (comp. Benfey, as above, p. 19 ff.), is quite uncertain. The older divines attempted, though quite unsuccessfully, to show that they were Chaldee (Semitic) words; comp. Benfey, p. 12 ff. Hence it was that, from having observed that *Ader* occurs as the name of a month among the Persians, Benfey undertook to show that the whole of the names were old Persian words (p. 24 ff., comp. also Gesenius, *Thes.* ii. 702, 882, 947, iii. 1353). This, however, could only be carried out by the utmost stretch of ingenuity, even in the case of one or two of them. Cf. Pott, *HALZ.* 1839, No. 46. Comp. J. Brandis, *Ueber den histor. Gewinn aus der Entzifferung der assyr. Inschriften*, Berl. 1856, pp. 40 and 100. At the present day, however, the Assyrio-Babylonian origin of these is placed beyond doubt, as not only do the most of these names occur in the context of Assyrian inscriptions, but also all the thirteen are enumerated in a table of the months found at Nineveh. Their meaning, of course, has been at first only partially ascertained. Cf. E. B. Schrader, *Die Keilinschriften u. das A. Test.* p. 246 ff.

[10] The second Book of Maccabees (xi. 30, 33, 38, Σανθικός; xi. 21, Διοσκορίνθιος; Vulgate, Dioscurus) and Josephus (comp. Ideler, i. p. 398 ff.) compute according to the Syro-Macedonian months, while the third Book of Maccabees, on the other hand, reckons by those of Egypt, which does not prove, however, that the calendars of those nations had been adopted by the Jews.

[11] Credner (*Joel*, p. 207 ff.), Böttcher (*Proben alttestl. Schrifterkl.* p. 283 f.; *De inferis*, i. 125), and Seyffarth (*Chronologia sacr.* p. 26 ff.), on the other hand, have attempted to prove that originally the Israelitish year was a solar year, and that it was not till the time of Hezekiah, or (according to Seyffarth) not till the year 200 B.C., that it was superseded by the lunar year. But the somewhat feeble arguments that have been advanced in support of this view have already been disposed of by

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Benfey (as above, p. 5 f.), Winer (*Realwörtb.* i. p. 532), and others.

[13] So Ideler, i. p. 490, and Bähr, *Symb.* ii. p. 528.

[14] Comp. Selden, *De anno civili vet. Judæor.*, Lugd. Bat. 1683, p. 23 ff.; and Reland, *Antiq. sacr.* iv. 1, § iii. f.—This intercalation became necessary every third and sometimes even in the second year, although it was forbidden to be made in two consecutive years unless demanded by some urgent necessity. Comp. Anger, *De temporum in Actis Apost. ratione*, p. 32.—The intercalary year was called שנה מעוברת, the common year שנה משׁוּטה.

[15] According to Winer (*Realwörtb.* i. p. 531), this arrangement was introduced "with the view of commemorating the first sacred act performed by the returned exiles upon Palestinian ground (Ezra iii. 1 ff.; Neh. vii. 73, viii. 1 ff.), while at a later period it also coincided with the date of the Seleucidian era, which commenced in October." But seeing that, in the post-exilic books as well, the *ancient* practice is adhered to of distinguishing the months by their number, Nisan being designated the first (Esth. iii. 1), Sivan the third (Esth. viii. 9), Kislev the ninth (Zech. vii. 1; 1 Macc. iv. 52), Tebet the tenth (Esth. ii. 16), Sebat the eleventh (Zech. i. 7; 1 Macc. xvi. 14), and Adar the twelfth (Esth. iii. 13, ix. 1), and seeing that nowhere is any mention made of a new-year celebration, there is no reason to suppose that the introduction of a civil year, commencing with the first day of Tisri, was specially associated with the building of the altar after the return from the captivity (Ezra iii. 1 ff.), it being more likely that the civil year was not introduced till after the adoption of the Seleucidian era. It is according to this latter era that events are dated in the Books of the Maccabees; but, in the first and second of them as well, the months are still designated by their numbers in the early Hebrew fashion, as, for example, in 1 Macc. x. 21 and 2 Macc. xv. 37, in which latter passage it is added, *apropos* of the twelfth month, that "it is known to the Syrians as Adar." What is here said will also serve to dispose of Ideler's conjecture (i. p. 533), to the effect that, in the second Book of the Maccabees, the years of the Seleucidian era were reckoned from Tisri downward, in accordance with the usual practice throughout the kingdom of Syria. It will, at the same time, dispose of Benfey's inference (as above, p. 222), based upon this conjecture, to the effect that the new beginning of the year did not come into current use till about 130 B.C. at the soonest. When this took place it is impossible precisely to determine; for, as regards Josephus (*Antiq.* i. 3. 3), who is generally quoted as the oldest authority on the subject, all we can gather from

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him is, that in his day it was the practice in connection with civil matters to date the commencement of the year from Tisri, a practice which he regarded as based upon an ancient Mosaic enactment; but nowhere does he say anything about the so-called civil year having been inaugurated with a new-year festival at the beginning of the seventh month.

[15] The observance of the seventh new moon, to which special prominence is given in the law, has no connection whatever with the beginning of the year. Then as regards what is said in Ex. xxiii. 16 about keeping the feast of the ingathering at the end of the year (בְּצֵאת הַשָּׁנָה), it tells *against* much more than it does in *favour* of the alleged practice of computing by a civil year beginning with the seventh month. For although, in defiance of the parallel passage (Ex. xxxiv. 22), according to which the feast of the ingathering was to be kept תְּקוּפַת הַשָּׁנָה, *vertente anno*, we were (with Hupfeld) to render the words בְּצֵאת הַשָּׁנָה by *finito anno*, still no one would think of saying, with regard to a feast that fell upon the middle of the first month of the year, or fifteen days after new year, that it was to be kept at the end of the year. Those forms of expression were chosen—as is clearly evident from the explanatory clause in Ex. xxiii. 16: בְּאָסְפְּךָ אֶת־מַעֲשֶׂיךָ מִן־הַשָּׂדֶה—purely with reference to the agricultural year. "This natural year was in existence even before there was any civil year beginning with Tisri" (Winer, *Realwörtb.* i. p. 531). As little are we at liberty to infer, with Delitzsch (*Genes.* 214 of the 4th ed.), from Ex. xvi. 1, xix. 1, where the addition of the words: "since the departure from Egypt," identifies חֹדֶשׁ הַשֵּׁנִי with Ijjar, that "after the Israelites left Egypt, the beginning of the year dated from the exodus," but simply that with this event there began a new era, *i.e.* the practice of *numbering* the years from the exodus, although, of course, in the first year of that era it was the months that were thus distinguished by their numbers (Ex. xl. 17; Num. i. 1, x. 11, etc.). It is possible—though the point is one that cannot be determined by conclusive argument either on the one side or the other—that in the narrative of the flood the months are computed from the harvest; still all that could be inferred from this would be the simple fact, that before the time of Moses the Israelites or their forefathers knew nothing of a year with fixed limits and a definite commencement, but that they contented themselves with the natural year, which began with the season for sowing the fields, and ended with the close of the harvest.

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§ 75. *The Daily Worship.*

As the people of God, Israel celebrated public worship every day. Every morning and evening there were offered in the name and on behalf of the congregation[1] a lamb in its first year as a burnt-offering, and along with each lamb a tenth of an ephah of fine flour mixed with oil as a meat-offering, and a quarter of a hin of wine as a drink-offering for a sweet-smelling savour unto the Lord (Ex. xxix. 38–42; Num. xxviii. 3–8), so that the fire upon the altar was kept constantly burning both day and night. With the morning and evening sacrifice for the congregation there was conjoined the meat-offering of the priests (Lev. vi. 12 ff.), as described in § 36, 4 (p. 226 f.). Besides this, frankincense was burnt every day upon the golden altar in the holy place, in the morning when the lamps were being trimmed, and in the evening when they were being placed upon the seven-branched candlestick and lighted (Ex. xxx. 7, 8).[2] Those seven lamps were kept burning the whole night from the evening till the morning (Ex. xxvii. 20 f.; Lev. xxiv. 3).[3] After the morning sacrifice in the court and the holy place was finished, the priest brought the whole service to a close by pronouncing the benediction (Num. vi. 23 ff.) over the worshippers assembled at the sanctuary. But, if there were any persons present who wanted to offer freewill-offerings or offerings prescribed for special cases (purifications, vows), they had an opportunity of getting them presented after the services connected with the regular morning sacrifice were concluded.—Nor was it allowable to omit the usual morning and evening sacrifices on the Sabbath and festival days, but, as an established (תָּמִיד) part of worship, it was to be a perpetual ordinance for all future generations. After the practice was introduced of singing during the sacrificial service, psalms were sung to the praise of God at the daily sacrifice, the music, both vocal and instrumental, being executed by the Levites (1 Chron. xvi. 40 ff.).

The meaning of this worship may be gathered from that of the sacrificial acts themselves, and which we have already explained. (Comp. pp. 317, 341, and 147 f.) As a people in covenant with the Lord, Israel was required not only to consecrate itself every day, in soul and body, to the Lord by

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means of the burnt-offering that was offered every morning and evening, so as thereby to be sanctified in turn by His grace, and also to furnish practical evidence of its being so sanctified by presenting to Him the fruits of its spiritual life as represented by the meat- and the drink-offerings; but, in and through the symbol of the incense, it was likewise called upon to lift up the heart in praise, thanksgiving, and prayer to its God, and, through the medium of prayer, to seek strength for the fulfilment of its mission, that so, in the power of the Lord, it might be enabled to let its light shine amid the darkness of this world.

[1] According to Jewish tradition, the whole congregation of Israel was represented at the daily service by deputies appointed for the purpose, who were known under the designation of אנשי מעמד, men of position, and whose duty it was to lay their hands upon the head of the victims. Comp. Lundius, *Jüd. Heiligth.* p. 921, and Carpzov, *Appar.* p. 109 f. Although the Talmudical regulations with regard to the election and rank of those deputies are of somewhat later origin, and certainly were not in force earlier than the time of the second temple, still they are, in any case, based upon the truth that it was necessary that the congregation, too, should be represented at every religious service.

[2] The order in which the different parts of the daily service were to be arranged is not further specified in the law; only the time at which the evening sacrifice was to be offered is fixed at בֵּין הָעַרְבַּיִם, "between both evenings," *i.e.* toward sunset; comp. Ex. xxix. 39, 41, xxx. 8, with Ex. xii. 6 and Deut. xvi. 5.— Hence the Talmudists and Rabbins have specified all the different points in the various sacred acts with all the greater minuteness, as see the tractate *Tamid* in the Mischna, ed. Surenh. v. p. 284 ff., with the commentaries of Bartenora and Maimonides. Comp. also Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebr.*, note on Luke i. 8.

[3] So according to the Talmud. On the other hand, we read in Josephus (*Antt.* iii. 8. 3) that: τοὺς μὲν τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ λυχνίᾳ φέγγειν ἔδει τῷ Θεῷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς περὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν ἅπτοντας.

§ 76. *The Cycle of Feasts prescribed in the Law.*

Besides the daily worship, the law prescribed special festivals that were to be observed by the congregation from

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time to time.[1] Those festivals formed an organic whole, a complete cycle of feast-days and seasons specially consecrated to God based upon the number seven, having its centre and starting-point in the Sabbath, and, in accordance with the division of time established in creation, divided into weeks, months, years, and periods of years. As God created the world in six days, and, after finishing His work, blessed and hallowed the seventh day by resting upon it, so in like manner His people were required to consecrate to Him the seventh day of every week by abstaining from every kind of work upon it. And, like the seventh day of the week, the seventh month of the year had also to be consecrated to the Lord by devoting the first day of that month to Sabbatic rest (Lev. xxiii. 24 f.). Every seventh year, again, had to be similarly consecrated by an entire suspension of agricultural labour throughout the course of it; while, after the lapse of seven times seven years, came the fiftieth or year of jubilee, every return of which brought with it an *ἀποκατάστασις* for the whole theocracy (Lev. xxv.).—With this cycle of sacred seasons, based on the septenary principle to which we have referred, there was organically associated another series of yearly festivals devoted to the commemoration of the signal acts performed by the Lord in raising up, protecting, and blessing His people. That such an organic connection really existed is evident from the simple fact that, on the one hand, the number of those yearly festivals amounted exactly to *seven*, the festivities in the case of the two principal ones extending over *seven* days; while, on the other hand, throughout the whole course of those annual festivals, lasting in some instances *one*, and in others *seven* days, only *seven* days in all were to be celebrated by a Sabbatic cessation from work, and a special assembling for religious purposes. We see, therefore, that the sacred number seven pervaded the whole festival cycle from beginning to end as the basis and principle on which it was constructed.[2] This formal principle of arrangement, however, was not a thing of mere abstract schematism, but was so essentially related to the idea embodied in the different feasts, that the longer or shorter duration, and the greater or less importance of the celebrations connected with them, were regulated by the nature of the occasion or event to which the

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feast had reference. Hence the seven festivals were so arranged as to form two leading series, each of which began with a feast that formed, so to speak, the foundation of the series, then culminated in a grand celebration of seven days' duration, and then concluded with a celebration lasting only a single day, while they were so distributed over the year that the two principal festivals occurred in the middle of the first and that of the seventh month.[8]

The first of the two *series of festivals* just mentioned had reference to the raising up of Israel to be the people of God, and to the way in which He had preserved them. It began with the Passover on the fourteenth day of the earing month, a feast that was instituted immediately before the departure of Israel from Egypt, in acknowledgment of the merciful way in which Israel had been spared by the destroying angel that was commissioned to kill the first-born among the Egyptians, and which formed the basis of one of the leading feasts of the year, viz. that of unleavened bread which extended over seven days. During this feast, Israel, as being a holy people, and as having been delivered by the sparing mercy of God, was not only forbidden to eat anything leavened, or even to allow anything in the shape of leaven to remain within its borders, but was also required to offer the firstling sheaves on the second day of the feast by way of consecrating the produce of the year to the Lord as being the means of subsistence indispensable to its very existence, and so to enjoy it with gratitude as coming only from Him. Then, after the lapse of seven full weeks, dating from the day just mentioned, and on the fiftieth day after the sheaves had been presented, the feast of harvest was to be celebrated by the offering of two firstling loaves. For Israel was indebted to God not only for its deliverance from Egyptian bondage and for its being called to be a holy people, but also for its preservation and continued existence. And so it was the design of this festival to keep this twofold manifestation of the divine favour in everlasting remembrance. But in order that full justice might be done to both the elements of which this festival was composed, and that the end as well as the beginning of the harvest might find a place in the series of feasts, the conclusion of the series now in question was

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deferred till the expiry of seven full weeks after the offering of the firstling sheaves, so that it might coincide as nearly as possible with the termination of the grain harvest. For that we are not at liberty to treat the harvest feast or feast of weeks as co-ordinate with the two leading feasts of unleavened bread and of tabernacles, between which it happens to be mentioned in Ex. xxiii. 16, xxxiv. 32, but are simply to regard it as the concluding part of the former, is evident, partly from the fact that the date of its occurrence was to be computed from the offering of the firstling sheaves at the feast of unleavened bread, and partly because the celebration of it lasted only a single day, whereas that of the leading festivals extended over seven days.

The *second series of feasts* had reference to Israel's felicity in being privileged to enjoy in such abundance the benefits and blessings of God, and was confined exclusively to the seventh month. It began on the tenth of this month with the great day of atonement, the day on which the covenant people was to be confirmed, through its sins being atoned for and its defilements removed, in its gracious relation to the Lord, and so prepared for the feast of tabernacles which commenced on the fifteenth of the month, and at which, now that the produce of the soil was gathered in (Lev. xxiii. 29; Ex. xxiii. 16), it was called upon to rejoice before the Lord over the blessings He had bestowed upon it. This latter feast concluded with an octave, an eighth festival day superadded to the other seven, and, with this octave, the entire series of feasts for the year was formally brought to a close. For that this eighth day did not form part of the leading festival itself, is evident not only from the fact that it is regarded as quite distinct from it in the law (Lev. xxiii. 26), but also from the further fact that the festal burnt-offering prescribed for that day (a bullock, a ram, and seven lambs) was the same as that required for the great day of atonement (comp. Num. xxix. 36 f. with ver. 8 f.); whereas, for the seven days of the feast of tabernacles there were prescribed, in a descending scale, 13, 12, 11, 10, 9, 8, 7 bullocks along with 2 rams and 14 lambs for each day's burnt-offering (vv. 13–34).

It is this peculiarity in regard to the numbers of the

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victims that, in the main, distinguished the second series of feasts from the first, in which latter the number of victims prescribed for the festal offerings, viz. two young bullocks, a ram, and seven lambs in their first year for a burnt-offering, and a he-goat as a sin-offering, was the same for each day, always excepting the Passover day or the fourteenth of *Abib*, on which occasion no public festival sacrifice was offered. This distinction extended even to the new moon festivals. Every new moon, or the beginning of every month, was consecrated by the offering of a festival sacrifice, without, however, observing the day by a Sabbatic resting from work. This sacrifice, like that offered on the festival days, belonged to the first series of feasts, consisted of two young bullocks, a ram, and seven lambs in their first year for a burnt-offering, and a he-goat for a sin-offering. On the seventh new moon of the year, on the other hand, there was superadded to the ordinary new moon sacrifice a special festal offering similar to that of the great day of atonement, and of the octave or eighth festival day with which the second series of feasts was brought to a close, consisting, that is, of a single bullock, a ram, and seven lambs in their first year for a burnt-offering, and a he-goat for a sin-offering. Through this special offering the seventh month was consecrated into what was pre-eminently the festival or Sabbatic month, the commencement of which (the new moon) was observed as a day of rest (שַׁבָּתוֹן), and as commemorating the sounding of the trumpets by an entire cessation from work; while it was in the middle of this month that the feast of tabernacles occurred, the most important of all the festivals, being, as it were, the high festival of Israel's felicity.[4]

But among the whole of those festivals there were, exclusive, of course, of the weekly Sabbath, only seven days in all that were observed with a Sabbatic resting from work (מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדָה) and a special assembling for public worship, and those were so arranged that three of them (the first and seventh day of the feast of unleavened bread and the day of pentecost) fell within the first series, while the other four, again, fell within the second series of festivals, viz. upon the first, the tenth, the fifteenth, and the twenty-second of the seventh month, *i.e.* upon the day of trumpet-sounding, the great day of atonement,

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the first day of the feast of tabernacles, and upon the octave of the latter. It will be seen, then, that the principle on which the days of rest were thus allocated was calculated to impart a higher degree of solemnity to the series of festivals that occurred in the Sabbatic month. This appears still further from the fact that, of the four days of rest falling within that month, one of them, viz. the great day of atonement, was a שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּתוֹן, on which, as on the weekly Sabbath (Lev. xxiii. 3), no work of any kind was allowed to be done, not even to the preparing or cooking of food (Lev. xxiii. 28, comp. vv. 30, 31); whereas on the other six days of rest it was only ordinary labour that was forbidden, while the cooking of food was quite allowable (Ex. xii. 16; Lev. xxiii. 7, 8, 21, 25, 35, 36).[5]

Then, lastly, the dates fixed for the observance of those leading yearly festivals are full of significance, and are not to be accounted for merely from the circumstance that such festivals were originally connected with the harvest, that the Passover with its pentecost octave happened to embrace the beginning and the end of the harvest, and that the feast of tabernacles, occurring as it did after the ingathering of all the produce of the fields, formed a high thanksgiving festival in acknowledgment of the blessings of the harvest. We should rather say that those natural occurrences are entirely subordinated by the law to those historical events to which the leading festivals had reference, and so it was precisely for this reason that the Passover, commemorating as it did Israel's nativity as the people of God, was appropriately introduced at the beginning or in the first month of the year. It was therefore in deference to this idea that the month in which Israel was called to the position of the peculiar people of the Lord was fixed upon as the beginning or first month of the year (רֹאשׁ לְחָדְשֵׁי הַשָּׁנָה [רֹאשׁ], Ex. xii. 2).[6] Now, as in Palestine it so happened that about this time the earliest of the grain, viz. the barley, began to be ripe, it was only natural that the gift of grace, as represented by the redemption of Israel, should be combined with the gift of nature on which the continued existence of the redeemed people was depending, and that, thus combined, they should form the occasion of one and the same festival.—But as the first month was the only time that

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was appropriate for the idea underlying the Passover, so again the only month that was suited for the feast of tabernacles, being as it was the festival of Israel's ecstatic joy over the abundance of the good things of life bestowed upon it, was the seventh, when the covenant people were called upon, not only to observe every week one Sabbath day after six days of work, but also in the course of every year to observe one Sabbatic month after six months of work as a time of refreshing in the presence of God.

[1] In his *Symb.* ii. p. 525, note, Bähr gives a list of the works specially devoted to the subject of Israelitish festivals, and to these we would add Ewald's *De Feriarum hebr. origine ac ratione*, Göttingen 1841, 4 (also given in the *Ztschr. für die Kunde des Morgenl.* iii. p. 410 ff.), and his *Alterthümer des Volks Israel*, p. 441 ff. of the 3rd ed. And still further, Bachmann's *Die Festgesetze des Pentateuchs; aufs neue kritisch untersucht*, Berl. 1858. This work was written in answer to Hupfeld's *commentatio de primitiva et vera festorum apud Hebræos ratione*, Partic. i. and ii. 1851 and 1852, which were succeeded in 1858 by Part. iii., *De anni sabbathici et jobelei ratione*, and an appendix in 1865. Those four essays were prepared as Easter Programmata for Halle University, in which, by critical analysis, Hupfeld endeavoured to show that the legislation of the Pentateuch with regard to festivals is obscure, contradictory, and unhistorical, and that it is of no service whatever in the way of throwing light upon the source and original character of the Israelitish feasts. This opinion, entertained also by other critics, has been thoroughly refuted in the *Hebrew Feasts in their Relation to Recent Critical Hypotheses concerning the Pentateuch*, by William Henry Green, Prof. in Princeton Theological Seminary, New York 1885.

[2] "The date of every Mosaic festival without distinction, no matter what its special object may have been, gave evidence of being connected in some way or other with the number *seven;* or conversely, each section of time known to the Hebrews that stood seventh in the series to which it belonged, became *eo ipso* a festival season. So every seventh day, every seventh month, every seventh year, and lastly, the year that came after the lapse of seven times seven years; the feasts of trumpets, of the atonement, and that of tabernacles, all occur in the seventh month; it is with this same month that the Sabbatic year and the year of jubilee begin; Pentecost falls upon the day immediately following the lapse of seven weeks or seven times seven days; the Passover and the feast of Tabernacles extend over

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seven days; the number of special convocations of the people for worship (מִקְרָא) in the course of the year are seven in all (two at the Passover, one at pentecost, one at the feast of trumpets, one at the feast of atonement, and two at the feast of tabernacles). The number seven, therefore, forms the principle according to which the cycle of Mosaic festivals is divided and arranged." Bähr, ii. p. 537 f.

[3] The majority of archæologists distinguish three classes of festivals; the *first* being the Sabbaths (the weekly Sabbath, the seventh month, the seventh year, and the year of jubilee), the *second* being the three annual festivals (the Passover, Pentecost, and the feast of Tabernacles), and the *third* being the feast of the Atonement. So Winer, *Realwörtb.* i. p. 370; Bähr, ii. p. 511 ff.; Kurtz, Scholz, and others. Kurtz characterizes those three classes as follows: In the observance of the Sabbath and the Sabbatic seasons we have the covenant mode of giving expression to the recognition of Jehovah on that side of His nature in which He has revealed Himself as the Creator of heaven and earth and all that are therein. In the three annual feasts again, viz. the Passover, pentecost, and the feast of tabernacles, we have a combination of two distinct elements, the redemption of Israel from Egypt on the one hand, and the furnishing it with the necessary means of subsistence on the other. For those feasts are on the one hand commemorative of those historical events through which Israel's redemption was brought about, and, associated as they are with the harvest season, are on the other thanksgivings for the blessed fruits of the earth. Then, in the great day of atonement, which constitutes the third class, we have represented the culmination of those atoning and sanctifying agencies by which God is brought to look with favour upon His people. This attempt, however, to regard the day of atonement as a peculiar class of festivals, co-ordinate with the Mazzot and feast of tabernacles, breaks down by its removal to the tenth day of the seventh month, between the second and third yearly festivals, which Kurtz also does not know how to explain otherwise than thus, that the feast of atonement was removed back into the nearest possible neighbourhood of the feast of tabernacles; and to this, as Israel's feast of gladness and blessedness, an appropriate basis was given in the preceding, highest, fullest, and most comprehensive atonement.

[4] With the twofold idea thus impressed upon the festivals correspond the two designations under which the festival seasons are known in the Pentateuch and in the Old Testament generally, viz. מוֹעֲדִים and חַגִּים, the former being used with reference to the whole of the festival occasions (Lev. xx. 2 ff.;

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Num. xxviii. 1, xxix. 39), the latter being restricted to the Passover, the feast of weeks, and that of tabernacles (Ex. xii. 14, xiii. 6, xxiii. 14–16, xxxiv. 18, 22, etc.). The term מוֹעֵד, from יעד, to appoint, to fix, means, as applied to time, the fixed, the appointed time for some purpose or other, as well the time fixed by nature for the duration of human and animal life (for example, Jer. viii. 7) as that appointed by the Lord for purposes of a sacred character. Consequently, the seasons of the last-mentioned kind are spoken of as מוֹעֲדֵי יְהוָה (Lev. xxiii. 2, 4 ff.). To this class belong the Sabbath, the new moons, the Passover (which occurs in one and *only* one passage in the Pentateuch, Ex. xxxiv. 25, under the designation of חַג הַפָּסַח), the great day of atonement, and the three annual pilgrimage festivals, being, as they were, the seasons the Lord had appointed at which His people were to offer Him their sacrifices, and accordingly in Num. xxviii. 2 and xxix. 39 even the times at which the morning and evening sacrifice took place are included in this category. The term חַג, from חָגַג, to turn round, to dance in a circle, denotes those festive occasions, those gala days, on which the people of Israel were called upon to rejoice before the Lord (Deut. xvi. 11, 14) over the material blessings bestowed upon them by their God, and therefore it is applied to the festivals connected with the harvest and the ingathering of the fruits of the earth, for which occasions pilgrimages to the sanctuary were prescribed (Ex. xxiii. 14, 17, xxxiv. 23; Deut. xvi. 16), till by and by it came to include the other public and national festivals as well.

It was Ewald who was the first to point out the inward organic connection that pervades the entire system of Israelitish feasts, and to show that the origin of the two annual seven-day festivals may be traced to two pre-Mosaic festivals that occurred in spring and autumn. This he did (*Alterthümer*, p. 463 of the 3rd ed.) somewhat as follows: Previous to the time of Moses the Israelites were familiar with at least two annual festivals which were intimately associated with agricultural arrangements and the life of nature; a spring solemnity at which the first-lings of the new year were presented, accompanied with holy vows and the offering up of prayers for the blessings with which it was hoped the whole subsequent portion of the year would be crowned. Now, seeing that the commencement of spring and the beginning of the year is a season of serious reflection and of profound anxiety as to the future, it had been the practice among the Israelites from the earliest times to offer an atoning sacrifice on the occasion of those festivals, which sacrifice was known under the primitive designation of *Pesach*,

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i.e. *passing by, sparing*, a designation which nowhere occurs in any other connection. "We find that in the harvest, after all the produce of the year, even the latest of it, such as the fruit and the wine, has been completely gathered in, the old practice is still adhered to among settled nations living in warmer climates of spending a few days, specially set apart for the purpose, in the open air merry-making and holiday-making, of dwelling, for the time being, in tabernacles or tents, and there celebrating a festival of great rejoicing and thanksgiving. The practice of holding such a feast of tabernacles at this season continued to be regularly observed among the Israelites as well."—Into those pre-Mosaic sacred seasons "the master mind of Moses, starting with the idea of the Sabbath, infused *one* leading thought, and so bound them all together by a firm tie, and established amongst them a connection as obvious as it was beautiful. As throughout the whole of Jahvism the priestly service ran parallel with that of the congregation, it follows that the festival observances above all would necessarily bear the impress of this twofold character of the worship." It was arranged that the new year should begin with the first month, the new moon of which comes after the vernal equinox;—the annual harvest festival was appointed to be held in the seventh month from the former, a month that was distinguished above all the others, and consecrated into a sacred month by the fact of its new moon being observed in a more solemn way than that of all the others, nay, more than that, of its being treated as to all intents and purposes a regular annual festival. The great harvest festival having been fixed for the full moon of the second month, the spring festival was very appropriately fixed for that of the first month. And as a piacular offering may be supposed to have preceded every great consecration sacrifice, and as no sacred act was to be performed without a due amount of previous preparation and purification, so each of those two great annual festivals was introduced with a special feast of atonement, which, in keeping with the earnest spirit of Jahvism, was observed with great strictness. The spring festival, on the one hand, was preceded by the *Passover*, that of harvest, on the other, by the great day of atonement, which was purely a season of penitence and expiation, and that with the view of securing the remission and removal of the individual and national offences and stains that had accumulated in the course of the year.—In thus explaining the matter, Ewald has doubtless correctly apprehended the organic connection of the various Israelitish feasts with one another, but he has dealt with the question of their origin more as an abstract theory than as simply a matter of historical fact. Even Dillmann ("*Feste*,"

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in Schenkel's *Bibellex.* ii. p. 265 ff.) maintains, though agreeing with Ewald in the main, that it is no longer possible to trace the connection between those Mosaic festive cycles and foreign and pre-Mosaic usages; and although he has collected numerous testimonies to show that the practice of holding festivals in spring and harvest was widely prevalent among ancient nations, still he takes care to add that "as yet it has been found impossible to prove, in a perfectly conclusive way" (p. 269), that from an early period the Israelites were also acquainted with, and were in the habit of celebrating, a festival in spring and harvest; and that even certain of their festal usages, such as eating unleavened bread or sacrificing a sheep and a he-goat, may possibly have been derived from such primitive festivals. It would be more correct to say that such a hypothesis is utterly unsupported by any historical testimony whatever.

Kurtz, on the other hand (*Opferc.* p. 299 ff.), has deemed it necessary to impugn our division (see the text above) of the Israelitish feasts into two leading series, and to characterize it as "a perversion." He has endeavoured to show that "this division is erroneous at every point." Not only is it "quite erroneous," it would appear, to split up the Passover or feast of unleavened bread into two separate feasts, but it is an absolute perversion to regard the former as standing to the latter in the relation of a "mere" (a word supplied by Kurtz himself) preliminary celebration to the leading celebration itself. "We should rather say," he continues, "that nothing is clearer (?) and more certain (?) throughout the whole legislation with regard to the worship than that the converse holds true, and that the Passover festival is the leading celebration, while the eating of unleavened bread for whole seven days is merely the expiring echo of the principal observance in question" (p. 311). But, notwithstanding this, we find Kurtz saying on the very same page that it—the eating of the Passover lamb—"formed the basis of the whole feast" (*i.e.* the feast of unleavened bread, extending over seven days). Consequently it can hardly be considered "an absolute perversion" to speak of the Passover that formed the basis of the feast of unleavened bread as the introductory or preliminary observance.—But the mistake—supposing it could be regarded as such—which is alleged to be involved in splitting up the Passover and the feast of unleavened bread into two distinct (not "different") feasts, is one into which the author of the third and fourth Books of Moses has himself fallen; for in the two calendars, Lev. xxiii. 5, 6, and Num. xxviii. 16, 17, the Passover festival, which falls upon the evening of the 14th of Nisan, is plainly and expressly distinguished from the feast of unleavened bread

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which lasts for seven days (*i.e.* from the 15th till the 21st of Nisan). Nor is it possible to avoid seeing that a similar distinction is made in Ex. xii., for the prescription regarding the observance of the Passover contained in vv. 3–14 of that chapter concludes with these words: "Ye shall keep it as חַג לַיהוָה throughout your generations, ye shall keep it as an ordinance for ever." The subsequent prescription in vv. 15–20 with reference to the feast of unleavened bread, is introduced without any special formula thus: "seven days shall ye eat unleavened bread," and also by the further fact that, in ver. 18: "on the fourteenth day of the month *at even* ye shall eat unleavened bread, until the one and twentieth day of the month at even," the evening of the fourteenth is not expressly marked off from the seven days of the feast of unleavened bread that began on the fifteenth day, so that the eating of unleavened bread is made to extend over eight evenings and seven days. The somewhat indefinite way in which this matter has been put is simply due to the fact that there was so short an interval between the two celebrations in question (comp. further, § 80, note 1). The association of the eating of unleavened bread at the feast of the Passover with the eating of unleavened bread for seven days during the feast of unleavened bread, does not justify us in including the Passover feast, with Kurtz, p. 312, in the seven days of unleavened bread, and still less in regarding the seven days' feast of unleavened bread as the dying echo of the Passover, the more important festival. In the whole legislation of the three intermediate books of the Pentateuch, the distinction between the *Passover* and *the feast of unleavened bread* is scrupulously observed. It is in Deut. xvi. 1 that the Passover was first identified with the whole seven days' celebration, and in ver. 2 was even applied to the victims sacrificed on each of those seven days. But it would not be sound exegesis to set aside the original signification of a word in deference to the one or two instances in which it happens to have been used in a wrong sense.—Further, the grounds on which Kurtz, p. 327, impugns our right to designate the feast of weeks as the concluding celebration of the feast of unleavened bread in no way affects the matter itself, but at most only the terminology; while the assertion to the effect that the feast of weeks had nothing whatever to do with the feast of unleavened bread, is not merely one-sided, it is positively erroneous. For this latter feast was not spent in the mere eating of unleavened bread, but consisted rather in a Sabbath-like resting from work on the first and the seventh day, in offering special festal sacrifices on each of the seven days, and in consecrating the

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harvest by presenting the first-fruits of the ripe corn on the second day of the feast. By way of wind up to the feast of unleavened bread, in this its agricultural aspect, came the feast of weeks, which, like the first and seventh day of that of unleavened bread, was observed by Sabbatic cessation from work. —And, lastly, as for the reproach of thus degrading the great day of atonement to the level of a mere preliminary to the feast of tabernacles (Kurtz, p. 336), we can afford to bear it, for Kurtz himself cannot help regarding the feast of atonement as an "appropriate basis for such a festival of joy and happiness as was the feast of tabernacles."

[5] Gousset has already observed in his *Lex.* p. 1585: De שַׁבָּתוֹן observandum est, id cum de festis quibusdam a Sabbatho diversis dicitur, non de aliis tamen dici quam quæ in mensem Tisri incidunt. Nempe festo tubarum, propitiationumque ac de prima postremaque tabernaculorum die. Et de istis dicitur solum nomen שַׁבָּתוֹן, nisi quod de propitiationibus utrumque nomen שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּתוֹן prædicatur, on the strength of which he ventures to ask: Quisquamne ergo dubitet, institutum illud eo respicere, quod Tisri Sabbatharius quasi mensis esset. This is still further confirmed by the fact that the seventh year is known not only under the designation of שְׁנַת שַׁבָּתוֹן (Lev. xxv. 5), but also that of שַׁבַּת שַׁבָּתוֹן (ver. 4). But the term שַׁבָּתוֹן is neither to be understood in the sense of celebratio Sabbati, solemnia Sabbatica (Roediger in Gesen. *Thes.* iii. 1361), nor intensively in that of Sabbatum magnum, solemne (Gesen. *Lex. man.*, ed. Hoffmann), but is a simple abstract used in the sense of *rest*, while שַׁבָּת has become a *nomen propr.* It is only when conjoined with שַׁבָּת that, following the rule laid down by Ewald in *Lehrb. der Hebr. Spr.* § 313*c*, it imparts to the meaning: day of rest, the intensified force of: *high day of rest.*

[6] "No more appropriate part of the year could have been chosen for commemorating the nativity of Israel as a people than the commencement of it; just as conversely, again, this occasion of the festival assumed special importance in the eyes of the people from the fact that it regulated the year, and formed the chronological era" (Bähr, ii. p. 639). If, along with this, we take into account the circumstance that the fact of the exodus of the Israelites from Egypt having taken place on the night between the fourteenth and the fifteenth of Nisan would of itself lead to the middle of the first month being selected as the date at which the feast of unleavened bread was to begin, then the choice of the fifteenth day as that on which the two leading festivals of the year were to be

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celebrated will be sufficiently accounted for without our being under the necessity of assuming, with Ewald (p. 461) and others, that the Israelites must have been in the habit of observing the new moons before the time of Moses, of which there is not the slightest hint in any part of the Old Testament.

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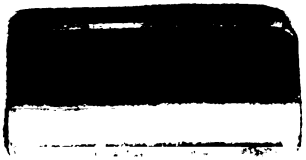

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